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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, the dates of publication being:

1980: Fascs. 1-2, pp. 1-128
1981: Fascs. 3-4, pp. 129-256
1982: Fascs. 5-6, pp. 257-423
2003: Fascs. 7-8, pp. 425-572
2004: Fascs. 9-10, pp. 573-716
2004: Fascs. 11-12, pp. 717-844

ISBN 90 04 13974 5

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS
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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

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VOLUME IV
P. 1091b, KHASI, l. 38, for Ustâd Djawhar [q.v. read Ustâd Djawdhar [q.v.]

VOLUME VII
P. 560, MUNADIDJIM, Bâno ‘î-, note 7 to genealogical tree, for Ta’rîkh Bağdâdî, iv, 318, nr. 2122, read Ta’rîkh Bağdâdî, v, 215, nr. 2688

VOLUME IX

VOLUME X


VOLUME XI
P. 1b, VIDJAYANAGARA, l. 5 from bottom of first paragraph, for Konkar [q.v. in Suppl.] read Konkan [q.v. in Suppl.]

P. 126b, WÂLÎBA B. AL-HUBÂB, l. 3, for 2nd/9th century read 2nd/8th century.

P. 169b, WÂSÎT, add after l. 37: ‘During the struggle for ‘Irâk under al-Ma’mûn, there were, however, small issues of silver from Wâsit in the years 200 and 203, and occasional issues in copper in 147, 167, 177 and 187 or 9.

P. 174b, WÂSÎM, add to Bibl: A second general study is E. Littmann, Zur Entzifferung der thamudenischen Inschriften, Berlin 1904, 78-104, which argues that most of the brands originate from the South Semitic alphabet in its North Arabian form.


P. 227b, AL-YADÂLÎ, l. 14 from bottom, for (19 lines) read (19 folios)
opp P. 264, YÂKÎT AL-RUMÎ, map, for Oxus (Sayhun) read Oxus (Djayhun), and resituate Cairo on the right-side of the Nile.


P. 345-6, AL-YÂNÎNÎ, add the following table:

Genealogical tree of the family of Mûsâ al-Yâmînî, author of Dhâri ‘Irâq al-zamân

(Isa

‘Abd Allâh

Ahmad Abu l-Husayn

al-Hasan

Muhammad Taqî Abû ‘Abd Allâh

(573-658)

Mûsà Kûbî Abû l-Faṭîb

his mother is Zayn al-‘Arab b. Nâṣr Allâh (d. 693)

(641-726)

‘Abd Muhammad Taklî a daughter (wife of Aybak al-Kâdir Muhîfî Abû Muhammad (d. 747), Fâţîma (d. 739), Zaynab, Amat al-‘Azîz (d. 754) and Muhammad (667-737)

Mûsà (who lived in 732 in Damascus)
These negotiations finally resulted in the formation of a...
AL-'ABBĀS b. AHMAD b. TŪLŪN, eldest son of Ahmad b. Tulūn [q.v.]. When the latter set off for the conquest of Syria, he entrusted the government of Egypt to al-'Abbās, his designated heir, but al-'Abbās was very soon persuaded to take advantage of his father's absence to supplant him. Warned but al-'Abbās was very soon persuaded to take advantage of the vizier al-Wasitī, Ibn Tulun got ready to return to Egypt, and his son, after having emptied the treasury and got together considerable sums of money, went off with his partisans to Alexandria, and then to Barka. As soon as he got back, on 4 Ramadan 265/30 April 879, Ibn Tulūn tried to bring him back to reason, and, promising him pardon, sent to him a letter, whose text has been preserved by al-Kāliḳāshāndī (Ṣahḥ, vii, 5-10; reproduced also by Ṣafwat, Ḍaynawat rasūl al-ʿArab, iv, 366-79); but the rebel remained deaf to all these approaches and decided to invade Irīfkiya at the head of a force of 800 cavalry and 10,000 black infantry, swollen along the way by some local contingents.

Al-'Abbās then claimed that the caliph al-Mu'tamid had named him as governor of Irīfkiya and demanded of the Aghlabī al-Ṭahāmī II that he should yield place to him. The latter responded by sending against him a force of cavalry, which met up with him at Labda but did not venture an engagement. Al-'Abbās now sacked Labda, even though the governor there had decided to yield to him, and then went on to lay siege to Tripoli. The Bidāṭi leader Iyās b. Mansūr al-Nafūsī organised resistance, and with the help of reinforcements sent by al-Ṭahāmī II, succeeded in putting the rebel army to flight (middle of 267/winter 880-1). Al-'Abbās was compelled to return to Egypt, but was captured in the course of a battle outside the city of Alexandria with an army sent by Ibn Tulūn. He was brought to Fustat, led round on a mule (Yākūt, ʿUzzaḥ, vii, 183), condemned to execute himself, and his father before him, been their servants before his rise to sovereignty. For this reason, information gathered by ʿAbās about Sher Shah's early career from his Sarwānī relations contains important gaps, some of which are filled by Mushtakī's rambling account, available in the Wakfāt-i Mushtakī. Despite its defects, the Tuhfa-yi Akbar Shahī is regarded as the major source for Sher Shah's reign. It furnishes fairly detailed data about the early life of Sher Shah and provides clues to important facts about his statemanship. Later works, such as the Ta'nkh-i Sher Shahī of Nīma't Allah Harawi, Ta'nkh-i Shahī of Ahmad Yādgār and Ta'nkh-i Dāwdī of ʿAbd Allah, all compiled during the reign of the Emperor Dāhdāṅgrī, contain very little additional information with regard to Sher Shah.
ABBREVIATIONS, sigla and conventional signs are nowadays called in Arabic mukhtasarat “abridgements” or ramūq “symbols”, but there does not seem to have been any specific term for them in the classical period, even though from the very beginnings of Islamic copyists, scribes and specialists in all sorts of disciplines were led to use them. This is why it has been thought suitable to bring together here a list of the main abbreviations found in the mediaeval texts, together with some examples of those taken up by our contemporaries.

One should first of all recall that a certain number of the surūs of the Kur’ān begin by groups of letters (the fawāṣīḥ or burstātīt al-’ābāh, which remain curiously inexplicable despite the many interpretations thougth up by inventive minds; the reader will find a table of them in the article al-Kur’ān, where the signs indicating pronunciation to be found in various editions of the Holy Book are also considered.

It should also be noted that if the verb sammā, means notably “to pronounce the formula bi-smi lāh al-rakām al-salām,” the formula itself is called the hamūla [g.v.], whose form is obvious; cf. also the hamdala, the formula al-hamdu li-lāh “praise be to God”, etc.

It is precisely these pious or optative formulae which, because of their frequency, led copyists and scribes to adopt various abbreviations, of which the most frequent are: t = wala’ “may He be exalted”; s = ṣallū “peace be upon him [sc. upon a prophet]”; m = mukaddam “mukhtasar” or m = mu’ākhkhar “mukhtasar”; m = mal’ama “mukhtasar” and its literal sense; m = mukhtasar “mukhtasar” or m = musannif “author (of the work)”; m = Muharram, s = Shawwāl, n = Ramadan, d = Dhū ‘īd-ha’d “recto and verso”, etc.; m = masāḥa “publish”; m = maṣāḥat “publishing”. The list of abbreviations could be considerably prolonged, but our list will be limited to those given above; one should however add that magazines and periodicals often use these to such an extent that only the initiates can unravel them. G. Oman (see Bibliography) has mentioned, as characteristic: m.m. = “Marilyn Monroe”, and b.b. = “Brigitte Bardot”.

In technical works on grammar, theology, law, etc., the following may occur: d̄j = djam “plural”; d̄jī = djam-al-djam “double plural”; m = ma’annāth “feminine”, but also mata “text of the kūdīt, etc.”; ṣh = sharh “commentary” and sharik “commentator”; ṣīrīn or ṣīrī = haddathana “there related to us”; anā = anbana’ān or akhbusa “we” [he related to us (especially of a historical or other tradition); m or anā = (al-)ma’ṣur  or (al-)maṣūrah “the (well-known, the famed); aṣ = al-zāhir “the obvious, literal sense”; aṣ = al-zāhiraha “its literal sense”; h = tafwīl “change in the inānā”; s = maṣannif “mukhtasar work” or muṣannaf “author (of the work)”]; ṣal = al-maṣūnah “the author”; yk = yuḏ “it is said”; aṣ = aṣ’a “by no means, absolutely”; q = ysd “also, equally”; s = sull “question”; d̄j = djam “reply”; n = bayānuhu “its explanation”; h = ḥakīka “reality”, “in truth”; b = bāṭil “false”; (a)mḥ = (al-)muḥād “what is absurd, improbable”; mm = mma’nū “impossible, absurd”; f = ṣīrī “we do not admit”, recognize”; h, ḥ = (f)ḥa’sā ḥ “and then, consequently”; lā ṣīt fāl “without any doubt”; ḵ = ḵudh “thus”, ḥīm = al-malāḥ “the desired aim” or al-malāh “the absolute”.

Also found are: s = sū’a “hour”, d = dākhā “minute”, and the names of the months: m = Muharram, s = Safar, r = Rabī I, r = Rabī II, ḍj = Dhu’l-Mi‘ād, ḍj = Dhu’l-Hijjah, ḍj = Dhu’l-‘I‘lādā and d = Dhū ’l-‘I‘lādā.

It will be noted that these abbreviations are often formed by the first letter of the word; another letter may sometimes be chosen, without always there being a care to avoid confusion, so that it may well happen that the groups of letters have an ambivalence, which is not, however, very confusing.

At the present time, the proliferation of sigla, and the perennial desire to save time have multiplied the use of abbreviations, especially in the press and in commercial and financial documents, but also in scholarly works with an apparatus criticus, where one may find e.g. ḍj = ḍaʿū “text of the volume”, ṣa = sāf “page”, s = šarīn “line”; s = šarīn “line”; ṣ = šuʿd “leaf, folio”, a, and b or u in z = suqūd “recto and verso”, etc., the following may occur:

2. Abbreviations — Al-Miyanadji

Edition, etc.

An international abbreviation has yielded, as elsewhere, a genuine noun: al-Tūnī/sīkh “UNESCO”. Expressions denoting Unions or Federations are replaced by initials: g.s.m = al-ṣamī’īn yūsuf al-ʿarabiyah al-muttahida “the United Arab Republic”, a.m. = al-imārāt al-ʿarabiyah al-muttahida “the United Arab Emirates”, etc. Money and currencies, weights and measures are not outside this general tendency: l.l. = liṭr “Lebanese pound”; d = dīnār (and also dākhīr “doctor”); ḍj = ḍaʿū “text of the volume”; m = masāḥa “publish”; m = maṣāḥat “publishing”.

The list of abbreviations could be considerably prolonged, but our list will be limited to those given above; one should however add that magazines and periodicals often use these to such an extent that only the initiates can unravel them. G. Oman (see Bibliography) has mentioned, as characteristic: m.m. = “Marilyn Monroe”, and b.b. = “Brigitte Bardot”.


‘ABBAS SAWARNI — ABD ALLAH B. ABI BAKR AL-MIYANADJI


It is precisely these pious or optative formulæ which, because of their frequency, led copyists and scribes to adopt various abbreviations, of which the most frequent are: t = wala’ “may He be exalted”; s = ṣallū “peace be upon him [sc. upon a prophet]”; ṭ = ṭahāwi “reply”; s = suʿd “page”; s = šarīn “line”; s = šuʿd “leaf, folio”, a, and b or u in z = suqūd “recto and verso”, etc., the following may occur:

The history of India as told by

were Muhammad b. Hammāyūn and a certain Baraka.

His spiritual reputation soon gained him many disciples, and he spent all his time in oral and written teaching, sometimes going beyond the limits of his physical strength for this and having then to retire for two or three months for recuperation. His activities soon provoked the hostility of the orthodox theologians. Provoked by his teachings on the nature of sainthood and prophethood and on submission to the Sunnī shaykh, and objecting to his usage of Sunnī terminology which gave the impression that he himself laid claim to prophetic powers, they brought an accusation of heresy against him before the Salīḫū vizier in Trāk, who imprisoned him in Baghārd. It was there that he wrote his apologia, the Ṣawāqī qisqāhūr. Some months later he was set free and returned to Hamadhān, but shortly afterwards, at the time of the Salīḫū sultan Mahdī’s arrival (reigned 511- 511/1118-31), he was executed in a harrowing manner during the night of 6-7 Qumādād II 526/6-7 May 1131 at the age of 33. His premature death seems to have prevented al-Hamadhānī from founding a Sunnī monastery, setting up a Sunnī group and designating a successor; nevertheless, his numerous works, written in a fine style, have always found an enthusiastic readership.

His published works include Ṣawāqī qisqāhūr an al-aṣītī nīl ḥaddān al-ʿalāmān, an apologia in Arabic (ed. and Fr. tr. Mohammed ben Abū-ʾl-Jalāl, in Ja 1930), 1-76, 193-297; ed. Abī ʿUṣayrān, Muṣannafīt al-Ayn al- ʿAdūnī-ī Hamadhānī, Tehran 1341/1962; Eng. tr. A. J. Arberry, A Sufi martyr, the apologia of a Sunnī Shaykūh, London 1969; Ṣawāqī-ī Lānī-ī, on mystic love, in Persian, ed. Rahfrn Farmanish, Tehran 1338/1959. bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1864-9; Abī-ʾl-Fadl Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, called Makhdūm al-Ayn, son of Shaykūh Shams al-Dīn of Sulṭānpur (Pandjāb), a leading Indian theologian of the 10th/16th century. He studied under Mawlawān Ābū-ʾl-Kādir of Sirhind, and acquired renown as a scholar and for his command over Muslim jurisprudence, theology and history. He was held in high esteem by Humāyūn (q.v.), and Shīr Shāh (947-52/1549-50) gave him the title of Šāh al-Islām; under Ilām Shāh (952- 61/1545-54) he was the principal adviser of the king in religious affairs. Upon his return in 962/1555, Humāyūn again conferred on him the title of Shīkūh al-Islām, and under the next king Akbar (q.v.), he received the title of Makhdūm al-Mulk. In 987/1579 he went to the Hijāz and was received with much respect by the Mughals. Makhdūm al-Mulk, however, returned to India without performing the Pilgrimage, and is said to have issued a fatwā to the effect that the Hijāz was not obligatory on the people of India because the journey by sea could not be undertaken without the European passports bearing the pictures of Mary and Jesus and because the land route lay through Şīʿī Persia.

Makhdūm al-Mulk was one of the signatories of the Mahdīr of 987/1579 giving a high religious position to Akbar, but subsequently disowned it; he was in fact a very orthodox Sunni and drew much criticism from Abu ʿl-Fadl. He died in 990/1582 in disgrace.


ʿABD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD AL-RASĪL B. ʿABD AL-ḤASSĀN AL QASIMI (ca. 1291-1373/ca. 1890-1933), founder king (regn. 1319-73/1902-53) of the Kingdom of Suʿūdī Arabia. His father was Sārā b. Ahmad al-Sudayrī. At four, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was entrusted to a tutor and became a hāfiz at eleven. Simultaneously (1309/1891), at al-Mulayda the Āl Rashīdī of Hāʾil (q.v.) defeated and expelled the Suʿūdīs from Najd, so that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz grew up subsequently in al-Kuwayt, his father’s exiled kingdom.

In 1319/1902, the young and hot-blooded retook al-Riyādī, expelled the Rashīdī governor, and proclaimed the restored Suʿūdī rule. Central Najd soon re-pledged loyalty to the Suʿūdīs, and al-Kaṣmī (q.v.) was gradually brought in. By 1330/1912, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had restored Suʿūdī rule throughout Najd.

In 1912, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz inaugurated his most imaginative policy, that of settling Bedouin in Wahhābī- centred agricultural colonies whose members were known as al-Ikhwān ("the brothers") (q.v.). This movement simultaneously furthered Wahhābīism, provided a new military force, reduced tribalism, and increased agricultural production; it brought with it profound social change, and the movement at its height counted some 150 colonies, one with 10,000 people. Ikhwānīs played a leading role in subsequent conquests, but ultimately revolted, charging the king with religious laxity, so that the founder of the Ikhwān himself suppressed them (1348/1930).

On the eve of World War I, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz expelled the Ottomans from eastern Arabia thus acquiring access to the sea. For ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, this war constituted a period of watchful waiting, but with the war’s end, he resumed expansion. Djabal Shammar was occupied in 1340/1921 and its depend-encies the next year. In 1337/1919 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was given a high religious position by Humāyūn (q.v.). In 1338/1920 annexed upland ʿAsīr (q.v.). The end of his festering quarrel with the Ḥāḫīmīs began when the Ḥāḫīmī king, al-Ḥuṣayn, somewhat vaingloriously assumed the caliphate (1542/1924). The Ikhwān, allured, entered al-Tafīr, and Mecca opened its gates, despite the Ḥāḫīmīs’ descent from the Prophet and long tenure in al-Hijāz. By 1344/1926, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was proclaimed king of al-Hijāz. His realm, now quite independent, stretched solidly across the peninsula in the first such broad unification in Arabia for many centuries. In addition, responsibility for the holy places, well discharged, converted ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from the leader of a minor sectarian polity into a central figure in Islamic and international eyes. His one remaining external dispute, with al-Yaman, was settled by a military victory followed by a treaty (1352/1934). In the same year, he unified his government as the Kingdom of Suʿūdī Arabia. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz treated defeated enemies magnanimously and, especially in al-Yaman, wisely restrained
himself. Much of this period was also spent negotiating with Britain; demarcated borders gradually emerged. During World War II, he maintained formal neutrality, but tilted toward the Allies, subsequently joining the United Nations and the Arab League.

Internally, this commanding monarch ruled traditionally but with his own extra wisdom and strength. He oversaw the successful implantation of the high-technology, American-run petroleum industry into an ultra-traditional society, from a first commercial find in 1356/1937 to the point when, at his death, production approached 1 million barrels/day and gave an annual revenue of $200 million. Oil revenues financed dramatic developments: water supplies, airports, telephones and radios, roads, a selection of official correspondence to arise in the Arabian peninsula.

All in all, 'Abd al-'Azîz laid the bases for the modernising of his country and was one of the greatest leaders to arise in the Arabian peninsula.


'ABD AL-'AZÎZ B. YUSUF: 'Abd al-'Azîz b. Khâkîr b. Sa'id al-Hakkîr?, the private secretary and trusted adviser of the Bûyûd amîn 'Abd al-Dawla [q.v.] from the very beginning to the end of his reign, and then three times alternatively the vizier and in disgrace in regard to his sons Sâmîsîn al-Dawla and Bahâ' al-Dawla [q.v. below]. He is the author of a collection of official correspondence (inâkhat), largely preserved in ms. Petermann 406 (Ahlwardt 8625), which is however limited to the period of 'Abd al-Dawla's reign (some fragments lacking here are cited in al-Thâfîlîb, Natîm, i, 89-90) and which, without securing him a place equal to his contemporaries 'Abû Islâm al-Sûbî and Ibn 'Abdâd, merits the historian's consideration, above all for the narrative of events of the reign.

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during the Usr of Mu'in al-Din Cishti at Admim in 1916.

'Abd al-Barf was one of the great teachers of his
time, having at least 300 pupils. He wrote 111 books
family, Hanafi jurisprudence was his most important
Abd al-Barf was one of the great teachers of his
class. He was an influential frr, numbering several
leading politicians, including Muhammad and
Shawkat 'Ali [q.v.], amongst his murids. An inde-
pendent-minded but emotional man, 'Abd al-Barf was
guided by the need to defend and strengthen Islam.
He achieved fame and success, in part because of
what he did but also in part because of who he was:
the dominant member in his generation of the wide-
spread and talented Farangi Mahal family. In recent
years he has been this family's most distinguished
product.

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F.C.R. Robinson

'ABD AL-LATIF CELEBI [see also LEWIT]

'ABD AL-NAFIS, DJAMAL, Egyptian commander
and statesman. His father, 'Abd al-Nasir Husayn,
came from the village of Bani Murr near Asyût in
Upper Egypt. He was a clerk in the post office and
in 1915 moved to Alexandria. In 1917 he married
the daughter of an Alexandrian coal merchant and
on January 15th 1918, his first son, Djamal, was born.
The father was transferred several times during his
son's early childhood and it was in Asyût that Djamal
began his primary education. At the age of seven he
was sent to Cairo to live with his uncle and to study
there instead of moving around with his father. He
also spent some time in the family village of Bani Murr
when he was able to observe the life of the Egyptian peasant—its poverty and its daily toil, its
dignity and solidarity. The village was a microcosm
of Egyptian rural society. 'Abd al-Nasir's family
belonged to the middle layer of small proprietors and
tenants, a class largely dominated by others yet from
which there was some outward movement into the
towns and cities through education and government
employment. This class gave 'Abd al-Nasir his roots in
the Egyptian countryside and also his escape into
another world.

In Cairo he went to al-Nalahshin school in Khân
al-Khâshî where he was able to experience at first
hand the life of the bustling crowded quarters of
Cairo, that other aspect of the poverty of Egypt.
During this period he was greatly affected by the
death of his mother and by his father's early re-mar-
riage. This experience turned him against his father
and strengthened his independence and perhaps also
his introspection. He was noted from then on for his
seriousness and thoughtfulness.

After an interval with his family in Alexandria
'Abd al-Nasir moved to Cairo where he spent five de-
vasive years, 1933-8. He went to al-Nalâha school and
began to mix study with militant activity, protesting
both against the British presence and the policies of the
Egyptian politicians. He was exposed to the politi-
currently the Thurayya National Party (al-Hizb al-Watanl) and especially Mawd al-Fatat,  the Fascist-type movement found by Ahmad Husayn.
He felt deepy and personally the problems of Egypt
and began to assume them inwardly himself, uncon-
siously following the example of those future leaders
who take upon themselves the burdens of their people,
and also searching for a future pattern for his
own life. He admired the Wafd centred around its
leader, Mu'âshâl Nahshâs; he occasionally marched with
Mawd al-Fatat. He wrote at the time: "[The Egyptian]
only needs a leader who will lead him to battle".

In November 1935, when the British opposed the
re-establishment of the Egyptian constitution, 'Abd al-
Nasir marched with students on to the streets of Cairo
and was wounded by a bullet fired by British troops.
He was identified as an agitator and asked to leave
his school. After a few months in 1936 as a law stu-
dent in Cairo University, his sense of disillusion with the
politicians who had "surrendered" to the British
by signing the 1936 Treaty, and with what he saw
as the indifference of his fellow-students, led him to
seek to join the army, in his opinion the best means
available for effecting change. He had passed through
his early personal crisis and took to the army as a
positive means of action.

In 1936 the Egyptian army had lifted its restric-
tions on the middle and lower classes entering the
officer corps. 'Abd al-Nasir was a member of the sec-
ond entry of such men, an officer cadet in 1937 at the
age of nineteen in the 'Abdus-saïyya Military
Academy. He was attracted to military life with its
discipline and study, and was quickly promoted. Of
his future companions in the revolution, he met 'Abd
al-Hakim 'Amir in the academy and Zakariyya Muhîy
al-Dîn and Anwar al-Sadât in his first posting to
upper Egypt. It is difficult to maintain that their plot-
ing began at once but, being of similar age and back-
ground, they were united in their disrespect and even
contempt for their senior officers, and this attitude
was confirmed when he again met 'Amir during their
assignment to the Sudan.

The German successes in Libya and Egypt in
1940-1 led some Egyptian officers to see in the Axis
their deliverers from British occupation. 'Abd al-Nasir
stayed aloof from making approaches to the Germans,
but his anger was aroused in February 1942 when
Sir Miles Lampson, the British High Commissioner,
with the support of British tanks imposed on King
Faruk's political erraticness and scandalous private
life. 'Abd al-Nasir was ashamed that the army had taken no counter-
action, but he at least felt that some officers had
been shaken out of their apathy. In 1943 he was
appointed an instructor at the Military Academy,
and during his time there was able to make contact
with a number of younger Egyptians who were also
like him fired by the aim of liberating their country.
The period 1945-52 bears, with hindsight, the signs
of the end of an era. Several factors combined to
ensure that change eventually became inevitable. King
Faruk's political erraticness and scandalous private
life debarred him as a serious political leader. The
Wafd had lost most of its credibility, and the more
extreme movements were left to clamour for a cen-
tral role. The Arab disaster in Palestine had a pro-
found effect on the minds of young Egyptian army
officers, and the British reluctance to evacuate troops
first from the towns and then from the Suez Canal Zone confirmed their suspicions about the survival of British imperialist aims. The period was one of feverment and tension, so that even a personality less politically sensitive than 'Abd al-Nasir could not have remained unaffected, and he was in a sense torn during this period between his position as staff officer and his interests in "revolutionary" movements. He was introduced to Marxism by Khalid Muhyl al-Din, a fellow officer and cousin of Zakariyya, to the Ikhwan al-Muslimun by al-Sadat, and to the left wing of the Wafd by Ahmad Abu 'l-Fath and others. At this time a group of officers began to meet regularly, comprising the above together with 'Amir, Tharwat 'Ukasha and one or two others. These so-called 'Abd al-Aziz" (Free Officers") did not yet coalesce as a movement, having no common ideology but a determination to transform Egypt; but the figure of Djamal 'Abd al-Nasir emerged here as a leader.

It was events outside Egypt which decisively placed the Free Officers on course outwards revolution. In May 1948 the Egyptian army advanced into Palestine in an attempt to destroy the new state of Israel. 'Abd al-Nasir was commanding officer of a unit, and was immediately dismayed by the inefficiency and lack of preparedness of the Egyptians who were fighting against greatly inferior numbers; in the fighting he was himself wounded in the chest. After the second United Nations armistice (during which the Haganah improved its positions), the battle for the Negev began in October. 'Abd al-Nasir and his unit were trapped at Falludja, but together with several other Free Officers they held out against the Israeli forces and were eventually able to counter-attack. In retrospect, 'Abd al-Nasir saw this episode as a symbol of their determination to pursue the real fight against all those forces which opposed Egypt. He had fought the Israelis and had even admired them in their successful bid to oust the British from Palestine (during one armistice he had had an opportunity to talk to an Israeli officer), and had himself become more widely known. One general also made his name for heroism in the Palestine war, Muhammad Naguib (Neguib). The army returned home bitter in defeat and determination to begin the "real" struggle. The Free Officers began to issue propaganda denouncing the King, the regime and the army, to infiltrate the government, and to co-operate with other organisations.

In October 1951 the Egyptian government abrogated the 1936 Treaty, and this action signalled the beginning of guerilla activity against the British troops remaining in the Canal Zone. The Free Officers played a certain part, issuing arms and training commandos, but it was largely students and members of the Ikhwan who bore the brunt of the fighting; 'Abd al-Nasir himself was biding his time conserving his energies.

Tension was also rising in Cairo. A particularly severe British retaliatory attack on the Ismailiya barracks in January 1952 led to Black Saturday, January 26th, when much foreign and Egyptian property in Cairo was burned and several lives lost. Students, Ikhwan and the mob rampaged in a fury of revenge, and the army and police intervened only late in the day. It is still not clear who instigated the riots and how large a part, if any, the Free Officers played; but the events had at least demonstrated the desperate fury of the country and the lack of any solution offered by the régime.

Fârûk and his entourage continued their improvising, seemingly careless of the country's plight. The Free Officers decided that a coup could no longer be postponed and began to make their final plans in July. The government had moved for the summer to Alexandria, and to army units favourable to the Free Officers were doused with water. On 20th July it became known that Fârûk was to appoint a new government, one of whose first actions would be to arrest some of the Officers. The latter advanced their plans; by the morning of 23rd July the key army and communications posts had been taken, with hardly a shot fired and only two lives lost. Although 'Abd al-Nasir had been the leader, General Muhammad Naguib, the older and better-known man, became the new Commander-in-Chief, while arguments raged over the future form of government—should there be cooperation with civilian politicians, and what was to be the fate of Fârûk?

'Ali Mâhir, an ex-premier, headed the new government. 'Abd al-Nasir stood out for the exile, rather than the execution, of Fârûk, and the ex-king sailed from Alexandria on 26th July. Naguib supervised the abdication while 'Abd al-Nasir remained in Cairo.

Muhammad Hasanas Haykal has divided the political life of 'Abd al-Nasir (known in Egypt as "The Lion") into three parts: 1952-6, the Lion free; 1956-67 the Lion chained; 1967-70 the Lion wounded. By this division, Haykal saw him free until the Suez invasion to concentrate on Egyptian affairs; after 1956 he became chained to Arab and world affairs and a prisoner of his own success and personality; after the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 he was gradually weighed down by the burdens of office. These divisions may be qualified and modified, however. During the whole of his political life he was attempting both to legitimise his rule and to give Egypt a lasting political and social system. Until 1956 he was largely concerned with Egyptian internal affairs, but Suez thrust him on to the world stage, and while chaining him, in Haykal's phrase, he was at the peak of his popularity and success, at least until the dissolution of the Syrian-Egyptian union in 1961. The period 1961-7 saw him more closely chained and less successful, until the disaster of 1967, by which he was mortally wounded.

The Free Officers had no definite political programme before or at the beginning of their régime. No one ideology motivated the seizure of power; they had rather vague ideas about national independence, modernisation, democratisation, social justice and equality. The first years of power entailed a more precise defining of these ideas and forced 'Abd al-Nasir to determine his role in the new system. He was the centre of the new ruling body, the Revolution Command Council (R.C.C.) (Maglis Kaydat al-Thawra), although Naguib was its president, replacing 'Ali Mâhir in September 1952, and 'Abd al-Nasir not yet publicly acknowledged.

The régime's first declared objective had been the expulsion of the British, and negotiations began immediately over the evacuation of the Canal Zone. Secondly, the direction of domestic policy was established by the agrarian reform law of September 1952 by which no one was allowed to hold more than 200 feddans of land. Thirdly, the régime set about eliminating opposition, i.e. the Ikhwan, who were reacted to by trying to foment opposition in the army, police and universities. In the early months of 1954 the Ikhwan waged what 'Abd al-Nasir termed a wasf against the régime, in an attempt to seize power themselves.

Within the Revolution Command Council, dis-
The older man had gained considerable popularity, were demonstrations in his favour, and the chaos of but was opposed by his colleagues, who accused him of the Egyptian Republic, and the younger officers. Sensions arose between General Nadjib, now President of the Egyptian Republic, and the younger officers. He now began to seek arms, first unsuccessfully from the British, France and Israel combined to attack Egypt, each for their own reasons, but united in fear and hatred of ‘Abd al-Násir, after attempts to organise forms of international supervision of the Canal had failed. On October 29th Israeli troops crossed into Sinai and the following day were reported to be within 20 miles of the Canal. The British and French ultimatum ordering both Egypt and Israel to withdraw to ten miles on either side of the Canal, was rejected by ‘Abd al-Násir, and two days later British planes raided Cairo. On November 5th British and French troops landed in Port Said. ‘Abd al-Násir convinced his followers of Egypt’s ability to resist, but he was in fact facing defeat, and was only saved by American and Soviet pressure on his attackers. All foreign troops were compelled to leave Egyptian territory, and he emerged as victor in defeat, more popular and powerful than before, and a world figure.

His very success bore within itself the seeds of danger. He had confronted Israel and the West, not only on behalf of Egypt but also of other parts of the Arab world. He was being drawn into the politics of Arabism, with its twin goals of unity and the destruction of Israel, reaction and colonialism. Egypt, the strongest Arab state with its powerful leader, was the natural centre of the Arab world. ‘Abd al-Násir had already shown his support for the Algerian national movement and thereby alienated France. The Voice of the Arabs radio broadcast continual anti-Western propaganda from Cairo. ‘Abd al-Násir had rejected President Eisenhower’s offer of American military support. At the same time Syria, the other centre of Arabism seemed to be slipping into a chaotic situation. Several factions, Ba’thists, Communists and rival nationalist groups, were competing for power. In January 1958 Syrian spokesmen informed ‘Abd al-Násir that only union with Egypt could save their country. He was not immediately convinced, despite his professed belief in Arab unity, and made strong conditions for the Syrians which they nevertheless readily accepted. At the end of January the United Arab Republic came into existence with ‘Abd al-Násir as president, welcomed with relief by the Syrians but not, it seemed, with any great enthusiasm by the Egyptian leader himself, nor by the Egyptian people, some of whom regretted the disappearance of the name of Egypt.
Syria and appeared determined to make the union a success, if only by imposing his own will on the Syrians. Such an attitude was bound to cause resentment, and socialist measures, the dismissal of army officers, purges of politicians and the arrogant behaviour of 'Abd al-Nāsir’s man in Syria, 'Abd al-Hamīd Sārāḏī, all contributed to increase feelings of bitterness. By early 1961 the union was falling apart and in September a group of Syrian officers unilaterally took Syria out of the U.A.R.

'Abd al-Nāsir was stunned, but, after a momentary determination to oppose the split by force, reluctantly withdrew Egyptian troops from Syria. To salvage his self-esteem and perhaps to keep the door open for further unions, he retained the title of U.A.R. for Egypt. His political life was complicated by another factor. The 'Irākīs had overthrown the monarchy in July 1958, had proclaimed their revolution and were disputing with him the leadership of the Arab world. Rivalry was intense, especially as 'Irāk claimed Soviet support and had refused to join the U.A.R. He had been dragged deep into inter-Arab disputes and saw his energies diverted into unprofitable avenues.

After the break-up of the U.A.R., 'Abd al-Nāsir felt isolated and to some extent withdrew into Egyptian affairs. In a speech of October 1961 he made some surprising admissions; “We fell victim to a dangerous illusion, to which we were led by an increasing confidence in ourselves and in others”. He had neglected the economic development and the political organisation of Egypt. He would summon a congress of popular forces which would chart a more socialist solution slowly. Despite his reliance on Russia, he had persecuted Communists, with an all-powerful police, and torturing Communists, and had no great enthusiasm for the destruction of the peasantry. The Congress of Popular Forces was founded to succeed the National Union of the regime. A new single party, the Arab Socialist Union, was founded in an attempt to strengthen the Union, 'Abd al-Nāsir even released imprisoned Marxists, some of whom in 1964 agreed to work within the organization.

'Abd al-Nāsir’s economic policies were obviously influenced by his relationship with the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. He rejected Communism and was categorised by Soviet ideologists as a bourgeois nationalist, yet he was dependent on Russia for aid and Krushchev considered him an ally in the Middle East. Apart from arms, Russia had in 1960 agreed to finance the construction of Aswān Dam, which became both the symbol of Russo-Egyptian co-operation and of Egypt’s rebirth. The dam was built to transform Egypt’s economy and agriculture. It has not succeeded in all the ways intended, and in more ways than one it is 'Abd al-Nāsir’s monument.

Despite his intention to concentrate on internal affairs, 'Abd al-Nāsir’s reputation and Egypt’s position in the Arab world obliged him to continue to play a leading role. The most serious intervention was in the Yemen where in the autumn of 1962 an uprising had driven out the Imam. A republic was proclaimed which was immediately threatened by Saudi-backed royalist forces. 'Abd al-Nāsir sent an Egyptian army to support the revolution, an action he later regretted, for it was trapped for five years with a continuing drain of men and equipment, diverted away from a confrontation with Israel, the insoluble problem of his lifetime.

The Israelis had withdrawn from the Suez Canal after 1956, and United Nations troops had moved in between Israel and Egypt. The Arabs had made various plans for and propaganda about the destruction of Israel, but 'Abd al-Nāsir seemed determined not to let Egypt be engaged in war before the army was ready, or until Arab unity was achieved. However, he joined a pact with Syria in 1966 which trapped him into confrontation. Both Syria and Jordan clashed with Israel and he found himself shouldering their burdens and being ineffectually drawn into a conflict. He was now heard to talk of destroying Israel and of the impossibility of coexistence. 'Abd al-Hakīm Amīr and others convinced him that the army was strong and prepared, though after the war, 'Abd al-Nāsir claimed that he had not wanted to fight.

According to his version of the events leading to the war, in May he asked U Thant to withdraw the U.N. Emergency Force from the Israeli-Egyptian frontier, thus allowing the Egyptian army to face Israeli troops directly. The Russians had informed him that the Israelis were preparing to attack Syria, and by his moves in Sinai he intended to deter them; this information seems to have been either incorrect or at least exaggerated. 'Abd al-Nāsir claimed that the U.N. responded by insisting on withdrawing their troops both from the frontier and from Šahr al-Shaykh. The U.N. version is that Egyptian troops appeared at Šahr al-Shaykh and forced the U.N. to withdraw. Whichever version is correct, Egyptian troops were soon at the entrance to the Gulf of Akaba and blockading the Straits of Tīrān to Israeli shipping, and it was clear that Israel could not leave such a challenge unanswered. According to eyewitnesses in Cairo 'Abd al-Nāsir appeared at the time to be borne down by the inexorable, and he spoke of a moment of decision: either Israel must accept new discussions on the Palestine problem or war was inevitable.

'Amīr and Šahr al-Badrān, the Egyptian War Minister, urged him in vain to strike first. Israel settled...
the matter by a pre-emptive attack on June 5th which destroyed the Egyptian air force on the ground. By June 9th Egypt accepted a cease-fire, with Israeli troops once again on the Suez Canal. 'Abd al-Nāsir had led his country to a catastrophic defeat. He had no excuses. In television interviews he admitted his failures and announced his resignation. The reaction was immediate. All Egypt, it seemed, begged him to stay. Egypt and 'Abd al-Nāsir had together been defeated, and Egypt without him was unthinkable; the identification between leader and people appeared total. His resignation was rejected and the following day he resumed office.

His prestige was, however, diminished, a fifth of his country occupied, the Canal closed; he was confronted by a powerful enemy, and his armed forces were shattered. In the short period left of his life there was little he could do to restore the situation, yet as leader he was forced to try. Even the army was not prepared totally to support him. 'Amir was blamed for the defeat, arrested and allowed (or forced) to commit suicide, Badrān was imprisoned for life. Members of the secret police were arrested. In February 1968 the Air Force commanders were sentenced to imprisonment. Even so, the Egyptian people were not satisfied with 'Abd al-Nāsir's actions, and there was criticism of him, of the system and of the leniency of the sentences on the Air Force officers.

He responded by increasing the sentences and by urging the Arab Socialist Union to play a more creative and active role. This did not satisfy the people, and in late 1968 there were demonstrations in favour of more political freedom and even demands for his resignation. He had been called back by the people yet was unable to fulfill their expectations.

On the international scene, he was able to offer little that was constructive. At the Khartoum Arab summit in September 1967 he endorsed the Arab refusal to recognise or to negotiate with Israel, although he also seemed to accept the U.N. resolution 242 which entailed recognition of the sovereignty of all states in the Middle East. Soviet support in rebuilding his army at least gave him a position from which he could face Israel on a more equal footing. It led him to launch the war of attrition in 1969-70 during which the Israeli air force on several occasions attacked Egyptian territory. 'Abd al-Nāsir personally and on behalf of the Arabs could not bring himself to the point of negotiating a peace treaty with Israel, despite Soviet and American pressure. He made several moves which seemed to be leading towards negotiation, but he remained fettered by his position in the Arab world.

On 24 September 1970 King Husayn of Jordan and Yāsir 'Arāfat of the Palestine Liberation Organisation met in Cairo under 'Abd al-Nāsir's aegis to try to achieve reconciliation after Husayn's suppression of the attempted Palestinian take-over in Jordan, and this was his last achievement. On September 28th he died of a heart attack, having suffered from diabetes for ten years and later from arteriosclerosis of his right leg. Despite a previous heart attack in September 1969 he had continued to work until the very end. His funeral in Cairo was marked with astonishing scenes of grief, devotion and disbelief among the hundreds of thousands who surrounded his coffin. It was as though in a very real sense part of the soul of Egypt had died with him. It is also possible that the mass hysteria of that day contained within itself a grain of relief. 'Abd al-Nāsir had dominated Egyptian life for some fifteen years and perhaps by 1970 Nasserism had run its course. He had guided Egypt through a period of intense change and political adjustment. He had seen the end of French and British imperialism and had felt his way towards a new relationship both with the United States and the Soviet Union. He had led Egypt into a relationship with an Arab world conscious of its power and independence. He had had to face the problem of confronting Israel on behalf of that Arab world. As Haykal wrote, these historical conditions formed his destiny and laid on him a burden too great for any one man to bear, or in the words of another commentator, "being unable to solve Egypt's problems, [he] chose to incar- nate them".

'Abd al-Nāsir was thoroughly Egyptian, a Sa'ūdī who gave back to Egypt a sense of dignity. He remained a man of simple tastes and hard work who continued to live modestly in Cairo. His close friends were almost all political allies and he created with them an atmosphere of intrigue and conspiracy in government. He ruled Egypt through this elite, together with a network of interlocking security systems. He was cunning, mistrustful and a conspirator. He even distrusted the army, which he supervised with the mukhābat. He was a naturally passionate man, not averse to the use of violence and terror to subdue his opponents. He did not know how to create lasting institutions nor how to gather around him a strong governmental team.

He clearly inspired devotion both among his colleagues and among the masses in Egypt and elsewhere. His figure dominated Arab politics and gave rise to the formation of Nasserist parties in other countries. He was the symbol for many of Arab resistance to foreign influence and to internal reaction. He was the leader who, in Weber's terms, was able to lead the breakthrough in Egypt's history.

Bibliography: Much has been written about 'Abd al-Nāsir and Egypt under his régime. A survey of English and French studies written before 1967 can be found in D. Hopwood, Some Western views of the Egyptian revolution, in P.J. Vatikiotis, ed., Egypt since the revolution, London 1968; The most important works specifically on Ḫāmnāl 'Abd al-Nāsir appearing since that date are: J. Lacouture, Nasser, Paris 1971 (and Engl. tr., London 1973); R. Stephens, Nasser, London 1971; R.H. Dekmejian, Egypt under Nāṣir, a study in political dynamics, Albany, N.Y., 1972; A. Nutting, Nasser, London 1972; Egypt and Nasser. 3 vols. (Facts on File) New York 1973; M.H. Heikal, The Cairo documents, London 1973; Many works in Arabic have been published, especially since his death, both laudatory and critical, and these are too numerous to list here. One of the most revealing is by Haykal, 'Abd al-Nāsir wa Uṣūl, Beirut 1972. Essential is 'Abd al-Nāsir's own Falsafat al-thawra, Cairo 1956 (English tr., Washington D.C. 1956). Also of use are memoirs by his colleagues, Anwar al-Sādāt, Revolt on the Nile, New York 1957, and Mohammed Neguib, Egypt's destiny, London 1955. Many of his speeches were also published. (D. Hopwood)
His father had latterly become a strong advocate of vengeance for "Uthmân and a supporter of Mu’awiyah’s cause, and ’Abd al-Rahmân likewise became embroiled in the controversies of the day, including with the poet and supporter of the ‘Aldis, Kay’s b. ‘Amr al-Nâjîjî [q.v.]. ’Abd al-Rahmân himself apparently was of a distinctly provocative and irascible nature, much given to satirising his contemporaries, and he also clashed with the Umayyad poet-prince ’Abd al-Rahmân b. al-Hakam, brother of the future caliph Marwân (see Aghâni, xiii, 150-4, xiv, 123 f. = ed. Beirut, xiii, 279-86, xiv, 204 ff.), and then with the heir to the throne Yazîd b. Mu’awiyah over an alleged slight to the latter’s sister in the nabi J of one of ’Abd al-Rahmân’s poems (see Lammens, Études sur le règne du califat omeyyade Mélanise I’, in MPOB, ii (1907), 149-51); the moderation of Mu’awiyah protected him from retaliation, although the incident may possibly have sharpened the satires of Yazîd’s protégé [q.v.]. Amr al-Nâjîjî.

’Abd al-Rahmân was also a companion of his younger Anṣârî contemporary, the poet ’Abd Allâh b. Mu’awwad al-’Akhtal [q.v.]. Only fragments of his verses have survived; these are significant, however, as showing a Hidâjî lyrical tradition, to judge by the few citations possibly having to do with the Satires of Yazîd’s protégé [q.v.]. Abd al-Rahman was also a companion of his younger An§arf b. al-Nadîshâ’î (1907), 149-51); the moderation of Mu’awiyah protected him from retaliation, although the incident may possibly have sharpened the satires of Yazîd’s protégé [q.v.]. Amr al-Nadîshâ’î.


’Abd al-Wahhab Bukhârî, Shaykh, Sufi saint of Muslim India.

He was the son of Muhammad al-Husayn al-Bukhârî, the descendant of Sayyid Djalâl al-Dîn Bukhârî, who had come to Multân from Central Asia and then settled down in Uçhî at the instance of his fût, Shaykh Baha’ al-Dîn Zakariyya’î al-Suwârwardî of Multân. His descendants became distinguished Suwârwardî saints during the latter half of the 8th/14th century owing to the eminence of Multân as the religious centre. ’Abd al-Wahhab received his early religious instruction in Multân and then went to Multân for higher education. He is reported to have studied the religious sciences under Shaykh Ahmad Khâtûn of Ahmadâbâd (in Gujûrat). At an early age, he went to Arabia on pilgrimage and whilst there benefited from local scholars. On his return to India he settled down in Dîhilî, as most of the Suwârwardî saints of Uçhî and Multân had moved there. He there became the murid of Shaykh ’Abd al-Suwârwardî, the son of Shaykh Yusuf Multânî and son-in-law of Sultan Bahâlî Lodi. He also became an associate of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. After some time, he left on the pilgrimage to Arabia for a second time. This time he went from Gujûrat by ship, having on his previous trip travelled by land.

On his return to Agra, in the beginning of the 10th/16th century. The Sultan accorded him a grand reception. In the year, 915/1509, he was sent to the Central Indian fort of Narwar (in modern Madhya Pradesh) which had been just conquered and renamed by the Sultan Hîsârî Muhammad, so that he could serve the religious cause there. Acting as Shaykh al-Islâm, he supervised the construction of mosques and madrasas, and some mosque inscriptions contain his praise. In the same year, ’Abd al-Wahhab Bukhârî completed his commentary on the Qur’ân in which the meaning of every verse was explained from a Sûfi point of view. The work is not extant, and only a few extracts, quoted by Shaykh ’Abd al-Hâjî in his Abîr al-akhdhir, are known.

’Abd al-Wahhab Bukhârî’s association with the Sultan enhanced his influence and prestige in the ruling class, and as a result, a number of scholars and Sûfis got stipends and land-grants from the state for their maintenance on his recommendation. But his relations with Sultan Sikandar Lodi became strained towards the close of the latter’s reign. It is said that on his arrival in Agra from Narwar, the Shaykh advised the Sultan to grow a beard as it was not proper for a Muslim monarch to shave his beard. The Sultan tried to avoid discussion over the matter by giving evasive replies. Against the royal wishes, the Shaykh insisted on eliciting a promise from the sultan. However, the sultan got annoyed and became quiet. On the departure of the Shaykh, he expressed his resent-
ment, remarking that he had become presumptuous over royal favour to him and that he did not know that it was because of this that people kissed his feet. When the Shaykh came to know of the sultan’s remark through a courier, he left Agia in disgust and then spent the rest of his life in seclusion in Dihli. He died in 931/1525 and was buried in Dihli near the tomb of his grandfather, Shaykh 'Abd Allah.


'ABD AL-WAHHAB, HASAN HUSIN B. SALIH B. 'ABD AL-WAHHAB B. YUSUF AL-SUMADIHI AL-TUDJIBI, born in Tunis 21 July 1884 and died at Salammbio in the suburbs of Tunis November 1968, was a polygraph and scholar born into a family of dignitaries and high officials of the Tunisian state. His eponymous grandfather, 'Abd al-Wahhab, venerated, served in positions of administration and protocol in the entourage of the Bey while his father, Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, a senior official and interpreter with various Tunisian delegations in Europe, occupied a number of administrative posts under the French Protectorate, including that of 'amil, governor, of Gabes and of Mahdia; passionately interested in history, he wrote a history of Morocco that has never been published.

In 1904, on the death of his father, Hasan Husni 'Abd al-Wahhab was obliged to interrupt his short-lived higher studies in Paris where he was following a course in Political Science, for an administrative career in Tunis which was to last from 1905 to 1920.

Governor of 'amil successively of Djabanyana in 1925, Mahdia in 1928 and Nabeul in 1935, he exerted himself particularly in the extension of education and the diffusion of culture in these regions through the establishment of primary schools in the Caidate of Djabanyana, through weekly lectures on the history of Tunis which he himself gave in Mahdia, and through the provision of books for the libraries of this town and of Nabeul.

Returning to the central administration in Tunis, in 1939 he was given responsibility, having been pensioned off, for the supervision of the Habous (properties held in mortmain). From May 1943 to July 1947, he was minister of the Pen (Chancellery and Internal Affairs) of the last Bey of Tunis Lamine or al-Amir I.

Following the independence of Tunisia, he directed, from 1957 to 1962, the Institute of Archaeology and Arts where he introduced young Tunisians to archaeological pursuits, founded five museums in different parts of the country, of which four were museums of Arab-Islamic art to which he donated the whole of his patrimony, and at the same time stimulated artistic and archaeological activity by the publication of articles and the writing of prefaces to books which he encouraged his young scholars to write.

His vocation as historian of Tunisia, put into effect from 1905 onward by the courses in the history of Tunisia which he gave at the Khuldsat ta'rikh, and in the history of Islam which he conducted at the Ecole Supérieure de Langue et Littérature Arabes from 1913 to 1924, was assisted by his transfer in 1920 to the General Archives of Tunisia, where he inaugurated a card-index system, then to the Supervision of Habous, and also by his work as governor in various parts of Tunisia, which enabled him to gain a better acquaintance with the country, its recent history, its hitherto ignored cultural patrimony, its people, their ethnicity and dialects. In 1933, he gave a series of lectures at the Institut des Études Islamiques at the University of Tunis.

A member from its foundation in 1932 of the Arabic Language Academy of Cairo, in which he took an active part in the work of the various commissions, distinguishing himself by “an open-minded approach striving to conciliate modern needs with the norms of Muslim civilisation”. He was also a member of the Academy of Damascus from its creation, of the Academy of Baghdad, a corresponding member of the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres from 1939, of the Egyptian Institute, and of the Madrid Academy of History, and of the executive committee of the EI.

As official delegate of the Tunisian government, he participated, from 1963, in the work of the majority of the International Congresses of Orientalists as well as in a number of seminars, which enabled him to forge fruitful and lasting relationships with numerous orientalists and oriental scholars.

While the title of Doctor honoris causa of the Academy of Cairo in 1950, and of the Academy of Algiers—then French— in 1960, confirmed the scholar’s prestige, the Prize of the President of the Tunisian Republic crowned, on the very eve of the death of H.H. 'Abd al-Wahhab (7 November 1968), the achievements of a long and hard-working life.

His works comprise:


(b). In French: La domination musulmane en Sicile, Tunis 1905; Coup d'oeil général sur les apports ethniques étrangers en Tunisie, Tunis 1917; Le développement de la musique arabe en Orient, au Maghreb et en Espagne, Tunis 1918; Un témoignage de l'époque arabe de l'Espagne, in RT (1930), 215-18; Un tournant de l'histoire algérie, l'insurrection de Mâurs Tunbidi, seigneur de la Muhamma, in ibid. (1937), 343-52; Du nom arabe de la Byzance, in ibid. (1939), 199-201; Villes arabo-musulmanes, in Mélanges M. Marqas, Paris 1950, 1-15; Le règne d'un monarque au Moyen-Age (IVe-Xe s.), ed. and tr. of the K. Al-Ameal of al-Dawahir in collaboration with F. Dachraoui, in Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire d'E. Leprohon, Paris 1962, ii, 401-44.

(c). Editions of texts: Amd al-dîmam of Ibn al- khâtîb (section relative to Ifriqiya and to Sicily), in Centenaire de la nascita di M. Amari, Palermo 1910,

His works also include a number of articles in Arabic and in French, some of them still unpublished, the others appearing in the Encyclopaedia of Islam and in periodicals of Tunisia, Europe and the Orient (see al-Fikr [Dec. 1968], 96, with a list of his articles published by this journal, some of which, as well as some of the titles mentioned above, have been reproduced in Warakát, either because they are in a suitable context there or because their original edition has been exhausted.

Manuscripts or monographs, these works are for the most part dedicated to Arab history and civilization in Tunisia in a perspective which embraces literature and also linguistic and religious studies, without however neglecting the "exact sciences" and the arts. They prefigure the author's greatest work, the fruit of sixty years of patient research, his Kitáb al-Umir, the "work of his life", a prodigious work in several still unpublished volumes, a collection of biographical notes on Umr, years of patient research, his contribution, which goes beyond the Tunisian domain, and also linguistic and religious studies, without how-ever exhausts).
proached the prince for financial support (cf. Ta’rikh Baghdād, s. 355, lf. ff.). This may have initiated or at least strengthened those moderate Shi’i leanings for which Abū ’Abd Allāh became well-known afterwards. He used them, however, in order to win the favour of Banū Ṭāhillī, a number of whom were decisive after Muḥyī al-Dawla had succeeded in taking over Baghdād in 334/945. He found support with Muḥyī al-Dawla’s waṣīr al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabī (339-52/950-63; cf. Hamdāni, Ṭanbih al-Tārikh al-Tabarî, ed. Kan‘ān, 186, lf. 13 ff., and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, al-Imtād wa l-mu‘āna, iii, 213, l. 10), who liked to surround himself with 13 lawyers. (cf. Ṭulullāh, Yattimāt al-adhā, ed. ’Abd al-Ḥamīd, ii, 336, ulf. ii.). Muḥyī al-Dawla himself did penitence during his last disease, in 356/967 (cf. Ḥamdāni, 192, apu. ff.). He gave private lessons in Baghdad, x, 355, 11. 4 ff.). This may have initiated or taken over into the Muṭazzī tabākdt-literature. This bad reputation is perhaps to be explained by a certain trend towards scepticism (isḥāqī’ al-adhl) for which at least one of them, Abū Ḥabīb Ḥabīr b. ’Abd al-Ḥamīd, was well known (cf. e.g., al-Ṭali‘ī, al-Murtada, ed. Muḥ. Tawḥīd Ḥusayn, Baghdād 1970, 155 ff., and which Abū Ḥayyān tries to impute to Abū ’Abd Allāh, too (cf. Ḥamīd, 212, lf. 5 ff., with reference to a conversation between Abū ’Abd Allāh and Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭikī). Abū ’Abd Allāh’s ideas have to be reconstructed mainly from the numerous quotations found in the works of Kāḍī Abū al-Ṭāhillī. The Kāḍī recognizes his indebtedness himself (cf. Muḥmūd, xxv, 257, l. 4), although frequently he did not share his teacher’s opinions. He dictated some of his books in the presence of Abū ’Abd Allāh, obviously when he lived in his house in Baghdād (cf. al-Ḥākim al-Djusamīf, Ṭanbih al-ṣanā‘ī’, 202, 11. 7 ff), most of his discourses his indebtness himself (cf. al-Ḥakim al-Djusamīf, xx, 210, 11. 12). Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī remembered having seen him in 360/971, al-Khālid, al-Kullāb, 107, l. 5). He based himself mainly on Shī‘ traditions, the trustworthiness of which he tried to prove with rational speculations about their historicity. Moreover, he practiced what was called muqāzanat al-madhī, i.e. he weighed the virtues of Abū al-Ṭāhillī and Abū Bakr against each other. In this he seems to have taken up the arguments of al-Īṣāfī (died 249/864 [q.v.]), and he had to criticize Abū ’Ali al-Djubībā; he obviously avoided, however, open disagreement with Abū Ḥāgīm (cf. Muḥmūd, xxv, 216, l. 7 ff.; 223, l. 6 ff.; 241, l. 17 ff.; xxvii, 120, l. 13 ff.; 122, l. 3 ff.; 121, l. 7 ff.; 125, l. 4 ff.; 131, l. 3 ff.; 132, l. 19 ff.; 140, l. 3 ff.). He never made any concessions to ṭafṣīf; he drew Mu’īz al-Dawla’s attention to the fact that ‘Umar had accepted Islam very early and that ‘Abd al-Azīz al-Djubībā had given his daughter Umm Kulthūm in marriage to him (cf. Ḥamdāni, Takmila, 192, ult. ii.). He showed great interest in epistemology, probably because of the fact that Abū ’Abd Allāh’s Abī K’al’ al-Andāshī, a member of the royal family of Abī l-Khālid, still defended the ideas of al-Djubībī in his circle, among them certainly al-Djāhī’s famous apriorism (cf. Tawḥīdī, Aḥkām, 203; for al-Djāhī, van Ees, in Isd., xii (1966), 169 ff. and Ṭajīd in Sī, xxvi (1966) 19 ff.). He transmitted Djubībā’s K. Nākīl al-ma‘rīf, a critique of Djāhī’s K. al-Murāfī,
and added remarks to it, obviously in his own K. al-MA'rifat (cf. Führst, ed. Flügel, 175, ll. 4 ff.), which were taken over by the Kādī 'Abd al-Djalābīr in his Tā'īk Nakd al-ma'rifa (cf. Ḥākim al-Dżamātī, 367, ll. 10 ff.). The book is quoted in Mughm, xii, 121, ll. 19 ff.; the other renowned references (cf. Ḥākim al-Dżamātī, 367, ll. 12 ff.; 372, ll. 15 ff.; 532, ll. 11 ff.) may equally well go back to his K. al-Ulām which is explicitly mentioned in Mughm, xii, 235, l. 16.

In juridical hermeneutics, he departed from Abu l-Ḥasan al-Karḫī’s ideas. But he seems to have surpassed his teacher in many respects. Some of his views are quoted with the additional remark that he had them (‘an Abū l-Ḥasan; frequently, however, his name is mentioned alone. He impressed later generations with the precision of some of his definitions, but also with subtle speculations on ‘āmīn and ḥāfiẓ, on idmā‘, on ra‘lāf, on nāḥār, on ḥāfūd, on nāṣah (which, in contrast to many of his contemporaries, he also allowed concerning hadā‘ī, etc.). Numerous, although scattered, material in Mughm, xii, 235, l. 16 ff.; Fihrist, ed. ... masters, Abu ‘1-Kasim Dżurdjanī and Abu ‘1-Hasan Kharakanī (q.v.). Al-Ma‘ālam ad-wāli al-fikr (cf. the index), and in an as yet unidentified work on wāli al-fikr preserved in the Vatican library (Ms. Var. arab. 1100; cf. Levi Dellà Vida, Elenco dei manoscritti, 145 f., and Madelung, Qāsim ibn Ḥābrām, 179 f.). Abu ‘Abd Allāh’s own works in this domain, among them a K. al-Uṣūl and a K. Nakd al-futūd (cf. Faṣlī ad-tźā‘āl, 326, l. 20), seem to be lost. In the “ethical” chapters of wāli al-fikr, he circumscribed, like Kādī ‘Abd al-Djalābīr, the good only in a privative way (cf. ‘Abd al-Djalābīr, al-Muḥīṭ, ed. Azmī, 259, ll. 13 ff.); the affirmative definition was apparently reserved for evil, which received the greater share of attention. Evil is never chosen by man for the sake of itself, but only when he sees a need for it (cf. G. Hourani, Islamic rationalism, Oxford 1972, 95). Whereas Dżubbaṭ and Abu Ḥāǧīm believed that the state of mind of an agent determines the quality of evil (evil becoming neutral when performed during sleep or in the state of unconsciousness), Abu ‘Abd Allāh upheld a more differentiated position (cf. ibid., 41 f.). His ideas on ḥarām were formulated in his commentary on Karḫī’s Muḥāṣarāt, but also in some monographs where he treated the lawfulness of drinking nābiḍ, of performing one’s prayer in Persian (two typical Hanāfī tenets) and the muṣa‘a marriage (which he deemed unlawful, in accordance with Zaydī fiqh and in disagreement with Ima’mī opinion; cf. Führst, 206, pp. f.).

In theology proper, he followed the line of the Iṣaṣān school. Only a few personal traits can be recognised with sufficient certainty. In at least three treatises he attacked the doctrine of the eternity of the world, two of them focussing their polemics on special persons, Ibn al-Rawandī and al-Rāzī (cf. Führst, 175, ll. 3 ff.; 174, ult. f.; 175, l. 2). When he explained creation as an act of thinking (‘aṭb) in order to avoid all material connotations, he seems to have taken philosophical critique into consideration (cf. Kādī ‘Abd al-Djalābīr, Sharh al-wāli al-dżamātī 548, ll. 11 ff.; Muḥīṭ, 332, ll. 15 f.). He attacked al-Rāzī also for his book against Abu l-Kāsim al-Balḵī, probably about divine knowledge (cf. Führst, 175, ll. 1 f., and Abī Bakr Ḥarrāsīs opera philosophica, ed. P. Kraus, 167 f.). He did not accept the idea of ḥafṣ; we never know whether an event which we interpret as a special “grace” (lutf) for somebody is not the ruin of somebody else (cf. Mughm, xiii, 67, ll. 15 ff.; also 155, ll. 4 ff.; obviously both quotations from his K. al-Adhāb, together with xiv, 62, ll. 12 f.). He refused Ash’arī’s K. al-‘Uṣūl (cf. K. al-Nakd al-futūd, f. 5b; 31a; 5a; also al-Ḥākīm al-Dżamātī, 372, ll. 1 f., where nakd is to be read instead of bā’d); R. McCarthy, The theology of Ash’arī, Beirut 1953, 167, 211 f., 229).

Altogether, more than 20 titles of books can be traced.


Abu ‘Abd Allāh al-Bāšrī — Abu ‘Ali

Abu ‘Ali Al-Fadl b. Muhammad al-Mursīdī al-Fārmādī, one of the greatest Sūfī masters of the 5th/11th century, born in 402/1011-12 at Fārmād, a small town in the vicinity of Tūs in Khūrāsān, and the contemporary of the caliph al-Kādir and the Sūfī princes Toghrū‘i, Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh. He was highly respected by various political and religious dignitaries, including by the celebrated minister of the Sūfīs, Nizām al-Mulk, who sought his advice and his spiritual favour. He was also respected as an eloquent preacher, and appreciated for his breadth of knowledge and the beauty of his oratorical language. He approached Sūfism after profound studies in the religious sciences, and can therefore be classified as one of the scholarly mystics. When he came to Niğāhpūr, he became one of Abu l-Kāsim Kuğuyan’s circle of students, and it seems to have been the latter who turned him towards preaching and who stimulated him to study profoundly the religious sciences. In his Sūfī training, he was directed spiritually by two great masters, Abu l-Kāsim Džurdanjī and Abu l-Ḥasan Ḥārākānī (q.v.). The author of the Aṣār al-taṣāhhdīr relates in an
ancestral form the circumstances of al-Farmādi's adhe-

sion to Sūfīsm under Kūshayrī's direction first of all, and then under that of Dūrājīn, who encouraged him to preach from the pulpit and later gave him the hand of his daughter in marriage. None of al-
Farmādi's works remain, apart from a few brief poems in Arabic and a few sentences displaying his philos-

ophy and thought. However, his influence on cultural life and mysticism can be gauged from the fact that the Inām al-Ghazzālī [q.v.] was one of his pupils and cites traditions on his authority. He was accordingly considered as the greatest Sūfī luminary of his age, who lustre is seen in the fame of his great disciple. Al-Farmādi died in his native town in 477/1080.


**Aṭī AL-ḤARĪSĪ [see Aṭī-ḤARĪSĪ].**

**Aṭī AL-ṬUSAṬ [see Aṭī-ṬUSAṬ].**

Aṭī ʿAMAYTHAL, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khūlāyda b. ʿAlī b. Abl Bakr, the minor poet who could

be a man of the Banū Ḥashīm and who was originally from Ravy. He was in Khūrāsān in the service of Tāhir b. al Ḥusayn [q.v.] as a secretary and it was in this capacity that he came to reject a mission of the Kufi b. al-Maʾṣūmī to proselytise among the tribes of that region, one which was to become a stronghold of Ḥashīmī faith later on.

His main work is the K. al-Muḍjam (Maḍjam) fi taḥṣīl al-suʿāl wa-taḥlīl al-dāfīl (or wa-talḥīl al-muḥādal, a rather voluminous manual of Ibadī theology and polemics against contrary opinions [for its contents cf. ZMDG, cxvi (1976), 43 ff.]). His K. l-Isāʿāta seems to be lost. In it Ḥaṣānī he dealt with the law of inheritance; his K. al-

Farīd exists in a printed edition (cf. Schacht in Rev. Afs., c (1956), 387, no. 52). Among his historical works are a K. al-Siyār (for ms., cf. Schacht, op. cit., 141, and Lewicki, in RO, xi (1935), 165 n. 7; preserved?) and a Makhūsār tabākāt al-maḥāṣīlī (cf. Ennami, in JSS, xv (1971), 86, no. 17-1, and note by van Ess in ZMDG, cxvi (1976), 57). An epistle concerning the problem of al-suʿāl wa-taḥṣīl addressed to him by a certain ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Qāḥīb b. Namūr al-Anṣārī was incorporated by his contempo-

rary Abu Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf b. Bāzāhr al-Wardjānī (died 570/1174; cf. GAL, S I, 692) into his K. al-

Bibliography: (apart from the references men-

Aṭī AMQR AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, ʿISHĀK b. MIRĀN, one of the most important philologists of the Kūfān school in the 2nd/8th century, and the contemporary of the two great figures of the rival Bāṣra school, Abu ʿUbayda and al-ʿAṣmaʾī [q.v.]. He was born in ca. 100/719 at Ramādat al-Kūfā, and derived his nisba from the Banu Shaybān because he was their neighbour and client and because he also acted as tutor to the sons of certain members of the tribe. After having studied under the masters of the Kūfān school, such as al-Muṣafadāl al-Dabbī, he went out into the desert, where he lived for a considerable time amongst the Bedouins, collecting tribal poetry. Then he settled in Baghdaḏ, where he taught until his death at an advanced age, since he died in ca. 210/825, by then more than a centen-

arian, leaving behind him sons and grandsons who transmitted his works. Amongst his pupils were the main Kūfī grammarians, ʿAlī ʿAbd b. ʿAlī al-Siṣīkāt and Ibn Sallān [q.v.].

Al-Shaybānī was famed above all as a transmitter (raʾisiya) of old poetry. ʿAbū Ḥabīb al-Ḥasanī and Ibn Dābī recorded that he left for the desert armed with two inkholders and did not return until the ink had been exhausted. According
to his son 'Amr, he collected the poetry of over 80 tribes, which he wrote out and arranged with his own hands in separate collections and then placed in the mosque of Kufa. The collections have not come down to us, but they were abundantly used by later anthologists.

However, al-Shaybānī was equally known as a lexicographer especially interested in rare words (naaḍid) and in dialect words and phrases (ḥagāt). Only one of the many works in this sphere attributed to him by the biographers has survived, the K. al-Dīm, so-called because it was unfinished and did not go beyond the fourth letter of the alphabet, although the sources term it equally the K. al-Naḍid, K. al-Hurūf and K. al-Lughāt. According to F. Krenkow, who proposed to edit it after the unique manuscript preserved in the Escorial, this work is a dictionary of words peculiar to the speech of the many tribes from whom al-Shaybānī collected poetry. It is of great lexical richness, and is all the more important for the knowledge of the old dialects, since Krenkow found from a detailed perusal of the Līdān al-ʿĀrāb that later lexicographers did not use al-Shaybānī's work.

Finally, he is also said to have been a traditionist worthy of being relied upon, transmitting a large number of authentic hadīth; his most celebrated pupil here was the imām Ahmad b. Hanbal, whose son 'Abd Allāh transmitted al-Shaybānī's work called the K. Ḥārīt al-hadīth.

The post-Ibn al-Nadīm biographers attribute to Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī several works which, according to the Fīrat, belong really to his son 'Amr.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, I, 116, S I, 179; EI', art. al-Shaybānī (Krenkow); Kahlāḥ, Mu'allifin, ii, 238; (G. Trouepad)

**Abū l-ʿAnbas al-Saymari, Muhammad b. Isḥāq b. Irḥāsh b. ʿAbd al-Muʿtahfira b. Māzāda (213-75 829-88), a famous humorist of the Abu Sidād court, who was also a ḥākīm, astrologer, oneriman, poet and man of letters, and who wrote some forty works, both serious and jesting, even burlesque and obscene. Of Kufān origin, he was first of all the physician of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, and was also in the service of the caliphs al-Maʾṣūdī, Murūgh, vii, 202-4 = § 2885-8; Aḥhābīn, xvii, 173 = ed. Beirut, xxi, 537; al-Husrat, Djam al-qasīdātīn, 15-16; Yaḥyā, Udahā, xviii, 12-14; etc. Like his predecessors, he could also make up amusing stories, since we read that these were gathered together, with his poetry, in an independent volume, passages from which may be found in authors like Ibn 'Abd Rabbiḥī (led, Cairo 1962, iv, 148) and even Ibn al-Djawāt (Aḥhāb al-hamādī wa ʿl-mugḥafāṣān, Damascus 1345, 85, 111, 141, 143), and which attest the influence exercised by the inimitable Dijāzīzīn al-hadīth on the most serious of authors. In this respect, Abu 'l-ʿAnbas probably differed very little from other "humorous figures" who, as we know from the Fīrat, left behind collections of stories; but he was distinguished from them in the sense that he preferred to think that they were burlesque or scabrous. The K. Fadīl al-sulṭān ʿalā l-ḥaradīj "Superiority of the ladder over the staircase", for example, must have been purely humorous, but the K. Naṣīrād al-kawākibīdī "Remarkable stories about pimps", to mention only this one work, must certainly have descended to pornography. After all, there emerges from a conversation between Abu 'l-ʿAnbas and his crony Abu Ḥaṣan al-Madder (al-Sūlī, loc. cit.; Aḥhābīn, ed. Beirut, xxii, 377-8) that he had abandoned scholarship (ʿtim) for sukūf and rakūsī, i.e. obscenity and burlesque, it was because these last were much more profitable and lucrative. In the course of this dialogue, which took place in al-Mutawakkil's caliphate, Abu 'l-ʿAnbas declares that he has written over 30 works on sukūf and rakūsī; does this mean that the lists which we possess are very incomplete, that the works which appear to be serious in content are not serious at all, or that after al-Mutawakkil's death, this attitude came back again to topics less frivolous than certain titles would suggest? These titles which Abu 'l-ʿAnbas declares that he has written over 30 works on sukūf and rakūsī: does this mean that the lists which we possess are very incomplete, that the works which appear to be serious in content are not serious at all, or that after al-Mutawakkil's death, this attitude came back again to topics less frivolous than certain titles would suggest?

Some of these titles recall works of al-Djāhīz, to the extent that C.E. Bosworth (see Bibli.) has wondered whether Abu 'l-ʿAnbas might have plagiarised the former writer's work; the possibility of an influence here must be seriously considered, since one finds in the list a K. al-Aḥhar al-ṣāliḥ wa l-ṣaḥībīm and even a K. Dzalākātī "Book of Bores"; in order to know the truth here, it would be necessary to know what lay behind these titles.

The poetry of al-Saymārī has been referred to above; to judge by those poems available for reading, they were not all licentious and scatological, since they include the well-known line "How many sick persons have survived the physician and visitors, when all hope of cure had been given up".

The lists bring out the existence of at least one work which seems to be of a theological nature, the K. Taʿṣīl al-maʿṣīṣa, which alone cited—and doubtless deliberately—by Yaḥyā in his Muḥammad al-buldūn (s.v. Saymāra), whilst the same author enumerates some 40 titles in his Irḥād al-arīb. In fact, Abu 'l-ʿAnbas, called by Abu Ḥaṣan a muṣṭaḥalīm, perhaps even a Muṭaẓīzī, and because
of this he was dignified by being cited by Ibn Battu (H. Laoust, La profession de foi d'Ibn Battu, Damascus 1958, 170) amongst "the people of infidelity and error," who for him mean the Mu'tazila. On another level, one finds other titles which give the impression that Abu 'l-Anbas was equally interested in "scientific" topics. If his K. al-Radd 'ala 'l-mutafa'ah, directed against charlatans and homeopathic physicians, strictly against charlatans and homeopathic physicians, strictly K. al-Radd mentioned in the early lists and by (?) Abl Mikhd'll al-Saydaldm, Anbas a lasting £ K. al-Mawdlid, K. Ahkdm al-

figuring in the early lists: (H. Laoust, La profession de foi d'Ibn Batta, 1806 and testifies to the continuing successfulness of this he was dignified by being cited by Ibn Batta (H. Laoust, La profession de foi d'Ibn Batta, Leipzig 1900, 30; Kahhala, ix, 38; Ziriki, vi, 202; F. Bustani, DM, iv, 486-7; M.F. Ghazi, in Arabic, iv (1957), 168; Ch. Pellat, En certaines annuous bagdadiens: Abu 'l-Anbas al-Saymarj, in Studia or. in mem. C. Brockelmann, Halle 1968, 135-7; C.E. Bosworth, The medieval Islamic scientifical world, Leiden 1976, i, 30-2; Muhammed Baki 'Alwam, Abu 'l-Anbas Muhammad b. Ishak al-Saymarj, in al-

Abbâb, xxvi (1973-7), Arabic section, 35-50. (Ch. Pellat)

ABU 'L-ASAD AL-HIMMAJNI, NUBATA B. 'ABD ALLAH, minor poet of the "Abbasid period, originally from Dinawar. His talent was only moderate, and it was 'Allawayh/Alliya who rescued him from oblivion, since this singer, the poet's friend, introduced him to the great men of the age and, above all, set some of his verses to music, so that they enjoyed a great success. His career seems to have been quite a lengthy one. He is found, first of all, satirising as early as 153/770 two of al-Mansur's maqâlid, S'a'id and Ma'tar (al-Djahshiyar, Wazara, 124), and then frequent Abu Dulal al-'Idlî [see al-kâsim b. 'Isa], at whose court he was however eclipsed, it is said, by 'Ali b. Djabala [see al-akawa'ak]. After having previously sung the praises of the ruler of al-Karadj [q.v.], he launched at him a somewhat coarse diatribe and then turned to the former secretary of al-Mahdi, al-

Fayd, Abu Sâbî (on whom see Soudrel, Fizan, index), whose praises he now sang (al-Djahshiyarî, 164; Ibn al-Tikjkat, Fatâhir, ed. Dernoubou, 256, calls the poet Abu 'l-Aswad). But the chronology of these events is uncertain, and it is even probable that, contrary to what the Aghdni asserts, his relations with al-Fayd (who died in 175/789-90) were anterior to his stay with Abu Dulal. Amongst those whose patronage he sought, one even finds Ahmad b. Abu Du'd [q.v.], who gave him a modest gift and begged him to cease importuning him. It is, on the other hand, doubtful that he was able to make a claim upon 'Ali b. Yahyâ al-Munaqijdin (d. 275/888-9) and to address to him a lengthy anti-
Shi'â satir; but the intermediary whom he thanks for having secured for him satisfaction could well have been Hamdûn b. Ismâ'il [see ibn hamdûn].

To judge by the few extant fragments of his verse, Abu 'l-Asad had no connubumtion about composing scabrous epigrams in order to get his revenge on people for the neglect which he sometimes received where he had expected a reward. But he was also able to express very delicate feelings, as in his elegy on Ibrâhim al-Mawâslî (d. 188/804 [q.v.]), whose outspokenness was nevertheless criticised.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Agbhiî, xiv, 124-35; Bustani, DM, iv, 171. (Ed.)

ABU 'ASIM AL-NABIL, AL-DAHSHAK B. MAKHRAH B. MUSLIM B. AL-DAHSHAK AL-SAYMARDNA AL-BASRI, tradi-
ditioner, born at Mecca in 122/740 but estab-
lished subsequently at Basra, where he transmitted from a host of scholars (notably al-Ashar'î) a large quantity of hadifts gathered by himself, and especially from several tâbre's or Successors. He was considered as trustworthy, and some of his hadîths were included in the great collections; his biographers assert that he never fabricated a single one, although he is said to have declared that pious men never lie so much as in regard to traditions from the Prophet (Goldziher, Mus. Stud., ii, 47, Eng. tr. 55). It is said that he was never seen with a book in his hand and that we was knowledgeable about fiqh. Despite such details as these, little is known of his life. Physically, he was remarkable for the size of his nose, and this
particularity is one of the explanations given for his name of al-Nabīl. It is also recorded that he owed this name to his habit of wearing fine clothes, or because he freed his own slave in order to release Shu’ba [q.v.] from his oath not to transmit hadīths for a month. A final explanation seems the most plausible: some scholars passed and all the population rushed out to see the spectacle, while he however stayed with his master Ibn Djuraydī [q.v. in Suppl.], who gave him the title of “noble”. He probably died on 14 Dhu ‘l-Hijjah 212/5 March 828 at Baṣra.

Bibliography: Dāhīb, Bayān, ii, 38; Ibn Sa’d, Tobakī, vii, 295; Fihrist, ed. Cairo, 1963; Ibn Hādjar, Tahāhīs, iv, 450-3; Ibn al-Imām, Shadhārānī, ii, 28; Ḥaqqī, DM, iv, 416. (O. PELLAT)

ABU LU’AZĀ’IM, MUHAMMAD MĀDI, an Egyptian and a political activist, was born in the town of Raḥīd on 27 Raḍjab 1286/2 November 1869 and grew up in the village of Maḥāllat Abū ‘Alī near Dāsūk in the present-day Gharbiya province. He studied at al-Aẓhar [q.v.] and at Dār al-‘Ulūm [q.v.]. He graduated in 1308/1890-1 and spent the subsequent twenty-five years as a teacher at various provincial government schools in Egypt and the Sudan as well as at Gordon College in Khartoum. After the launch of the Islamic establishment he taught Islamic Law from 1905 until August 1915, when he was forcibly repatriated to Egypt—following his decision to declare himself in support of British administrative reforms in the Sudan, and his public opposition to these—where his freedom and thus determined the outcome of the Caliphate Conference held in Cairo in May 1926 and brought activity in support of Ahmad Fu’ād’s candidacy to an end. Muhammad Mādi died on 28 Raḍjab 1356/4 October 1937 and was buried in his zāyfa [q.v.] in Cairo near the mosque of al-Sūltān al-Hānafi. Here, his shrine as well as the shrine of his son Ahmad (d. 1970), who succeeded him as head of the tarīqa, may be visited in a newly-built mosque (opened in January 1962), which houses the headquarters of the ‘Azamīya tarīqa. (O. PELLAT)

The most extensive biography is ‘Abd al-Mun'im Muhammad Shakrāf, Ibrāhīm Muhammad Mādi Abu ‘l-‘Azā’im, baṣīṣtu, ḍiḥādaban, ḍiḥārahu, Cairo 1972. It contains the text of various relevant documents, evaluates his poetry, clarifies his position with respect to the idea of al-insān al-kāmil [q.v.], sets forth his conception of taḥfid (based upon an unpublished treatise), and lists and summarises his works. To these must be added Min ḍiyāmisīl al-kalim, Cairo 1962, al-Wafgānydtīd (ed. ‘Abd Allāh Mādi Abu ‘l-‘Azā’im), Cairo n.d.; Diwan (ed. Muhammad al-Raḍī Mādi Abu ‘l-‘Azā’im), Cairo n.d. (mimeo); al-Tarīka al-Azamīya (ed. Ḥaqqī Mādi Abu ‘l-‘Azā’im), Cairo 1328/1910, (important for his affiliations with various tarīkas); and al-Shajī’ min marād al-tarīka, Cairo n.d., which caused the temporary imprisonment of Muhammad Mādi when it was interpreted as a concealed attack upon King Ahmad Fu’ād (cf. al-Wafgānydtīd, 8). The treatise Wādī’d ‘adhīr al-ḥakīm, Cairo n.d., should be excluded from Shakrāf’s enumeration—it was written by Muhammad’s brother, the journalist Aḥmad Mādi (d. 1893), who had founded the newspaper al-Mu‘ayyad together with ‘Alī Yūsuf [q.v.]. The treatise was published for the first time in Cairo in 1914, by Aḥmad’s brother Mahmūd. The authorship was falsely assigned to Muhammad Abu ‘l-‘Azā’im by his son and successor Ahmad in the subsequent editions published under his auspices. For additional biographical materials, see Muhammad ‘Abd al-Mun'im Khaṭṭāf, al-Wafgānydtīd al-rāhi bi l-‘tasawwuf il-Islāmī fi Miṣr, Cairo n.d., 170. For details about the history of the al-‘Azamīya tarīka and further references, see also F. de Jong, Two anonymous manuscripts relative to the Sūfī orders in Egypt, in Bibliotheca Orientalis, xxxii (1975), 186-90. For the ‘Azamīya in the Sudan, see J.S. Trimingham, Islam in the Sudan, London 1949, 239 f. On his naṣīḥīd, see J.W. McPherson, The moulids of Egypt, Cairo 1940, 140 ff. A small collection of letters written by Muhammad Mādi and transcripts thereof, which are in the possession of the ‘Azamī family, is preserved on microfilm at Leiden University Library. (F. DE JONG)
ABU BAKR IBN AL-‘ARABI — ABU BARAKISH

ABU BAKR IBN AL-‘ARABI [see IBN AL-‘ARABI].

ABU BAKR AL-‘ASAMM [see AL-‘ASAMM in Suppl.].

ABU BAKR AL-KHARA’ITTI [see AL-KHARA’ITTI].

ABU BAKR AL-ZUBAYDI [see AL-ZUBAYDI].

ABU L-BARAKAT [see AL-LANFI-ZULAYDI].

UMAR B. UL-‘ABBAS, MUHAMMAD, KUFAN grammarsian, jurispru-
dent. Kur‘an scholar and traditionist. He was born in Kufa in 426/1035, heard hadith in his home town and Baghdad, and stayed for some time, together with his father, in Damascus, Aleppo and Tabaristan. In Aleppo he read in 455/1063 the K. al’-Idhdh of Abu Ali al-Alawi. He then finished on 5 Ramadan 464/26 May 1072 the reading of the K. al-Qdmah al-kafi, an extensive collection of Kufan Zaydi hadith doctrine by the Sayyid Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad b. Abu ‘Alawi. He read it with the Sayyid Abid al-Djabahir b. al-Husayn b. Mu‘ayyad, who had heard it from the author, though he was also transmitted directly from Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Alawi with an idjaha. He taught and led the prayer in the mosque of Abu Ishak al-Safi. Of his works on grammar, a commentary on the K. al-Lumad of Ibn Djinini is extant in manuscript (see Brockelmann, S I, 192). A descendant of Zayd b. Ali, Abu l-Barakat generally adhered to Zaydi Shafi‘i belief, though he generally concealed them from his Sunnite students and gave legal fatwas according to Hanafi doctrine. Only to Shafi‘is did he transmit partisan Shafi‘i idjatdm and rendered fatwas according to Zaydi law. In agreement with the Zaydi creed in his time, he upheld the doc-
trine of human free will and the createness of the Kur‘an. He died on 7 Sha‘ban 539/2 February 1145 in Kufa.

dazarbad 1331/1915, iv, 280-2; Sdrim al-Din Ibr.imah b. al-Kasim, Tabakt al-zaydyya, ms. photocopy no. 290 Cairo, Dar al-Kutub, 314. (W. MADELUNG)

ABU BARAKISH (A) a name, no longer in use, given, according to locality, to two birds whose brilli-
ant plumage is characterised by iridescent colours or shows a colour-scheme varying in the course of the seasons. The quadrifoliar root B-R-K-SR probably derived from the trilleral B-R-K S, has, like R-K-SR, the sense of “to be variegated, multicoloured”, and the substantive bardkish indicates the result, synonymous with talawwun. The plural barakish has a superlative quality in expressions such as bidad bardkish “a land decked with flowers” and it is used as a forename; it was the name of the wife of Luk‘an [q.v.], and of a bitch that became proverbial for her ability to foresee and to bettie with her barking the return to camp of the horsemen of her tribe. As for the plural of the composite noun abu bardkish, it would theoretically be ahu bardkisht, but such forms are not found in literature.

(1) According to the uniform definition provided by Arab lexicographers, the true abu bardkish corre-

sponds to this description: “a small bird of the bushes with a greyish head, a scarlet breast and dark lower parts. Just like the porcupine, when excited it ruffles

up all its plumage, showing a whole range of glistening colours”. (al-Damir, Hayut al-hayawun, i, 162, and root B-R-K-SR in the Arabic dictionaries).

Though restrained and concise, this ornithological information is sufficient to identify the abu bardkisht as a ploceid bird, probably the weaver-bird (Ploceus cinnamomeus or Passer domesticus), a resident both of the Sudan and of the southern coasts of the Red Sea. In fact, this industrious and gregarious bird, smaller in size than the house sparrow and with plumage that is generally brownish and rather dull, abruptly changes its livery in the mating season and its feathers become soft, velvet, long and finely shaped; the colours are striking: the breast, the back, the upper and lower feather coverings the short tail (whence the expression found in some authors al-abdul‘adajiz are of the purest pink, while the crown of the head and the stomach have a sheen of glittering black. Nubia is the favourite territory of this bird, which was one of the first to be exported and which very soon came to be known to the Arabs. In the period of mating, the male courts thrice or four females, making a show of bringing them grains of millet, and throughout the period of nestbuilding he generally asserts his proprietary rights by fluttering and hovering beneath each nest and ruffling all his feathers which sparkle in the light, accompanying his performance with a loud rustling of wings (haa‘f). After the hatching of the young, the actor abandons his deceptive guise and returns to the gregarious life in large flocks whose greed causes sometimes considerable havoc in the cereal crops. The spec-
tacular variations in colour of the plumage of the Grenadier weaver-bird provided for a poet of the Ban‘ud Asad an image whereby to stigmatise the inconstancy of his enemies, and his proverbial lines (written in kumid metres) ka-abi bardkisht kulla lawl nin bawd-hu yatakhayyalu “like abu bardkisht whose col-
our resembles all colours”, have determined the way in which the bird is remembered (see Ibn Kutay-
ba, Adab al-kitab, Cairo 1355/1936, 204; al-Damiri, loc. cit., LA).

(2) For al-Kazzawini (Abid ibn al-makkahib, in the margin of al-Damiri, ii, 252) and for him alone, the abu bardkis is a wader with a pleasant-sounding cry, with red beak and feet, of a size close to that of the stork and the plumage fluctuating in colour, in reds, greens, yellows and blues. The livery of this attractive wading-
bird apparently provided Byzantine weavers with the inspiration for the creation of the precious dove-
colouredilet silk called abu kalamin [q.v.], a name which conversely was applied to the bird. Now, the only wader of the Mediterranean and oriental region perfectly fitting this description is the Porphyrion or Blue Tavie/Purple Gallinule (Porphyrio porphyrio), better known however under the grandiose name of “Sultan-fowl”. This marshland bird, half-a-metre in height, has feet and beak of a fine coral red and on its forehead a knob of the same colour; its rich blue plumage varies from indigo to turquoise with flashing tints of green, purple and bronze. When alarmed, the Sultan-fowl emits a brief, trumpet-like sound. Its Spanish name is “calamón”, a vestige of the Arabic kalamin, while the English has retained its ancient Greek name nap-
tupis arashed as furfuf/furuf, pl. furfuf. Syria and ‘Ira‘ik call it tufihun and sanhan. All these countries and Persia are also familiar with the “green-backed” sub-

species (Porphyrio perploites or madagascarensis), very closely related to the main species and bearing the
names dik sultani “sultan-cock”, dik al-ma3 “water-cock” and farkha sultaniyya “sultan-pullet”. The Sultan-fowl, easily domesticated, was highly thought of among the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans; it was bred in temples and placed under the protection of the gods.

In Egypt, it is not unusual to see it in rural areas co-existing peacefully with domestic poultry. Because of the splendour of its plumage, the Persians awarded it the title ghalmurdh “king-bird”, arabised in the forms ghalmurkh, ghalmurkh, ghalmirk, ghalmurk, ghalmurdh, ghalmurdh. In legends and stories of Persian origin, while the lion is the king of the animals, it is the Sultan-fowl that sits on the throne of the feathered race, and the peace-cock is only the vixier (see Ral’s fikhr al-Safs, Beirut 1957, ii, 249 ff.).

Abu Bardkish several times cites the Sultan-fowl (Hayawān, pāṣīm) as feeding on flies and small reptiles, which is accurate, the diet of this wader being both vegetable and carnivorous; having killed its prey with a violent blow of the beak, it holds it with one foot and tears it with the other, carrying off the morsels of flesh in its beak.

Thus the abhā barāikh of the poet of Asad was a weaver-bird, while al-Kazwīnī saw it as the Sultan-fowl, worshipped in antiquity, and one is inclined to think that it was on this authority that this naturalist, perhaps not knowing the Grenadier weaver-bird, identified the abhā barāikh with the abhā kalāmān/šāhmurk; but his decision was regarded as law by his successors, and it should be recognised as such.

(3) In the Hīdż, through a confusion on the part of the children of the nomads, attested by the philologist al-Ḫazārī, abhā barāikh was used in place of birkī, to denote the chaffinch (Fringilla coelebs), a finch well-known in all the Arabic-speaking countries and also called qwārīgh in the Maghrib, qwarīgh, birkī, zābh; this was simply an error ascribable to childish ignorance.

Finally, we may ignore the totally unfounded identification of the abḥā barāikh with the bullfinch (Pyrrhula pyrrhula) suggested by the encyclopedia al-Mausūl fi ‘ilm al-štābī (Beirut 1965, i, no. 154), this western bird being practically unknown in the Near East, in Arabia, in Egypt and the Maghrib.


(Ch. Pellat)
ABU DULAF AL-‘IDLLI — ABU ‘1-FARADJ b. MAS‘UD RUNI

ABU ‘1-FARADJ [see AL-KASIM b. ‘TS].

ABU ‘1-FADA‘IL [see HAMDANID].

ABU ‘1-FARADJ b. MAS‘UD RUNI, Persian poet of the Ghaznavid period, was born and raised at Lahore, according to ‘Awfi, the earliest and most trustworthy authority for his life. The name Runi has been retained by Incan writers of the 16th and 17th centuries to a place by the name of Rān in the vicinity of Lahore (cf. e.g. Bada‘unf, Montakhab al-tawārīkh, i, Calcutta 1864, 57; Forhang-i Dāhāngīrī and Būr bás-i kātī, s.v.). But already Bada‘unf had to admit that this place could not be found anywhere in that area. Others (e.g. Lutf‘-Allī Beg Adhar, Anāṣkhud, lith. Bombay 1299/1882, 122) have suggested an origin from Rānā, a village in the Dāhāngīrī Khwārāmān near Nāshāpūrī. This would mean that Abu ‘1-Faradj was descended from Khurāsānī settlers in the Panjāb who must have come there after the conquest of the region by the Ghaznavids in the early 5th/11th century. The mentioning of a Sūstān origin can be met with in some other sources probably goes back to a confusion with another Ghaznavid poet, Abu ‘1-Faradj Sīdżī.

The date of his birth is not known. Chronological indications that can be derived from his work make it likely that he started his career as a poet of the court of Lahore some time before Sayf al-Dīn Maḥmūd was installed there by his father Sultān Ibrāhīm as a viceroy (zālī, or mābād) of Ghaznavī Hindistān in 469/1076-7. Abu ‘1-Faradj appears to have retained his position at the court of Lahore also under the successor of Sayf al-Dīn the later Sultān Mas‘ūd III, who was in residence there from 490/1097-99 (cf. on events in India under these two viceroys, C.E. Bosworth, The later Ghaznavids, splendours and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186, Edinburgh 1977, 65-8). As he addresses the latter in most of the poems he wrote for him by the title of mābād, it may be concluded that they belong to this period. The last poem by Abu ‘1-Faradj that can be dated with certainty is an ode he wrote at the occasion of the accession to the throne at Lahore of Mas‘ūd’s son Sīrāzād after his father had become Sultān of Ghazna.

The relationship between the poet and the central Ghaznavid court is not quite clear. He wrote several poems for Sultān Ibrāhīm and, according to ‘Awfi, placed a kasda addressed to the sultan at the beginning of his Diwān. There are also poems preserved which bear dedications to prominent officials of the central government, like the ‘arid-i lālagh Mansūr b. Sa‘īd Maymāndūr who patronised other poets of this period as well. But apart from that, there are no indications of a stay of Abu ‘1-Faradj at Ghazna for any long period of time. As Lahore was a base for incursions into Hindu territory, in which the Sultan and his retinue also participated from time to time, most of these poems may very well have been written while the patrons from Ghazna were staying at that city temporarily on their way to a campaign.

It seems, therefore, likely that the scene of Abu ‘1-Faradj’s career was mainly, if not entirely, the court of Lahore, where the young princes showed a greater interest in poetry than the Sultan himself, who has been depicted by historians as a stern and pious man. The only contemporary poet who as far as we know now was in personal contact with Abu ‘1-Faradj was Mas‘ūd-i Sa‘īdī Salmān [q.v.], another Iranian born in the Panjāb. But the former is to be distinguished from the Abu ‘1-Faradj whom Mas‘ūd held responsible for his banishment from the court.


The modern Iranian scholar Djalal al-Dīn Hamūrārī has connected one of the poet’s kasidas with the conquest of Kānawārī by Sultān Mas‘ūd III which he dated between 500 and 508 A.H. This would provide an approximate dating for the death of Abu ‘1-Faradj (cf. Diwān-i ‘Utbarin-i Mafkūrāt, ed. Hamūrārī, Tehran 1341/1962, 654 ff. and passim, and Bosworth, op. cit., 85).

The work of Abu ‘1-Faradj, as we know it now, consists mostly of kasidas, and further of some quatrains and mukātatāt, as well as a few ghazāls of a pre-classical type. The kasidas are comparatively short poems in which the emphasis is laid on the panegyric. The kasdas are comparatively short poems in which the emphasis is laid on the panegyric.

The perpetual war waged with the non-Muslim neighbours of Ghazna and his retinue also participated from time to time, according to the central government, like the Sultān of Ghazna, the relationship between the poet and the central government is often reflected in his poems. But the traces of this influence can be noticed in many ways, varying from direct quotations to a more general similarity of ideas, motifs and forms of expressions (cf. Diwān-i Anvar, ed. by M.T. Mudarris-i Raμawi, i, Tehran 1347/1968, 104-8).

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The wide range of Abu ‘1-Faradj’s influence is further attested by the many quotations from his poems his kashida addressed to the sultan at the beginning of his Diwān. There are also poems preserved which bear dedications to prominent officials of the central government, like the ‘arid-i lālagh Mansūr b. Sa‘īd Maymāndūr who patronised other poets of this period as well. But apart from that, there are no indications of a stay of Abu ‘1-Faradj at Ghazna for any long period of time. As Lahore was a base for incursions into Hindu territory, in which the Sultan and his retinue also participated from time to time, most of these poems may very well have been written while the patrons from Ghazna were staying at that city temporarily on their way to a campaign.

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annex (damma) to Armaghān, vi (Tehran 1304/1925) with a biography and annotations to the text by Muhammad 'Alī Naṣīr. The recent edition by Mahmūd Mahdawī Dāngānī reproduces the text of its predecessor, adding variant readings from two ancient manuscripts, viz. a copy in the Chester Beatty Library (cf. A catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures, Dublin 1959, 4, no. 105) and a copy in the British Museum (cf. Ch. Rieu, Supplement to the catalogue of the Persian manuscripts, London 1895, 141, no. 211). Many manuscripts of the Dīwān, or of smaller collections of poems, still await to be examined (see e.g. A. Muntawī, Fihrist-i muskāhā-yi khāṭṭi-yi farsa, Tehran 1350/1971, 2214-6, nos. 21357-417; Ahmed Ateş, Istanbul katibhâverîlerinde Farsa manzum eserler, 1, Istanbul 1962, 212).


ABU 'L-FARĀDż IBN AL-TĀYYĪB [see IBN AL-TĀYYĪB]

ABU 'L-FATH AL-BALATI [see AL-BALATI IN SUPPL.]

ABU 'L-FATH AL-BUSTI [see AL-BUSTI]

ABU 'L-FATH AL-DAYLAMI [see AL-DAYLAMI IN SUPPL.]

ABU 'L-RUSUL AL-ISKANDARI [see AL-ISKANDARI]

ABU HAŠ al-SHIṬRANDJī [see AL-SHIṬRANDJī]

ABU 'L-HASAN AL-ÂHMAR, the usual name of a philologist of Bāṣra called 'Alī b. al-Husayn al-Musārak, who was taught by al-Kisā'ī [g.e.], whose eager pupil he was; after his master, he became tutor to the future caliphs al-Amīn and al-Ma‘mūn. The biographical sources record that al-Âhmār was originally a member of al-Rāshīd’s guard, so that, being very attracted to the study of philology, he was unable to attend al-Kisā’ī’s teaching sessions except when he was not on duty in the palace. When the master came to give lessons to the young princes, al-Âhmār rushed towards him, both when he was coming and when he came out took his stirrup and escorted him, whilst firing questions on grammar at him. When al-Kisā’ī was afflicted by leprous and unable to teach the princes any longer, he was afraid lest one of the great grammarians of the period, Sibawayh or al-Akhfash [g.e.] might take his place; so he recommended as his own successor al-Âhmār, who was in the end confirmed in the post. The biographical sources mention in this connection the custom whereby, after the first lesson, the new tutor received all the furnishings of the room in which he had been teaching; al-Âhmār, whose house was too small to take this, saw himself offered now both a house and two slaves, one of each sex. Each day, he went along to learn that morning’s lesson from al-Kisā’ī, who every month came to question his pupils in al-Rāshīd’s presence. In this way, al-Âhmār acquired a vast amount of knowledge. He is said to have known 40,000 shawāthīl verses and complete kāsidas, but he had no pupils and did not transmit al-Kisā’ī’s knowledge orally. This latter role devolved on his rival al-Farrā’ [g.e.], but he was the author of two works, the K. al-Taqīf and the K. Tafannun al-balagha. He died on the Pilgrimage road in 194/810.

Bibliography: Fikrist, 98; Khâṭīb Baghdādī, quickly expanded his power over large areas of the Yaman. The Imām was soon deserted by most of his followers and was forced to move from town to town. In Rabī’ I 444/July 1052 al-Sulayhī defeated and killed Abū Ḥāfīz b. Yahyā b. Abī Ḥāfīz and took possession of Saʿrā. Abu 'l-Fath now corresponded with Nadjd, for the sake of the allegiance of his ally, opposing him against al-Sulayhī. When he invaded the Balad 'Ans later in the year 444/1052-3, he was defeated and killed by al-Sulayhī, together with some seventy supporters, at Nadjd al-Dīn and was buried in Radman. His descendants were later known in the Yaman as the Banu 'l-Daylami.

His Kur’ān commentary al-Burhdīn is extant in manuscript (Fihrist kātib al-kājmān al-Musawwakhīyāt, Saʿrā n.d., 12; Dār al-kutub: Kimmat al-muḥdiy̱āt al-ārāhīyāt al-musawwakārī wa-bi-mūsawwakīlm min al-Qamāhrīyāt al-Ārāhīyāt al-Yamanīyāt, Cairo 1966, p.). A refutation of the Muṣarrifiyā [g.e. sect] is also ascribed to him.

T. Baghdađ, xii, 104-5; Abu 'l-Tayyib al-Lughawi, Marüth al-nahhawiyen, Cairo 1955, 89-90; Zubaydi, Tabakht, 147, Kift, Inbhit, Cairo 1369-74/1950-5, ii, 3-17; Anbāri, Nazha, 59; Mas'ūdi, Murādi, vi, 321-2 = s. 2523; Yākūt, Īdāle, xii, 5-12; Sayyidī, Baghdađi, 334; M. al-Makriš, Muḥarrar al-Kifā, Baghdađ 1374/1955, 102; Bustanī, DM, iv, 250-1; Zirkilī, Ālam, v, 79. (CaL PELLAT)

ABU 'l-HASAN AL-ANŠAŘĪ, 'Alī b. Mūsā, 'Alī b. Area (Rāfī) Rāsul al-Andalūs al-Dājaynī (515-93/1121-97), a preacher of Fez, and member of a family of whom one person (Ibn Arfa)

When the future caliph had in 381/991 to flee from al-Ta'i', al-Battī had already been in his service, since it was with him that al-Kādir sought refuge. Hence it was really as a


textured calligrapher, and a certain talent for let-

ter-writer, and versifying which made him well-

-renowned. Since he was extremely witty, had a fierce

ally ever left the

madrasa. Surprisingly, however, despite

such as Mīrza Mahmūd Khān Māzdāndarānī Muḥājir al-Wizāra, who pressed invitations upon him, he scarce-

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Abū 'l-Hasan as the "renewer of

Peripatetic philosophy in the fourteenth (Hidjrf) cen-
tury", as opposed to his friend and contemporary,

Muhammad Hasan Gilānī and Mīrza Muhammad

Nūrī, it is possible that this Abū 'l-Hasan is

identified with Djilwa. In 1274/1857 he came to

Tehrān and took up residence in the Dīr al-Shāfīya,

in the two narrow rooms allotted him there it was
to be his home for the remaining forty years of his

life. He lived the life of a recluse, and although he

had a number of aristocratic admirers and friends,
such as Mīrza Māhμūd Khān Māzdāndarānī Muḥājir al-Wizāra, who pressed invitations upon him, he scarce-
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Peripatetic philosophy in the fourteenth (Hidjrf) cen-
tury", as opposed to his friend and contemporary,
the poets very well, and previous to his own activity, various of his paternal and maternal uncles had specialised in the collection and transmission of literary anecdotes. He was in contact with Abu Nuwás, whose protégé and rāzī he was, and through this connection he determined to follow the activities of the great contemporary poets, and especially, of the libertine poets. As well he was, and through this to follow the activities of the great contemporary poets, and especially, of the libertine poets. He was in contact with Abu Nuwás, and a kālim, Abu Hiflk, al-Buhturfi, al-Khuraymi, and also al-Dāhīz, Tha'lab, al-Mubahrrd, etc.

He himself put together a work called the A̱ḇghar Ā̱ḇ Abū Nuwās, which has come down to us, and a K. Sīnāt al-ṣan`arī and a K. A̱ḇghar al-ṣan`arī, of which no trace has survived but were certainly used in the 3rd and 4th centuries by several writers of adab works.

Abū Hiflk was also a poet, but only a few dozen of his verses have been preserved, sc. fragments of eulogies addressed to ‘Alī b. Yahyā al-Munadžjim and ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Yahyā b. Khājan; of satires addressed to Ahmad b. Abī Du`ād and al-Buhturfi, epigrammatic exchanges, not always in the best of taste, with Abī ‘Alī al-Baṣrī, Sa`īd b. Humayd, Abū ‘Alī al-Ya`ṣīn and Ya`qūb al-Tammūr, all these being his companions in nocturnal sessions; and a few love verses. It is surprising that nothing has come down to us from his wine poetry, which Ibn al-Mu’tazz says enjoyed a wide currency. Altogether, Abū Hiflk was a minor poet who has contributed, through his anecdotes, to our knowledge of the history and sociology of poetry in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries.

Bibliography: A. Ahmad Farrāḍi has edited the A̱ḇghar Ā̱ḇ Abū Nuwās, Cairo 1373/1953 (an edition with numerous verses in the text censored) with a bibliographical note, to be completed by Bencheikh, Les voies d’une création, typescript thesis, the Sorbonne 1971, i, 116-7, and idem, Les sécristaires poètes et imamètres de cercles aux IIe et IIIe siècles de l’hégire, in JA (1975), 265-315. (J.E. Bencheikh)

ABU 1-ḤUSAYN AL-BAṢRĪ, MUHAMMAD B. ‘ALI B. AL-TAYYIB B. ḤUSAYN, Mu‘taṣīlī theologian. Little is known about his education and early career. He originated from Basra where he heard hadīth. As he studied kalām and usūl al-fīhī with Kādī ‘Abd al-Dāhībār [q.v.], he must have visited Rayy for some time. With the Christian Abī ‘Alī b. al-Samh, a student of Yahyā b. Ḍafī`, he studied philosophy and science, presumably in Baghdad. This is attested by a manuscript containing his redaction of the notes of Ibn al-Samh on the Physics of Aristotle. He may have also studied and practised medicine for some time if he is, as has been suggested, identical with the Abu 1-Ḥusayn al-BAṣrī mentioned by Ibn Abī Usaybān as a physician contemporary with Abu 1-Farāḍi b. al-Tayyib. Al-Dāhībār refers to him as al-kādī, but there is no other evidence that he ever held an official position. During the later part of his life he taught and wrote in Baghdad. As his two usūl al-fīkh works, the S̱̱hāḥ al-Umūm and the K. ʿAḻ-Umūm, were composed still before the death of his teacher ‘Abd al-Dāhībār in 1156/1744, he must have begun his teaching career in Baghdad before that date. 1st ed. in Bagdad on 5 Rabi‘ II 436/30 October 1044. The fact that the Ḥanāfī kādī Abū Allāh al-Saymārī led the funeral prayer for him indicates that he belonged to the Ḥanafī madhhīb, not to the Shāfi`ī as suggested by some sources.

Of his works on the usūl al-fīkh, his commentary (ṣahr) on ‘Abd al-Dāhībār’s K. al-Umūm appears to be lost. His K. ʿAḻ-Umūm, written later, has been edited together with his Š̱̱nāt al-umūm and K. al-琦̱̱rīd al-ṣahrī (ed. M. Hamidullah, Damascus 1965). This work became popular also among non-Mu‘tāṣīlī scholars and was copied and emended to form the basis of Fākh al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s K. al-Maḥbūl. None of his kalām works appears to be extant. The largest one, K. Tawāfīkh al-adīlīa, remained unfinished, as he had only reached the chapter on the visio beatifica before he died. On the K. Qīṣās al-adīlīa, Ibn Abī 1-Hāḍīd [q.v.] wrote a commentary. A short fragment on the question of the imāmate extant in manuscript (Vienna, Glaser 114) is probably an extract from his K. S̱̱nāt al-琦̱̱rīd al-khimmān. His theological doctrine can, however, be recovered from later references and especially from the extant parts of the K. al-Maḥbūl fi usūl al-dīn (ms. Sa`n`a`) of his student Mahmūd al-Malābīmī, who quotes the K. Tawāfīkh al-adīlīa extensively. Also lost are his refutations of two works of the Imām Shāfī`i al-Murtada, his contemporary in Baghdād: the K. al-琦̱̱rīd fi the imāmate and the K. al-Muḥfratī on the doctrine of the concealment (ṣ̱̱yāba) of the Twelfth Imlīm. In his doctrine, Abu 1-Ḥusayn al-BAṣrī was deeply influenced by the concepts of the philosophers and diverged from the Bahāshīma, the school of Abū Ḥāsim al-Dāhībār represented by his teacher ‘Abd al-Dāhībār. He was therefore shunned by the Bahāshīma, who accused him of rejecting his Mu`taṣīli shaykhīs in an unfair and injurious manner. This charge is repeated by al-Shahrastānī, who maintains that he was really a philosopher in his views (jol-ṣ̱̱fī al-maḏ̱hhīb) but the Mu`taṣīlī mu’tahallīmīn were not aware of this fact. Ibn al-Kīftī, too, suggests that he concealed his philosophical views under the forms of expression of the kalām theologians in order to guard himself from his contemporaries. Notable points on which he differed from the Bahāshīma were his rejection of their theory of modes (aḥādī) [q.v.], and their thesis that the non-existent (muḏ̱ḏ̱m) is a thing, his indictment about their theory of atomism, his admission of the miracles of saints (karmādī), and his reduction of the divine attributes of will, hearing and seeing to that of knowledge. Evidently also under the influence of the doctrine of the philosophers, he affirmed that the acts of man occur necessarily in accordance with their motive (dīrī) thus, as Fākh al-Dīn al-Rāzī pointed out, in effect undermining the Mu‘taṣīlī doctrine of human free will.

Abu 1-Ḥusayn’s school was continued by his students, the Khārazmīans Mahmūd b. Muhammad al-Malābīmī and Abī ‘Alī Muhammad b. Ahmad b. al-Walīd al-Kalīḍī (d. 478/1086) who, like his teacher, also studied logic and philosophy and taught in Baghdad. According to Ibn al-Murtada, Fākh al-Dīn al-Rāzī adopted many of his views on the “subtleties” (lāfī) of kalām, i.e. matters not touching fundamental dogma. His theological doctrine progressively exerted a strong influence among the Imāmīya and, to a lesser extent, among the Zaydiyya.


(W. MADELING)

**ABû HûZÂBA, AL-WALîD B. HUNAYFâ (b. Nahîk in Ta‘brî, ii, 393) AL-TAMMî, a minor poet of the 1/7th century. He was a Bedouin who settled at Baṣra and was a panegyrist, at the time of Zâyâd b. Abîthî (45-53/665-72) or shortly after, of ‘Abd Allâh b. Khâlid b. Asîd, governor of Fârs. His family urged him strongly to join the circle of Yazîd b. Mu‘awiyâ, before the departure of the Khalîfâ at the caliphal palace, he goes quite contrary to the impression that he exercised a deep influence on all the pupils who thronged his courses, and they give him as the heir of Malikî teaching at the open cenacle of al-Mutawakkî, contribution à l’étude des instances de legitimation litteraire, in *Mélanges Henri Lemaître = BEO, *xxix (1977).

(J.E. CENNEHIEU)

**ABû İMÎRÂN AL-FâSÎ, Mûsâ B. ‘ĪSÎ ABD ÂDAH-Haçaygâq (?), Mâlikî *fâkhî, probably born between 365/975 and 368/978 at Fâs into a Berber family whose *nisba is impossible to reconstruct. No doubt to complete his studies, but perhaps also because of other reasons hard to discern, he went to settle in al-Kâyrawân, where his master was in particular al-Kâbah (d. 403/1012 [g.]). He is known to have stayed in Cordova with Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr [g.] and to have profited by the chance to follow the lectures of various scholars there, which his biographers list, without however giving the date of this journey. Soon after the end of the century, he went to the East, possibly spending some years in Mecca, since he made the Pilgrimage several times, and deriving further instruction from the *fukahd of the Holy City. In 399/1008-9 he was in Baghdad, benefiting from the teaching of al-Muhâjî (d. 403/1013 [g.]), a Mâlikî like himself but an Ash‘arf in kalâm, and it was in the *Trâki capital that he had the revelation of a theological doctrine in whose subsequent diffusion in the West he was to take part (see H.R. Idris, *Essai sur la diffusion de l’as-Sâ‘i, in *Cahiers de Tunisie, ii (1953), 134-5). He returned to Mecca from Baghdad, and then in ca. 402/1011 returned via Egypt to al-Kâyrawân, which he never seems then to have left apart from a last journey to the East in ca. 425/1033-4 or 426/1034-5. He died on 13 Ramadan 430/8 March 1039 in his adopted home; al-Mu‘izz b. Bâdis [g.] was present at his funeral, together with a great crowd, and his tomb has henceforth been venerated as equal to that of a saint. His descendants still live in al-Kâyrawân.

His biographers stress the breadth and diversity of his education, and mention in detail the numerous teachers whose courses he followed, both at al-Kâyrawân and during his travels; and they make him in some way the heir of Mâlikî teaching at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. Nor do they omit to list all the pupils who thronged his courses, and they give the impression that he exercised a deep influence on intellectual activity in the juridical-religious domain. He was at the outset a specialist on the seven readings...
of the Kur'an, and then after his return from the East, turned to hadith and fiqh and, to some extent, kalām. He attracted a host of disciples not only from Irīkāya, but even from Spain, Sicily and Morocco, and several of these later made a name for themselves. Furthermore, he kept in touch with scholars in distant places, who consulted him on points of doctrine, and he even gave ijāzs at a distance. It would be tedious to enumerate here all the pupils of his by biographers but one should mention that they included Ibn Shāraf [q.v.], and a person homonymous with the name of the author of the `Umda, `Abd Allāh Ibn Rashīk (d. 419/1028), who was also a poet, and dedicated to him the greater part of his verse (see Ch. Bowyldh, Le vie éducative en Ifriqiya sous les `Umayyads, Tunis 1972, 67, 116).

Two other pupils of `Abd `Imrān’s ought to be mentioned also because they were associated with important historical events. At a date which, with Ibn Abī Zarʾ (Tūrās, 122-3) can be fixed at 427/1035-6 (whilst Ibn Khāldūn, Berbères, ii, 67, places the events in 440/1048-9, Ibn Idhārī, Bayūn, iii, 242, in 444/1052-3 and also Ibn al-`Azhīr, ix, 238-9, in 447/1056, which is unlikely), the Lamītūna chief Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm passed through al-Kayrawān whilst returning from the Pārīmām, attended `Abd `Imrān’s courses and, realising the depth of his compatriots’ ignorance, asked the great scholar to designate one of his followers to go and teach them. `Abd `Imrān then recommended to him one of his former pupils called Ugg’-ag (Wadīdżāqī in Arabic transcription), who had returned to his own land, and this latter scholar in turn designated `Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn (see al-Bakrī, Description de l’Afrique septentrionale, new ed. Paris 1965, 165-6/311-12; al-Huql al-mawshiyya, 9; A. Bel, Le religion musulmane en Berbérie, Paris 1938, 215; G. Marçais, La Berbérie musulmane et l’Orient au moyen âge, Paris 1946, 238; H. Terrasse, Histoire du Maroc, Casablanca 1949, i, 214; J. Bosch Vila, Los Almorávides, Tetuán 1956, 49; and see al-Mukābbīn). Now the anonymous author of the Ma’dhir al-Barāb (ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au moyen âge, Rabat 1949, 69) states that these two men impelled the Almorāvides to expand out of the Sahara on the order (bi-amr) of `Abd ‘Imrān.

One would like to have exact details about this, but if the assertion is true, it shows the influence of the Kayrawānī fāsik, which was, at all events, a pronounced one. His pupils transmitted his oral teachings and doubtless also his works (cf. Ibn Khayr, Fohrasa, i, 440, which do not however seem to have been very numerous. Some of his hadiths have been preserved, in particular by al-Wanghārī in his Ḣiyārī but one should be careful, since the name “‘Abd ‘Imrān al-Ṭalī” was fairly widespread: see e.g. Brockelmann, S II, 961; a. al-Dalā’il wa l-‘addād is mentioned in the Miṣḥar, x, 105, and a manuscript of al-Ḥākim al-maṣārī‘ al-ḥakhām al-mustakhthafa min Kitāb al-Dalā’il wa l-‘addād li-‘Abd `Imrān al-Ṭalī has also been catalogued (1432-D. 1444) at Rabat). His K. al-Tajlīk ‘alā l-Mudawwana is one of the Khāṭ ‘Iyāḍ’s sources (Mudārik, i, 56), who cites him frequently. He is moreover said to have made a selection of hadiths which was especially important and covered a hundred leaves, and a Fohrasa is attributed to him; finally, a manuscript of his Naḍ’ir is mentioned as existing at Algier (Brockelmann, S I, 660-1). Some verses are also attributed to him. Bibliography: In addition to sources already cited, see: Western biographical sources: ‘Iyāḍ, Tarīḥ al-Mudawwana, ed. A. Bakrī, Beirut n.d., iv, 702-6 and index; Ibn Nāḍīr, Mī‘āltum al-ṭimān, Tunis 1930, ii, 199-200; Ibn Fārūj, Dībāj, Cairo 1329, 344-5; Tādhlī, al-Taṣawwuf wa l-taṣlīf al-tasawwuf, ed. Faużī, al-Wazīr al-Sarrādī, al-Huql al-mawshiyya, ed. Hīla, Tunis, ix, 272-3; Humaydī, Ḩudūqa, Cairo 1952, No. 791; Ibn Bahkūwāl, Dīla, No. 1223; Dābbī, Bugyha, Madrid 1884, No. 1332; Ibn al-`Abbār, Ta‘kīla, No. 679—Oriental biographical sources: Ibn al-Dīzārī, Kurrā, No. 3691; Ḏahabī, Ḥujuḥ, iii, 284-6; Yākūt, Buhūn, iii, 807; Ibn Taghrībrīnd, Naḍūm, v, 30 (on p. 77, he makes Abū `Imrān die in 458); Ibn al-Ṭimād, Naḍūr, iii, 247-8; F. Bustānī, DM, iv, 483; Zirkilī, Al-‘āmin, viii, 278—.—Studes: H. Hrids, Ḳīra, index; idem, Deux maîtres de l’école juridique kairouanais, . . ., in AIEO Alger, xiii (1955), 42-60 (detailed study, with rich bibliography).
to the poet's fame and have only an historical interest.

In New York, Abu Madi threw himself into journalism and took charge of editing al-Majalla al-ulâmiyya and then al-Futû. It is at this point that he became connected with the great names of mahjar literature who were to found al-Râbi’a al-kalamiyya; it was also there that he married the daughter of Nadjîb Divân, director of the Mi’ârî al-Gharî, of which he became chief editor 1918-29, i.e. until the time when he founded the monthly al-Sâmir, which he transformed into a daily in 1936 and directed till his death on 23 November 1957.

Abu Madi’s talent began to take shape in New York, with his poetic work partly spread by the periodicals to which he contributed and brought together in a new dîwan, al-Daudwîl (New York 1927; reprinted at Najaf three times between 1937 and 1949); with his fame thus assured, his poetic talent became more widely known in his last collection published during his lifetime, al-Khamâlîl (New York 1940; 2nd edn. Beirut 1948, with additions). Some further poems were collected together in 1960, after his death, as Thbr wa’râbîn.

Within the limits of this brief article, it is not possible to go into the details of Abu Madi’s poetic achievement, but the most striking feature for the reader is what might be called the philosophical tone of many of the poems, a succinct philosophy conveyed as a scepticism which is stressed many times. In this respect, the famous quatrains which appear in the Daudwîl and which have been thought worthy of separate publication under the title of al-Talâqim, are characteristic; musing on the origins of man, the poet replies to the questions put in each strophe by a šâhîd adîr “I do not know” (which has inspired the Sharh Muhammad Dîwân al-Dîwânî to compose a reply, in his Hall al-Talâqim [Beirut 1946], each strophe ends, somewhat presumptuously, with an adîr adîr “I myself know”). His social, political and nationalist themes, already animating his first dîwan, became more refined and precise, and the poet was moved to act as a moralist in a well-known piece, al-Tîn, which condemns human pride, commends humility and advocates equality (see a commentary in Dj. Rikâf, ed.]. Dîwân, Beirut, 1965, 180-4; Fr. tr. in Anthol. de la littérature arabe contemporaine, iii, La poésie, by L. Norin and E. Tarabiy, Paris 1967, 83-4). But the poet, in spite of his disquiet and his philosophical doubt, nevertheless had an optimistic and lively character which made him love life just as it is and made him proclaim his faith in the lasting value of art and literature. In his Khamâlîl, he championed the praises of Lebanon, which at bottom he knew very poorly, and expressed his nostalgia for his native country, which he did not see again till 1946.

In regard to poetic technique, one might have expected Abu Madi to utilise free verse (al-dâqîq al-hurr), but in fact he remained faithful to classical metres, although he became more refined already animating his first dîwan, al-Daudwîl, and took charge of editing Da’irat al-Madarîs in a new shape in 1936 and directed till his death on 23 November 1957.

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In regard to poetic technique, one might have expected Abu Madi to utilise free verse (al-dâqîq al-hurr), but in fact he remained faithful to classical metres, which he only abandoned in order to adopt a tropic pattern or, in his narrative poem of 79 verses al-Shârîr wa’l-salâm al-dîhî (1933), to be able to employ several metres and sometimes alter the rhyme.

Abu Madi’s successful poetical work, with its immediate accessibility to the reader, has tended to obscure his work as a journalist and the quality of his prose. It would undoubtedly be an exaggeration to maintain that all his contributions to the numerous mahjar periodicals, on which he collaborated, are poems in prose. However, the poet’s personality comes through constantly in his editorials and in his articles, admittedly those on literary topics, but also in those on political, economic and social questions, which he treats in an eminently poetic fashion, displaying his reflective attitude and allowing the same preoccupations as those of his verses to appear through.

Bibliography: Abu Madi has already been made the subject of some studies, amongst which are Fâri’d Salwât Nadjîf, Ilyä Abû Mâdi wa’l-harâka al-adabiyya fi ’l-mahjar, Baghdad 1945; Zuhayr Mîrzâ, ’Abû Mâdi, šâhîr al-mahjar al-‘akbar, Damascus 1954; ’Abd al-Latif Şiharâr, ’Abû Mâdi, Beirut 1961; Works on the literature of the mahjar naturally include material on Abu Madi’s work; on his prose, see in particular, ’Abd al-Karîm al-Aghtar, al-Nafis al-mahjarî, Beirut 1964, index; idem, Fünun al-nafis al-mahjarî, Beirut 1965, index; Amongst the numerous articles devoted to him, see Ilyäs Abû Shabaka, ’Abû Mâdi, in al-Mukhtatât, October 1932; Dâj. ’Abd al-Nâr, ’Abû Mâdi, in al-Addâb, 1953, idem, in Dâj. al-ma’dîrîy, v, 101-4 (with bibliography); G.D. Selim, The poetic vocabulary of Ilyâ Ab Mâdi (1889-1957); a computational study of 47,766 content words, Ph.D. thesis, Georgetown Univ. 1969 (unpublished); R.C. Ostle, Abu Madi and Arabic poetry in the inter-war period, in med. stud. in modern Arabic literature, Warminster 1975, 34-45; Salma Khadra Youssef, Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry, Leiden 1977, i, 123-35. (Ed.)
that the sultan Muhammad al-Shaykh II had handed over the town of Larache (al-Ar’ish [q.v.] to the Spaniards, he shared in the popular indignation, fanned the general wave of xenophobia and skillfully utilized the occasion to launch an appeal for the holy war and to propound the downfall of the Saracens. With a few hundred followers inflamed by his words and promises, he managed to seize Sijilmassa from its legal governor and set up there the reign of justice. His prestige grew so great that he was recognized as the occasion to launch an appeal for the holy war of Dila. He further began negotiations with the distant tribes and even from the town of Tlemcen. Abu Mahalll marched on them with a numerous body of troops and soon appeared with them near the southern capital. Abu Mahalll came to the Sus, where he got into contact with another religious leader, Yahya b. Abd Allah b. Sa’d al-Hahr, Abu Mansur who had influenced the caliph to appoint Abu Mansur b. Yusuf was known for his good works and for the favours which he bestowed upon his contemporaries. Among his works was the reconstruction of the ‘Aṣhdī Hospital, al-Bimaristan al-Dawla al-Sa’diyya, which he also endowed with properties in order to provide for its needs in perpetuity. Among those who benefited from his largesse were the preachers, the leading ascetics who enjoyed a great following among the masses, the preachers, the leading Hākimis and their followers, the Sūfis’ functionaries, including al-sabab and the amīds, as well as the Bedouin and Turkish amīrs. This wide influence enjoyed by Abu Mansur did not please Nizām al-Mulk, and the rivalry between these two influential men can be seen in some of the events of the period. The founding of the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad (inaugurated in 459/1067) is an instance in point. Abu Isāk b. Shahrizār, for whom the madrasa was founded, having refused to assume the role of mediator between the caliph and sultan, was replaced in the latter’s sphere of interest. by Nizām al-Mulk appears to have been considered by Abu Mansur as interference in the latter’s sphere of interest. Abu Mansur regained his freedom, but he did not feel entirely safe until Toğrūl Beg had returned to Baghdad, wresting it from the hands of Basāṣīr, stripping the latter of all the wealth he had accumulated, and killing him. In the affair of the marriage of Toğrūl Beg with the caliph’s daughter, a marriage which scandalised the caliph, Abu Mansur, along with Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Damaghānī, played the role of mediator between the caliph and sultan. Abu Mansur b. Yusuf was known for his good works and for the favours which he bestowed upon his contemporaries. Among his works was the reconstruction of the ‘Aṣhdī Hospital, al-Bimaristan al-Dawla al-Sa’diyya, which he also endowed with properties in order to provide for its needs in perpetuity. Among those who benefited from his largesse were the preachers, the leading ascetics who enjoyed a great following among the masses, the preachers, the leading Hākimis and their followers, the Sūfis’ functionaries, including al-sabab and the amīds, as well as the Bedouin and Turkish amīrs. This wide influence enjoyed by Abu Mansur did not please Nizām al-Mulk, and the rivalry between these two influential men can be seen in some of the events of the period. The founding of the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad (inaugurated in 459/1067) is an instance in point. Abu Isāk b. Shahrizār, for whom the madrasa was founded, having refused to assume the role of mediator between the caliph and sultan, was replaced in the latter’s sphere of interest. by Nizām al-Mulk appears to have been considered by Abu Yusuf as interference in the latter’s sphere of interest.
The rivalry between these two powerful and influential men also expressed itself quite clearly in the ideological sphere. While Abu Mansur was the great support and consolation of the traditionalist 'ulamā in Baghdad, men belonging essentially to the Ḥanbalī movement, Nizām al-Mulk supported the rival Ṭazīlī movement. And whereas Nizām al-Mulk lent his support and bestowed his patronage upon men of the rationalist Muṭtazilī movement, Abu Mansur had reduced the Muṭtazilīs to silence in Baghdad. It was because of him that the great Muṭtazilī professor of the period in Baghdad, Abū 'Alī b. al-Walīd, could not publicly profess his teachings in that city. The riot which occurred in Baghdad in 460, led by the traditionalists against Ibn al-Walīd, was caused by the latter's reappearance in public to teach Muṭtazilīsm; Abū Mansur had disappeared from the scene at the beginning of that year. There is some evidence indicating that Abū Mansur's death was not a natural one, and that he had paid with his life for interfering with Nizām al-Mulk's plans. For instance, the contemporary Ibn al-Barnā', writing in his Diary about five months after the death of Abū Mansur, mentions a dream in which he saw Abū Mansur walking barefoot and, upon asking him the cause, replied saying that it was the way his forefathers went to plain of wrongdoing' (ḥadhā . . . ṭaṣāqilānālimī). Elsewhere in the Diary (ii, 26, 47), the following invocation is made: "May God have mercy on the blood of [Abū Mansur] Ibn Yusuf." The word blood, in this context, implies bloodshed, blood calling for revenge, or for justice. It is perhaps significant that the title al-Shaykh al-As'īr al-Majīd "the most eminent Shaykh", applied only to Abū Mansur during his lifetime, is found later applied not only to his two sons-in-law, Ibn Djarrād and Ibn Rīḍūn, but also to Nizām al-Mulk (E. Combe et al., Répertoire, vii, Nos. 2734, 2736, 2737).

The two sons-in-law of Abū Mansur, though they inherited from their father-in-law his title, presented no threat to Nizām al-Mulk. Ibn Rīḍūn succeeded to Abū Mansur's position of influence with the caliph; but far from following in the footsteps of his father-in-law in opposing Nizām al-Mulk, he became reconciled with him by effecting a marriage between his daughter and Nizām al-Mulk's son. On the other hand, Ibn Djarrād seems to have inherited the place of honour enjoyed by his father-in-law with the traditionalists, for whom he founded mosque-colleges (masajid) in Baghdad.


G. MAKDISI

Abū Mūsār B. Yūsuf — Abū Mismār

Abū Mūsār b. Yūsuf was an important figure in the early 11th century defending the independent state, based on the coastal plain of 'Aṣīr (q.v.) (Ṭihmat 'Aṣīr) and embracing most of the Tihmā region of Yemen, against the encroachments of the Wahhābi Aḥū Saʿūd of Najd, the Zaydi i'māns of San'ā and the Ottomans under Muḥammad al-As'īr. Born in or before 1170/1756-7, he was descended from the Aḥū Khayrāt sharīf who emigrated from Mecca to the al-Mīkhilāf al-Sulaymānī district of lowland 'Aṣīr early in the 11th/17th century. His death occurred in 1233, probably during Ramadān/July 1818 but possibly several months earlier.

While serving as the Zaydi i'mān's governor of 'Aṣīr in the mid-18th century, Sharīf 'Alī b. Hamīd, al-As'īr's grandson, had declared his family's independence, although the i'mān's authority was recognised. Hamīd assumed power in about 1215/1800-1, and shortly afterwards had to expel a troublesome Wahhābi agent of 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1218/1803), the chief of the Aḥū Saʿūd. But when in 1217/1802-3 Abū 'Alī al-'Arīsh was captured by Abū Nuṣrā (d. 1224/1809), the Wahhābi amīr of upland 'Aṣīr, Hamīd declared allegiance to 'Abd al-'Azīz. He undertook to pay certain taxes to the Wahhābi chief and send a son to al-Dirīyā as hostage, in return for which he was appointed 'Abd al-'Azīz's governor of lowland 'Aṣīr. Aided by Wahhābi reinforcements, Hamīd subsequently captured from the old Zaydi i'mān, al-Mūṣār b. illāh Sharīf 'Alī (1189/1224-1775/1809), and added to his own lands, the bulk of the Tihmā region of Yemen, including such centres as al-Luhayya, al-Ḥudayda, Bayt al-Fāqīh, Zabid and al-Ḥayāt, but not Mocha.

Hamīd's allegiance to the Wahhābs was only nominal; and early in 1224/1809 he conspired with Abū 'Alī b. Hamīd, the As'īr, to replace Wahhābi suzerainty with that of the Zaydi i'mān, on condition that he himself was allowed to retain the Tihmā lands already under his control. Although his forces were twice defeated by those of Abū Nuṣrā later that year, and despite occasional Wahhābi forays into the northern Tihmā thereafter, Sharīf Hamīd was able, with the aid of his competent vizier, Sharīf al-Hasān b. Khālid al-Ḥūzimā, to hold control of both his ancestral lands and the extensive Tihmā territories acquired with Wahhābi help. He flirted alternately with the i'mān in San'ā and the Wahhābi chief in al-Dirīyā just enough to forestall a serious military intervention by either.

Initially disposed to cooperating with Muḥammad al-'Arīsh against the Wahhābs (1229/1814), Hamīd cooled towards him, owing to a series of Wahhābi victories over the Ottomans and his fear of the Egyptian viceroy's designs upon his lands. In 1233/1818, just a few days before his death, Hamīd's forces nearly annihilated an Egyptian army. His son Ahmad ruler after him for about a year before submitting to Muḥammad al-'Arīsh's commander in the south and being sent to Egypt where shortly he died. Although Hamīd's lands were restored by the Ottoman sultan to the i'mān, the governorship of lowland 'Aṣīr was awarded to a nephew of Hamīd.

Bibliography: The basic source for the life of Sharīf Hamīd Abū Mūsār is his unpublished biography, Naft al-ʿād, by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bahkālī (a ms. of which is in the al-ʿAṣīr private collection at Diqāzān). This treat of the sharīf's life to 1225/1810-11, the remaining years being covered by al-Hasan b. Ahmad al-ʿĀṣir in a dārjal entitled Naẓḥat al-ṣarīf. Other ms. in which Sharīf Hamīd figures, sometimes prominently, are Lutf Allāh Dījār, Darun nūhāt al-būr, 'Āṣir, al-Dirāhī al-khawrūnī; al-Hasan b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kabkabīnā, al-Mawdhib al-saniyya; and Bahr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kīsītā, al-ʿArīshī al-saniyya. Of these works, Naft al-ʿād, its dārjal and al-Dirāhī were consulted by Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Īsā al-ʿĀṣirī in Part I of his Min tuʿrīgh, al-Mīkhil al-Sulaymānī, Riyadh 1958.

Other works providing useful information about Sharīf Hamīd's life are al-Shawkānī, al-Bahr al-
ABU 'l-MUTAHHAR AL-AZDĪ, an Arab writer who lived in the 5th/11th century, but since no known biographical source mentions him, his dates and the milieu within which he lived can only be inferred from his sole surviving work, the Ḥikayat Abī 'l-Kāsim (one should however add the information of al-Bakharzī d. 1075) that says that he knew in Isfahān a writer called Abū Mutahhar, very likely our author. He must have lived between Baghdād and Isfahān, as emerges from a munāzara between the two cities given in the Ḥikāya, before the Saljūq assumption of power in Irāk, which he never mentions. Concerning the rest of his work, he himself mentions an Ḥikāya badawīya, now lost, and al-Bakharzī a ṭarīq al-dhahab (assuming that the same person is involved).

The Ḥikayat Abī 'l-Kāsim al-Baghḍādi (ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 19,313; ed. A. Mez, Heidelberg 1907) has remained till now a unique work in classical Arabic literature, a conscious variation of the highly-appreciated makāma genre [q.v.] which al-Hamadānī had just launched and which al-Harīrī (who lived just one or two generations after our author) was to bring to perfection. The novelty of the Ḥikāya of Abū 'l-Mutahhar in relationship to the makāma of the above two authors is the displacement of the centre of interest from the purely linguistic and formal aspect to the representation of a character and an environment in a genuine mimēsis of reality (in this case, the bourgeois environment of Baghdād, with its bons vives and drinkers, amongst whom Abū 'l-Kāsim displays his bravura style and his vagabond's effrontery). This bravura style is also a linguistic one, and Abū 'l-Mutahhar attaches himself by this means to the makāmat writers; but whilst the latter remain merely that, and their heroes al-bakardār and al-Sarāḍīf offer us nothing more than a second-rate picture of a routine and stereotyped chiché figure of a rogue, al-Azdī's Abū 'l-Kāsim is wholly alive, and to be compared more with the characters in Petronius's Satyricon and the "picaros" of Spanish narrative literature. The text of the Ḥikāya raises a lot of philological problems for the language and sometimes the jargon used in it, but its literary importance is far from being limited to pure philology, the work of this 5th/11th century Irākī writer, himself almost unknown, remained an isolated effort of its time, but heralding fields of interest and artistic currents of the future.

Bibliography: Mez, in the introd. to his edition; the arts. Ḥikāya in EI and EI2 by Macdonald and Pellat respectively; F. Gabrieli, in RSO, xx (1942), 35-45. (F. GABRIELI)

ABŪ NUKHAYLA AL-HIMMĀNI AL-RADĪ, a poet of Basrā who owed his name to the fact that his mother gave birth to him by a palm tree (nukhba). He was given the kunya of Abū ʿl-Qarnayd and Abū ʿl-Imām and the name of Yaʿmar (or Hazm, or Habīb b. Hazm) b. Zaʿida b. Lakī, but it is possible that he forged a fictitious genealogy to attach himself to the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm; in fact, al-Farazdak, angry at being released from jail at his intervention, calls him a dāʿī, and Ibn Al-Kalbī does not cite him in his Dīyāhara. It is said that he was ejected by his father, on account of his ingratitude, and spent some time in the desert, where he improved his knowledge of the Arabic of the Beduins and gained a certain fame. He then went to Syria and succeeded in attracting himself to Masmāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Malik [q.v.], despite a personal inhibition which led him at first to attribute to himself an urūjūz of Ruʾba [q.v.], and then afterwards addressed elegies to Hīyāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik and his successors, who showed their favour to him and gave him the largesse of which he was avidly hungry. He nevertheless had no scruples in going and presenting himself to Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāh and in reciting to him an urūjūz in dāl which he had previously dedicated to Hīyāh. His panegyrics of the first ʿAbbāsid, filled with attacks on his former patrons, gained him the title of "poet of the Banū Ḥashim", but his greed led in the end to his downfall. He wrote, and caused to be widely spread, a poem in which he urged al-Manṣūr to proclaim his own son Muhammad (al-Mahdī) as heir-presumptive instead of ʿIsā b. Mūsā, whom al-Saffāh had designated heir. The caliph generously rewarded him and followed his advice, but he instructed him to flee to Kūhūrān. However, one of ʿIsā's agents pursued him, slaughtered him, stripped the skin from his face and threw his corpse to the vultures. This took place at some time shortly after 136/754.

Abū Nukhayla wrote some kasidas, but above all he favoured ṣawājīs; he was involved in poetic contests with another famous ṣawājī, al-ʿAdīdājī [q.v.] and left behind a body of work considered good enough to be formed into a ḍawān. This poetry is not always easy to understand, because of the Beduinoisms which abound in it, but it has a verve which is sometimes fairly coarse and a humour which disarmed his opponents and made his audience laugh, these last being more or less inclined accordingly to open their purses and pockets. This was, indeed, the poet's sole object, and he seems to have been an invertebrate money-lender. Cutting epigrams are to be found side-by-side with poems on hunting themes, elaborate panegyrics and unexpected elegies, since, despite an innate sense of ingratitude, the poet knew occasionally how to display his thanks, and especially after the death of al-Mahdī, al-Mansūr instructed him to write at length and in a kindred spirit. The critics, and especially Ibn al-Muʿtazī, considered him to have been a born poet, and much appreciated his work, which was widely-distributed in the 3rd/9th century.

Bibliography: Diabīzī, Ḥayawādī, ii, 100 and index; idem, Bayān, ii, 225, 530; Ibn Kuttāyat, Sāḥīb, 583-4; Ibn al-Muʿtazī, Tabaṣṣūl, 21-3; Ibn Durayd, Ishtikād, 154; idem, Dīyāhārā, iii, 504; Ṭabārī, iii, 346-50; Maḥdī, Marāgī, vi, 118-20 = Sāḥībī, ed. Beirūt, xx, 300-92; ʿṢāfī, Adād al-Ḥudūd, 310-14; Ḥusrī, Zahr al-ʿadāb, 925; Baghdādi, ʿAbūlqāsim, ed. Beirūt, i, 78-80 = ed. Cairo, i, 153-7; Ibn ʿAsīkir, Tarīḫ Dīwānī, ii, 318-22; Ghars al-Nīma, Ḥayawādī, index; Marzubānī, Muwāṣṣāhāt, 219-20; Ibn al-Ṣaḥārī, Ḥamāsīa, 117; Amidī, Maʿtaṣīb, 193-4; Ibn al-Imām, Shadhīqīt, i, 195; Nallino, Letteratura, 159-60; Pellat, Mīleṣ, 159-60; O. Rescher, Abrās, i, 223; A. H. Harwe, Abū Nukhaylah, a postclassical Arab poet, in JRAS Bengel, 3rd series, iii (1957), 55-70; Bustānī, DM, v, 145-7; Ṣārīkī, Asām, xvii, 351. (Ch. PELLAT)

ABŪ RAKWA [see AL-WALID B. HĀSHIM].

ABŪ RASHĪD AL-ḤASĪBūRĪ, a theologian of the Muʿtazī tradition of Basra and disciple of ʿAbd al-Ḍabbar al-Hamānī...
dānī [g.z.]. Originally a follower of the Mu'tazilī school of Baghdad, Abū Rashīd frequented the lectures of Ibn al-Diūbār, whose doctrine he came to follow in its entirety, surrendering his former adherence to the teaching of al-Ka'bī, and the Bagdādisī. Subsequently, having given up his circle (hāka) at Diūbār, he took up permanent residence at Rayy where, after the death of Ibn al-Diūbār in 415/1025, he became the acknowledged leader of the Basran Mu'tazilī. The date of his death is unknown. Abū Rashīd's teaching insofar as it is revealed in the works, not currently known to have survived, are (3) Abu Rashīd's teaching insofar as it is revealed in the works, not currently known to have survived, are (3)

Die(atomistische Substanzlehre aus dem Buch der Streitfragen, which a lengthy portion of the first part is published at the Diwdn al-usul, ta'līk

Die Philosophie des Abu Raschīd, K. al-masd'il fi 'l-khulūf bayn al-Basriyym wa al-Tawhid, Zjydddt al-Sharh K. al-Masd'il, fol. 112v°), of which the first part is published by M. Abu Rifā under the title Cairo Fi 'l-tawhid, (8) A Mu'tazilī treatise on prophethood, as to assert that Ibn Lankak was eclipsed by al-

his clashes with Ibn Lankak (d. 360/970 [g.z.]), who faced in his lack of cleanliness a vein of attack easy to exploit, would have been enough to save him from oblivion, but Yākūt, Usbāṭah, six, 6, goes as far as to assert that Ibn Lankak was eclipsed by al-

Abū RAYYĀSH AL-KAYŚĪ, Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Sayyārī, rāwi, philologist and poet, originally from Yamāma, who settled at Basra and was famous at the beginning of the 8th/9th century for his exceptional knowledge of the Arabic language, genealogies and ancient poetry. He was a former soldier who had become a civil servant, and had the job of levying dues on the ships coming to 'Abbādān. He was totally lacking in education and in tidiness, but his knowledge led to his faults being excused and overlooked. He had a powerful voice, and he spoke in the Bedouin fashion, expressing the ṣūb, at a time when this was normally neglected in the spoken language. He was said to pose as a Zaydī. He died in 339/950 (but in 349/960, according to al-Suyūṭī, who moreover calls him Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad).

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allegedly tried to murder his enemy (Aghdni, xx, 127); and if the report in Aghdni, xx, 125-7, of an apparent reconciliation is authentic, it must indicate Abū Sa'd's duplicity. Various pieces aimed against him have been gathered in Shi'r Dibīl, Nos. 68, 81, 96, 119, 223, 235; see also p. 298.

Abū Sa'd was exposed to attacks from Dibīl's cousin, the son of Abū 'U-Shīr (Aghdni, xx, 130-1; Shi'r Dibīl, 349), but he on his part made al-Ash's Di'bil, Shi'r Dibīl, 289, 313, 322, 338). As well as the epigrams aimed at his enemies, Abū Sa'd addressed praises to al-Ma'mūn and wrote several pieces glorifying Nizār; the Aghdni, xx, 128, even speaks of a dyfi al-Nizārayn. Dibīl's fame, since his works were spread far and wide, threw Abū Sa'd's work into the shade, although this last is by no means inferior quality. To believe al-Marzubanī, Muwadālah, 329, Abū Tammām would have given half of his own work for a hemistich from Abū Sa'd which he particularly appreciated. Abū Sa'd, who constituted himself as defender of the North Arabs and by that fact also the defender of Sunnism against the Shi'ī Dibīl, at a time of ethnic and religious conflicts, deserves to be no longer ignored by historians of Arabic literature; it happens fortunately that Raẓūk Farādī Raẓūk has just endeavoured to put together his Dīwān (Baghdad, 1971).

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, Shi'r Dibīl, index; idem, Shi'r b. 'Allī al-Khūzāī, 2nd edn. Damascus 1967, 145 ff. and index; Ibn Kutayba, 'Uṣūn al-ḥabībī, i, 190; Diālīz, Bayūn, iii, 250; idem, Hayawān, i, 262, 265; Marzūbānī, Muwadālah, 329, 347; idem, Muwafq, 98, 260; Nuwarsī, Nīhāy, ii, 91; Ḥusnī, Zahr al-dībāb, 320; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Taḥrīr, 126, 130-41; Bustānī, DM, iv, 339-40; Zirki, Alīn, v, 206; introduced to his Dīwān. (Ed.)

ABŪ SA'D AL-KHAṬṬĀĪBI [see AL-KHAṬṬĀĪBI].

ABŪ SA'D AL-SIRA'I [see AL-SIRA'I].

ABŪ SAYYĀRA. Umayy a. b. 'Ālāz b. Khabīd al-‘Adwānī, a personage of the end of the Daḥilīyya, said have been the first to fix the dyā or pecuniary composition for murder on 100 camels and the last to lead the pilgrims, either at the departure for 'Arafat (gūdā) or from the Muzdalīfah to Minā (gūdā), since the sources disagree on this point, and the more careful authors merely use the expression daḥaf bi 'l-nās. This man, who probably owed his kunya to this function of his, a privilege of the Kaysī tribe of 'Ardwān (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Casdel, Tab. 92 and ii, 142), became proverbial because he is said to have exercised this office, always mounted on the same black ass (which was, however, according to al-Asma'ī and others, a she-ass, sometimes further described as one-eyed), for 40 years. As al-Dibīl amusingly points out (Hayawān, i, 139), no-one can doubt the longevity of this animal which, amongst all asses, lived the longest time; it gave rise to a proverb asabāb min 'āsr Abū Sayyārī “more sturdy than Abū Sayyārī’s ass” (al-Maydānī, Amthāl, i, 422-3; Abū ʻUbayd al-Bakrī, Fasl al-makāl fi σχέσεως K. al-‘Anghal, Beirut 1991/1971, 500-1); al-Dibīl provides a variant (Hayawān, ii, 257), asbāb min... “having greater endurance than...”.

Abū Sayyārī is compared, because of his humility, with 'Uzayr [q.v.] and with Christ, and his ass is cited by prominent people who preferred this humble form of mount.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, see Diālīz, Ḥayawān, vii, 215; idem, Bayūn, i, 307-8; idem, Bukhāzī, 187; Ibn Ḥishām, Sīra, i, 123; Tabarī, i, 1134; Aẓrākī, Makāk, 120-1; Ibn Durayd, Jāmīkū, 164; Mas'ūdī, Mā'ādī, iii, 116 = § 964; Thaʿlībī, Thūmār al-kalūb, 295; Nābū'ī, ed. Bevan, 430; DM, iv, 373. (Ch. Pellan)

ABŪ SHABAKA. Iyās (usual orthography, Elias Abou Chabakeh), Maronite poet, journalist and translator (1903-47). He was born in Providence, R.I., whilst his parents were travelling in the United States, but he spent all his life in Lebanon, dividing his time between his home in the village of Zūk Miljālīn (in Kirāwān), from which his family came, and the cafés and editorial offices of Beirut, to which he went each day.

His father held some estates in the region of Khartoum, but in 1914, when he went there, was murdered by bandits. Hence the young orphan had soon to interrupt his studies, especially as the French took over the school at 'Aynāfara, where he had been enrolled, was closed by the authorities during the First World War. He then resumed his studies, but never finished them, preferring to complete his education by plunging into reading the Bible and the French Romantics, which early inspired his first literary efforts. He was compelled to earn a living, hence taught for a while, but also contributed to several Lebanese newspapers, did translations, at the request of publishers, of a series of novels and dramas by French authors as varied as Lamartine, Henry Bordeaux, Voltaire, Edmond Rostand, Molière, the Abbé Prevost, Bernardin Saint-Pierre or Choukri Ghanem, and was even employed as a translator in the press and radio services of the French High Commission during the Second World War. He died of leukaemia on 27 January 1947.

The greater part of Abū Shabakā's original work is made up of a number of collections of poems. The first, al-Khīthār (1926) contains juvenilia which attest at the same time his great inexperience and a distinct poetic talent. This latter is clearly affirmed in Abīl 'l-Firdaws (1938), in which the poet has gathered together thirteen pieces written between 1928 and 1938. The basic source of his inspiration is love, its transports, its joys and its sufferings, and there can be clearly seen the influence of the French Romantics in this collection, which the native critics regard as one of the master-pieces of Lebanese poetry. Romantic feelings of nature inspire the next dīwān, al-Aḥdnī, a real hymn to nature as well as being at the same time a poetic description of the life of the Lebanese peasants. The poet reverts to the theme of love with Nīdār al-kabīr (1944) and Ḥa lābād (1945). In this very same year, 1945, there appeared Ghalwān, whose title is an anagram of the name Olga, the woman whom he had at last married after ten years of betrothal and who had naturally been his principal muse. Finally, in 1958 Abū Shabakā's friends put together in Min Sa'dī al-āliha a number of pieces of occasional verse already published in periodicals.

Abū Shabakā had a deeply religious mind, a tormented soul, and was an enthusiastic reader of the Romantics. He was undoubtedly one of the main representatives of a school which has, in Lebanon,
followed, with a certain amount of side-stepping, a tendency long dormant in the West. This romantic movement is now outmoded in the East itself, but Abū Shabaka’s work continues to attract young readers who appreciate pure poetry and have little taste for the politically-preoccupied productions of engaged poets, who tend moreover to break loose from classical metres. Abū Shabaka generally respects these last, although he may at times adopt a strophic form or vary the rhymes and metres, as in ‘Ijāba‘.

As well as his translations and a great number of articles which he left behind, Abū Shabaka wrote, as one might have expected, a Līmārin (1935) and a study of comparative literature, Rawdāth al-fikr wa-‘l-fikr bi-‘l-‘arb wa-Injād (1943). Lastly, a series of portraits of literary and political personalities, which appeared in al-Mu‘āfi, have been gathered together in one volume, al-Rasā’il (1951).


ABU SHADĪ, AHMAD ZARI (1892-1955), Egyptian physician, journalist, writer and poet, a man of an astonishing variety of diverse activities.

Born in Cairo on 9 February 1892, he had his primary and secondary education in his natal city, and then in 1912 went to study medicine in London, where he specialised in microbiology; at the same time, he became especially interested in apiculture and acquired quite an extensive knowledge of Anglo-Saxon culture and life which was to exert a deep influence on his literary production. On returning to Egypt in 1922, he was appointed to do research in microbiology, but also became at the same time busy with many other fields, and soon became secretary of several associations of beekeepers, agricultural industrialists, poultry rears, etc. Furthermore, he quickly took over at the same time the secretariatship of the Apollo group inspired by Ahmad Shāwǎikh and Khalil Murtān. It was he who created and directed the journal Apollo from 1932 to 1934, at a time when he had just founded three other journals of a totally different nature: Mamlakat al-nahl (1930), al-Dajjāl (1932) and al-Sinā‘āt al-zīr‘ayya (1932). All these responsibilities in no way kept Abū Shadī from giving talks and lectures, from writing articles on all the subjects which interested him, and above all, from throwing himself into a literary activity which gives the impression of a remarkable breadth. A man like himself, rather too restless, inevitably provoked jealousies and enmities in those circles which were not ready to accept his ideas, especially those on modern poetry. It was perhaps the reactions to his innovations which made him in 1946 decide to emigrate to the United States. He worked on the transmissions of The Voice of America from New York and then Washington, where he died on 12 April 1955.

It is extremely difficult, in this brief notice, to evaluate his role in the evolution of contemporary Arabic poetry and to enumerate and classify his expositions of his ideas and the totality of his literary work. The latter is largely composed of poetry and theatrical works, and is characterised at base by an inspiration which is primarily Egyptian, both Pharaonic and Arab. He embarked on almost every poetic genre, at times giving himself up to romanticism and at times to symbolism, and even went so far as to found in 1936 an ephemeral journal called Adābī “My literary work”.

With regard to form, Abū Shadī used the framework of the muwaṣṣah [q.v.] and other strophic structures, but he was above all the proponent of blank verse (al-ghīr al-mansūr) and of free verse (al-‘adl al-hurr), under the simultaneous influence of Anglo-Saxon poetry and of that of the mahdīr, and he tried to launch a literary movement in this sense.

In various commentaries which accompanied his collections, as also in his articles explaining his ideas and his work of criticism Mārazih al-adāb (Cairo 1926-8), he insisted on the primordial importance in poetry of metre; he freed himself from the fetters of rhyme, but respected up to a certain point classical metres at the same time mixing different metres in one and the same poem (on this question and on Abū Shadī’s influence, see S. Mūreq, Free verse (al-ghīr al-hurr) in modern Arabic literature: Abū Shādī and his school, 1926-46, in BSOAS, xxx/1 (1968), 28-51).

If he had enemies, he also made friends and admirers who busied themselves in collecting together his poetry into more or less coherent collections. Hence there appeared in this way Miṣrīyāt (1924); al-Shābīk al-kabīr (1926); Min al-samd wa–l-miṣrīyāt (1926); Min al-mamlūk (1927); and not forgetting either that he was a physician, he also wrote Min al-samā‘ (New York 1949). There must also be still further unpublished collections of poems written in America.

As well as his doṣūns published by Abū Shadī himself, the main ones of these are Watan al-Farīdana (1926); Adī‘a wa-zīlīl (1931); al-Shīrīkh (1933); Ayyāṣ‘ al-rāhī (1933), with an introduction by Khalīl Murtān and others; al-Sinā‘āt al-qādir (1934), poems of his youth; al-Tam‘ā (1934); Faw‘l al-‘adlīkh (1935); Khalīl al-dar (1935); ‘Aṣadat al-waf‘ (Alexandria 1942); and Min al-samā‘ (New York 1949). There must also be still further unpublished collections of poems written in America.

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As well as his doṣūns, Abū Shadī left behind some fifteen novels and theatrical pieces whose Pharaonic and Arab inspiration is comparable with that of his poetry and in which the use of blank verse is uncommon: Zhānab, sofābāt min qir al-qidrīn (1924); Majṣurūn Ragās‘ (1925); ‘Abdāl Bok (1926); al-‘Aḥṣa (1927, a symbolist opera); Elwān (1927, an Egyptian drama); Araidīr (1927, an opera); Akmān (1927, an opera); Nīṣīrīt, Maˇshākūt Ibni Tālūn, and al-Zībā‘ naḥlkhī Tadhur (1927); Bīst al-Salhā (1927, an opera); Ibtidāl Inwi‘ al-Kays; Ibni ‘Zaydān fi sīgūf; Bayrān wa-Tarīkh; and Māba (a love story).

It is not possible here to speak at length about Abū Shadī’s scientific works, but one should mention that he was at the same time the theoretician of free verse and the promoter of apiculture in Egypt, notably with his Tarbiyat al-nahl (1930). Not forgetting that he was a physician, he also wrote al-Tahār wa-‘l-mā‘mul (1928); and not forgetting either that he was a Muslim, he explained why he was a believer in his Līmā ‘an ma‘mūn (1937) and published in the year he died al-Islām al-hayy, all of which had not prevented him from praising freemasonry in
his Rūḥ al-māzānīya (1926). Finally, one should mention his verse translation of the quatrains of Umar Khayyam and Hāfiz (1931), as well as one of Shakespeare's The Tempest.

This brief survey can only give a partial idea of an exceptional personality, one who was discussed and admired but also adulated, and who merits particular interest.

**Bibliography:** In addition to S. Morch's article, the main monographs on him are Muhammad 'Abd al-Ghafūr, Abū Shāṭī fī l-māzānī, Cairo 1933; I.A. Edhem, Abbaszād, the poet, A critical study with specimens of his poetry, Leipzig 1936; and Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattāh Ibrāhīm, Ahmad Zākī Abū Shāṭī, al-īsān al-muntadīj, Cairo 1955; See also Būstānī, DM, iv, 357s (with bibliography); and N.K. Kotsarev, Poesie Iran, Moscow 1975, 31-4 (with bibliography), and index; Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry, Leiden 1977, ii, 370-84.

(Ed.)

**ABŪ SHĀKŪR BALKHĪ** born possibly in 300/912-13, one of the most important Persian poets of the Sānānīd period. 'Afsī's Lūhāb al-ālāb attributes to him a maqāna'ī in the mātikārīr metre called the Aṣfīn-nāma, completed in 336/947-8 and probably dedicating the al-Abī Nāṣir b. Naṣr (351-4/939-54). Nothing is known about his life, but allusions in his verses suggest that he was a professional poet and had known setbacks in life. The only surviving parts of his work are short fragments and isolated verses quoted in dictionaries, anthologies and a few other works. These comprise some 60 lyrical distichs and some fragments of maqāna'ī in various metres, but above all, about 140 mātikārīr distichs which must belong to the Aṣfīn-nāma, to which one should perhaps add almost 175 distichs cited anonymously in the Tuhfat al-mu'ālāk of 'Abī l-Ḥāfīz Iṣlāma (7th/13th century), which seem to be extracts from the same work. This last was apparently a collection of anecdotes illustrating moral sentiments; maxims and moral sayings are prominent in the extant verses of Abū Shākūr, who was certainly the chief heir amongst the Persian poets of the 4th/10th century of the wisdom literature of pre-Islamic Iran. He must have enjoyed a great renown in his time; Manūchīr mentions him as one of the ancient masters, along with Rūḍākī and Shāhīd Balkhī.

**Bibliography:** There is an edition of the fragments with a French translation, together with a notice on the poet and a bibliography, in G. Lazard, Les premiers poètes persans, Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 94-126, ii, 78-127; see also J. Rypka, History of Iranian literature, Dordrecht 1968, index. (G. Lazard)

**ABŪ SHURA’Ā, AHMAD B.穆罕默德 B. شورا’Ā** a-KAYSHI al-bakrī, minor poet of Bāṣrā who, during the course of the 3rd/9th century, took part in the social and intellectual life of his native town, and hardly left it, it seems, except to make the Pilgrimage or to visit places very close at hand. For the rest, his life is poorly documented. It seems unlikely that he was able, as Ibn al-Mu'tazz assests (Tabākāt, 177-8), to praise al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) during the latter's lifetime, to have reached an advanced age in al-Ma'ānī's time and to die in the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). In the first place, the Aghānī speaks of his relations with Ibrāhīm b. al-Mu'tahhar (d. 279/892-3) [see Ibn al-Mu'tahhar] at Bāṣrā, where the latter, according to his own words, acted as governor (it is not impossible that he was governor there before 252/866, but he is only mentioned as tax-collector in Ahwāz in ca. 250/864). One item of information concerning Abū Shura’ā's meeting with Dībīl (d. 246/860 [q.v.]) in Ahwāz is of no help. Moreover, al-Dzhāhīj, so far as is known, cites him only once (Rūzūd, ed. Hārīn, iii, 314), repeating an epigrammatic verse aimed at al-Sidrī (cf. Aghānī, xxii, 455), whilst Abū Shura’ā's name would certainly figure more often if he had been older. Moreover, several other authors cite five fairly mediocre verses of his (see Pellat, Milieu, 166) which he is said to have composed on al-Dzhāhīj's death (255/868). Finally, his son Abū l-Fāyāyīd Sawwār, who was also a poet, went to Baghdad after 300/913, and it was he who indirectly furnished Abū l-Farajī with most of the information about his father. All these pieces of information lead one to think that Abū Shura’ā died after 255 at a certain age.

Although he was reputed to have written epitaphs and to have delivered eloquent discourses, he was mainly known as a versifier, and Abū Bakr al-Sūlī even designed to gather his works into a dīvān (Fūhris, 216). According to the Aghānī, his poetry was in the Bedouin tradition and fairly obscure, but the part of it now extant does not allow of a categorical judgement. As well as verses inspired by his ruinous generosity, he wrote mainly some fairly coarse epigrams, an attractive poem on Ibn al-Muṣṭafā's departure but above all, about 140 distichs which must reflect the idle way of life led in Bāṣrā at this time by the poets, always lying in wait for some reward or ready to heap ridicule on some patron who had disappointed them.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references given above, see Aghānī, ed. Beirut, xxii, 170-9, 429-50; Marzufzānī, Muawwiyyah, 219; idem, Mu'ajjam, 431 ff; Khāžīf Baghādī, Taṣāqā, xii, 219-20; Mubarrad, Kāmil, 306; Sandīfī, Abī al-Dzhāhīj, 195; Būstānī, DM, iv, 398-9.

**ABŪ SINBIL,** an ancient village on the western side of the Nile between the first and second cataracts, in lat. 22° 22 north and long 31° 40 east. It lies ca. 175 miles south of Aswān. The French discoverers of the two huge rock-hewn temples built by Rameses II (1304-1257 B.C.) referred to it as Ipsumboul at the beginning of the 19th century. The name Abū Sinbil is a popular arabicisation ("father of an ear of corn") of the local Nabian designation, which is also known by various other variants in the spelling, e.g., Abū Simbil/Simbil/Sunbul/Sunbul.

Abū Sinbil later became known as Farīk in the Official Government Register, being one of the villages within the financial jurisdiction of the Ibrām (Pīromi, ca. 35 miles north of Abū Simbil) district until 1272/1855 when it became a separate administrative unit. In 1917 the name Farīk was dropped, and the village was given its former name, Abū Sinbil. Its irrigated land extends over several hundreds of acres.

Abū Sinbil became famous as the site of two rock temples which gave it its special artistic and religious significance. The temples, which represent some of the most spectacular examples of ancient Egyptian architecture, were unknown to the outside world until the discovery of the Smaller Temple by J.L. Bürkhardt in 1813, and its opening by the Italian engineer Giovanni Belzoni in 1817.

The Great Temple of Abū Sinbil is carved in the rock and stands 33 m. high and 38 m. wide. The facade shows four colossal seated figures of Rameses II, two on either side of the entrance to the temple, each measuring 20 m. high. Rameses II dedicated this temple to the sun gods Amon Re of Thebes and Re-Horakhti of Heliopolis.
Less than 50 yards away was constructed the Smaller Temple, which was dedicated to Queen Neferari, wife of Ramses II, in homage to the goddess Hathor. Its façade is decorated with six 35-foot statues of the Pharaoh and his wife.

The Abu Sinbil cliff had been buried by large sand drifts, which covered the Great Temple until its rediscovery byBurckhardt. But the Smaller Temple, which had not been buried, served the inhabitants of the nearby village Bilyânî (ca. 5 miles from Abû Sinbil) as a refuge from marauding Bedouin tribes from Nubia. Only modern Arab authors give particulars about the Abu Sinbil temples, based on French sources, and reports of the French archeological expedition which undertook the excavations at Abu Sinbil in the 19th century.

The original site was submerged by the Nile in 1966 as a result of the building of the Aswan High Dam. The two temples were salvaged from the rising waters of the Nile by sawing them into sections and re-erecting them on top of the rock face from which they were originally hewn.


**ABû TAGHLîB**

Abû Taghlîb Fadl Allah al-Qâdânrâj al-Hamdânî, U’dât al-Dawla, Hamdânî amîr of Mosul [see hâmdânîs] and son of the amîr al-Hasan Nâṣîr al-Dawla and a Kurdish mother, Fâtîma, born 328/940. He seems to have had a certain authority over his younger brothers, and when their father grew old, Abû Taghlîb seems to have obtained tacitly from them except for Abû 'l-Muzaffar Hamdânî, who was born of another mother, authority to depose their father and imprison him in the stronghold of Ardumahat in the Djâbab Dûnti to the north-east of Mosul. This operation was carried out with the complicity of Fâtîma in Dâmâdî I 356/beginning of May 967, and Nâṣîr al-Dawla died there on 12 Râbi‘ I 358/February 969. As this act of deposition had been carried out without Hamdânî’s assistance, the younger brother Hamdânî became cAbû Taghlîb’s protector, and entered into negotiations with the Hamdânî to conclude an agreement with him confirming this last in his possessions, including Diyar Mu‘tah and Diyar Bakr, and this was sealed by Abû Taghlîb’s marriage with one of Bakhtiyar’s daughters. It is probable that one of the reasons behind this agreement was the threat to both parties from Fâtîmid ambitions. Hence both of them gave help to the Fâtîmids’ enemy, the Karmatî chief Hasan al-A’âmîn, who received subsidies from them and was accordingly with their help briefly able to seize Damascus. Nevertheless, in the end Bakhtiyar yielded to Hamdânî’s solicitations. In 365/975 he marched against Mosul and took the city al-Âlî to the north of the town. Abû Taghlîb evacuated the town and made a diversion southwards as far as the gates of Baghdâd, provoking much excitement there. He then retired towards Mosul, and Bakhtiyar, though numerically stronger, entered into negotiations with Abû Taghlîb, who obtained an advantageous agreement. On returning to Baghdâd, and considering Abû Taghlîb’s position as over-advantageous, he launched another expedition against Mosul. Again, negotiations were begun; Abû Taghlîb agreed to pay tribute to the Bu’yid, and received from the caliph the lâkab of ‘Uddat al-Dawla “Support of the dynasty” in 974. His relations with Bakhtiyar remained friendly, and he gave support to the latter when the Bu’yid had to face a rebellion of his Turkish mercenary troops in Baghdâd itself.

The rebellion of the Turkish troops had led Bakhtiyar to appeal also to the head of the family, Rukn al-Dawla, who authorised ‘Abd al-Dawla, ruler of Fars, to march on Baghdâd, thus favouring the ambitions of the latter, who dreamed of securing Irâk. Abû Taghlîb, pressed by the Turks who had overthrown Bakhtiyar, had left Baghdâd. ‘Abd al-Dawla expelled the Turks, but now received the total submission of Bakhtiyar, whom he forced to abdicate, and also made an agreement with Abû Taghlîb, upon whom depended the supply of provisions for the city, the treaty previously made between Abû Taghlîb and Bakhtiyar was renewed and the Hamdânî excused from the payment of tribute. However, Rukn al-Dawla showed his opposition to ‘Abd al-Dawla’s treatment of Bakhtiyar and recalled ‘Abd al-Dawla; Bakhtiyar accordingly resumed power in Baghdâd. But when Rukn al-Dawla died in 366/977, ‘Abd al-Dawla, who had never renounced his ambitions in Irâk, returned to Baghdâd in November 977.

Abû Taghlîb’s position now appeared firm. But Hamdânî, who had always remained in Bakhtiyar’s entourage, persuaded the latter to attack Mosul, and Bakhtiyar advanced as far as Târîf. Abû Taghlîb acted skilfully. He promised to aid Bakhtiyar in recovering Baghdâd and getting free of ‘Abd al-Dawla, provided he would surrender to him Hamdânî, and he marched on Baghdâd in concert with Bakhtiyar. But ‘Abd al-Dawla defeated them near Sâmarrâ and captured Bakhtiyar, whilst Abû Taghlîb fled. ‘Abd al-Dawla took the throne of Baghdâd, but continued to persecute Abû Taghlîb, who fled to the Djabal Djudf to the north-east of Mosul. This operation was carried out with the complicity of Fâtîma in Dâmâdî I 356/beginning of May 967, and Nâṣîr al-Dawla died there on 12 Râbi‘ I 358/February 969. As this act of deposition had been carried out without Hamdânî’s assistance, the younger brother Hamdânî became cAbû Taghlîb’s protector, and entered into negotiations with the Hamdânî to conclude an agreement with him confirming this last in his possessions, including Diyar Mu‘tah and Diyar Bakr, and this was sealed by Abû Taghlîb’s marriage with one of Bakhtiyar’s daughters. It is probable that one of the reasons behind this agreement was the threat to both parties from Fâtîmid ambitions. Hence both of them gave help to the Fâtîmids’ enemy, the Karmatî chief Hasan al-A’âmîn, who received subsidies from them and was accordingly with their help briefly able to seize Damascus. Nevertheless, in the end Bakhtiyar yielded to Hamdânî’s solicitations. In 365/975 he marched against Mosul and took the city al-Âlî to the north of the town. Abû Taghlîb evacuated the town and made a diversion southwards as far as the gates of Baghdâd, provoking much excitement there. He then retired towards Mosul, and Bakhtiyar, though numerically stronger, entered into negotiations with Abû Taghlîb, who obtained an advantageous agreement. On returning to Baghdâd, and considering Abû Taghlîb’s position as over-advantageous, he launched another expedition against Mosul. Again, negotiations were begun; Abû Taghlîb agreed to pay tribute to the Bu’yid, and received from the caliph the lâkab of ‘Uddat al-Dawla “Support of the dynasty” in 974. His relations with Bakhtiyar remained friendly, and he gave support to the latter when the Bu’yid had to face a rebellion of his Turkish mercenary troops in Baghdâd itself.

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al-Dawla entered Mosul itself in June 978 and refused to negotiate in any way with Abu Taghlib. The latter fled to Nisibin and thence to Mayyāfarkīn, pursued by the Būyād troops. Deciding not to go to Bithis, where his sister Djamlla had taken refuge, he entered the Kurdiš mountain region of the Tigris affluent of the Khāber al-Hasaniyya, perhaps with the hope of shutting himself up in the Hamdānī stronghold of Ardamaught. But in the end he decided to make for the region of the Tigris sources and the great loop of the Euphrates, where was the Byzantine rebel Skērōs, with whom he had been in contact and to whom he had promised help against the imperial troops. He was pursued by ʿAdud al-Dawla’s forces, and had an engagement with them at the beginning of 388/August 978 in the mountain region near Ḥisān Ziyād (Ḵᵛāpur), territory held by Skērōs. He was victorious in this, and stayed for some time at Ḥisān Ziyād. He hoped for a victory by Skērōs over the imperial army and help from the latter to reconquer Mosul, but Skērōs was subsequently beaten. Abu Taghlib arrived at Amid in Diyar Bahr, having learnt that Mayyāfarkīn, held by his supporters, had been captured by the Būyād; he now fled with Djamlla to Kaḵa, abandoning Diyar Bahr and Diyar Rādiʿa to ʿAdud al-Dawla.

The Būyād emir rejected attempts by Abu Taghlib to negotiate with him, and he was unable to count on any help from his cousin Abu ʿl-Mawṣiʿi Saʿd al-Dawla in Aleppo, who had just recognised the suzerainty of ʿAdud al-Dawla. He now further abandoned Diyar Muḍar, which had till then remained under his control, and decided to make for Fāṭimid territory and go to Damascus, not however, to go to Egypt itself. Abandoned by various of his brothers, exposed to the hostility of both the Fāṭimid troops and those of the rebel master of Damascus, Kāsūm, he attempted, with the support of one of the Arab tribes of Syria, the ʿUkayl, to capture Ramla in Palestine from the Tāyyī Mufarridī b. Daḏgal b. al-Jarrāḥ. But he clashed with Fāṭimid troops, and in ʿAṣd 389/June of August 979 he and his allies were defeated and he was handed over to Mufarridī, who, instead of delivering him to the Fāṭimid commander, killed him with his own hand. It seems that Abu Taghlib was killed at the instigation of ʿAdud al-Dawla, whom Mufarridī had recognised as suzerain in 371 (see Mawardīn, p. 207, 209; ʿAskārī, Karāmāt, 306; Marsubānī, Maswaqkhāb, 75, 78, 244; idem, Muṭṭād, 149-50; Baghdādī, Kāzīzān, ed. Bīlāk, iii, 426; Ibn Ḥadājr, Iṣbāḥ, No. 2011; Yākūt, Bādīn, i, 154; Maṭṭādī, Amālī, ed. 1907, i, 185; Wāḥīsh, Maṭṭāgī, i, 193-4; Zirīkī, iii, 322-3; Blachère, HLA, 318).

Such was the end, at the age of 40, of the last Hamdānī of Mosul, of Nāṣir al-Dawla’s son, and of the Hamdānī amirate of Mosul, where new powers were now installed but where memories of the Hamdānīs long remained in the minds of the local population.

Bibliography: See for this, M. Canard, Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdānides de Dja^ira et de Syrie, 1, Algiers 1950, where the vicissitudes of Abu Taghlib’s career are set forth in ch. vi, 541-72.

(M. Canard)

ABU ‘L-TAMAHĀN AL-KAYNĪ, HANZALA B. AL-SARKĪ, Muḥammād Arab poet, considered to be one of those endowed with an unduly long life (al-Siǧiṣṭānī, K. al-Muṭamāmūr, ed. Gohāzīr, in At-tillāt, ed. Peibloge, 207, asserts that he lived 200 years). During the Ḍayḥiyya he led the life of a brigand or sāḥib [q.v.] and of a libertine (especially, at Mecca, in the company of al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib), and he does not seem to have altered his ways in any measure after his conversion to Islam.

He is said to have been killed at Adnāḏāyān [q.v.] in 1/634, but F. Bustānī (DM, iv, 408-9) believes that he died ca. 30/651, whilst the Aḥḡānī asserts that he spent his last years among the Banū Sḥamk of Fazzara, with whom he had sought refuge from the efforts of the authorities to arrest him for a crime committed by him. This source (ed. Beirut, xiii, 3-13) also recounts adventures of his whose authenticity raises serious doubts. It tells how Abu ʿl-Tamahān managed to set free Kaysabā b. Kuhłām (on whom see Ibn al-Kalbī- Caskel, Tab. 240 and ii, 164), who had been captured during the course of the pilgrimage; and it dilates on his own capture during a battle between two groups of the Tayyiʿ (Bāḏjīlā and al-Ghawth) and his ransoming by Būdjabi b. Awws al-Ṭāʿī, who set him free and received encores in it. It is difficult to get an idea of Abu ʿl-Tamahān’s poetic work, since although this was collected together into a Dīwān by al-Sukkārī (Fekrist, 224), only fragments of these have been preserved, and this only thanks to their fame, which led to several of them being set to music. The authenticity of the most-oft cited verse (metre tawālī, rhyme ḥūsh) should nevertheless be regarded with caution; it appears in Dājhīz (Ḥayyānī, iii, 93) in a fragment attributed to Lākī ʿAbd al-Quraʿān and given immediately after an inscription of Abu ʿl-Tamahān, of which it forms part in the other sources. Ibn Ḫūṭayba (ʿUyūn, iv, 24; ʿṢāḥīb, 692) expressly attributes it to Lākī.

Finally, the existence of at least three poets bearing this same karnā (see al-ʿĀmīdī, Muṭṭāfīf, 149-50) should be noted for the need of the greatest prudence.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see Dājhīz, Bayān, i, 187, iii, 235, 237; idem, Ḥayyānī, iv, 473; Ibn Ṭuṭayba, ʿṢāḥīb, 348-9; Būḥṭārī, Hamāda, ii, 294; Abu ʿl-Tamānī, Hamāda, ii, 77-8; Ibn Durayd, Iṣbāḥī, 317; Nebāʾ, ed. Bevan, 670; Khudajīdī, Maṭṣiydī, Baghdad 1954, 207, 209; ʿAskārī, Sinātār, 360; Marsūbānī, Maswaqkhāb, 75, 78, 244; idem, Muṭṭād, 149-50; Baghdādī, Kāzīzān, ed. Bīlāk, iii, 426; Ibn Ḥadājr, Iṣbāḥ, No. 2011; Yākūt, Bādīn, i, 154; Muṭṭādī, Amālī, ed. 1907, i, 185; Wāḥīsh, Maṭṭāgī, i, 193-4; Zirīkī, iii, 322-3; Blachère, HLA, 318.

ABU ‘L-TAYYIB AL-LUGHAWĪ, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī al-Ḥaraqī, grammarian of the 4th/10th century, interested above all in lexigraphy (ilm al-ṭalqāh), whence his surname. He came originally from ʿAskār Mukram in Khūṣṭānīz, but left his natal town for Baghdād, where he studied under Abu ʿAmr al-Zaḥīb and Abu Bakr al-Sūlī. Then he moved to Aleppo, whose ruler, Sayf al-Dawla, was attracting scholars from all disciplines. It was thus in Aleppo that Abu ʿl-Tayyib found himself competing with the grammarian Ibn Khalawayh [q.v.], who had followed the same masters at Baghdād as himself and who had become tutor to Sayf al-Dawla’s son. Abu ʿl-Tayyib was killed in the massacre by the Byzantines when Aleppo was captured in 351/962. His most famous pupil was Ibn al-Kabīrī, to whom Abu ʿl-ʿAlī al-Muṣārī presented his Risālat al-ṣaḥīfān, giving there information on Abu ʿl-Tayyib’s works, many of which, he stated, perished in the sack of Aleppo. His extant works include the following: K. al-Muṭahāb, ed. M. Abu ʿl-Faḍl Bīrāhīm, Cairo 1955; K. Shajīf al-salīr, ed. M. Abu ʿl-Dawwār, Cairo 1957; K. Ḏabīlāt and K. al-Muṭāmāmūr, ed. Tanūkhī, Damascus 1966; K. al-Īṣāb, ed. Tanūkhī, Damascus 1961; and K. al- Ḍabīlāt, still unpublished. In regard to the K. al-Furūq, cited by al-Sīyūṣī in his Māḏārir, i, 447, this seems to have been lost.

ABU ‘ZARIYYA AL-FARRA [see AL-FARRA].

ABU ZAYD AL-KURASHI, MUHAMMAD B. ABI ‘KHAJJÀT, adîb of the end of the 3rd/9th or of the beginning of the 4th/10th century, and known only as the author of the Dhamarat ashâr al-‘Arab [ed. Bulûk 1308/1890]. No personal details about the author can be derived from this collection, and the only relevant data are two inâdas, one (p. 13) going back to al-Haythâm b. ‘Adî (d. ca. 206/821 [q.v.]) through two intermediaries, and the other (p. 14) going back to Ibn al-Arâbî (d. 231/846 [q.v.]) through one intermediary; these inâdas would thus allow us to date the Dhamara to the end of the 3rd century. The mention (p. 165) of the Sâhib of al-Djâwâhîr (d. ca. 398/1107-8 [q.v.]) is probably a reader’s note incorporated in the text by a copyist. Another problem is raised by the references to a certain Mufaddal, falsely identified (p. 1) with the Mufaddal al-Djabbî (d. ca. 170/786 [q.v.]), because this cannot be a case here of the author of the Mufaddâlîyya, and instead of the Mufaddâlîyya, Brockelmann surmised that Abu Zayd al-Kurashi and the Mufaddal might be two pseudonyms referring to Abu Zayd al-Ansârî (d. 215/831 [q.v.]) and to the Kufân anthologist, but this hypothesis hardly seems tenable. A.J. Arberry, for his part (The seen odes, London 1957, 23) prudently suggests, but without insisting upon this, an identification of Abu Zayd with ‘Umar b. Shâbâs (d. 262/875-6 [q.v.]).

After an introduction containing observations on the value of poetry for the philological point of view and on Muhammad’s interest in it, a comparison between the language of the Kur’ân and that of the poets, a judgment on the merits of these last and some fragments attributed to Adam, Satan, the angels, the djinn, etc., the Dhamara comprises 49 kâdas written by 49 poets of the Dhamara and the beginnings of Islam. These poems are divided into 7 groups, each of which should comprise 7 poets, but ‘Antara, mentioned in the introduction as one of the 7 of the second group, figures in the end (in the printed edn., though not in all the ms.) amongst the authors of the mu’âllakât, so that this particular group comprises 8 poems and the following one 6 only. Abu Zayd chose the following terminology: mu’âllakât, mu’djamunârân, mu’takatat, mu’âllakabât/
Abū Zayd al-Kurashi — Abyad

Abū Zayd al-Sirāfī [see also abārār al-ṣīn wa-l-'īnḍīn in Suppl.].

Abū Zayd al-Sirāfī, the kumā by which the Shāfīʿī scholar and jurist 'Abd al-Rahīm, called Ibn al-Kaʿīr, was best known. Abu Zayd, the son of a prominent Shāfīʿī jurist of Kurdish origin, was born in Cairo on 3 Dhu l-Hijja 762/14 May 1361. His mother was the daughter of a Mamlūk officer. For a time his father was the kādi of Medina. Abu Zayd's study in Cairo, Damascus, Mecca and Medina, and completed his education at an early age. He began his career as a mudarris, teaching bāṭil and jurisprudence in various madrasas in Cairo. Appointed deputy Shāfīʿī kādi of Cairo, probably in 792/1390, he held this and other judicial positions outside the capital for twenty years, before he returned to resume his original function as mudarris. In 822/1419, he was summoned by Sultan Ṭāṭār to assume the position of Shāfīʿī grand kādi of Cairo—the foremost judicial office in the Mamlūk empire. The strict and honest manner in which he discharged his functions as chief magistrate won him the enmity of powerful Mamlūk amīrs, who pressured Ṭāṭār's successor, Barsbāy, into dismissing him from the office in 825/1421, after a tenure of barely fourteen months. Abu Zayd died on 27 Shaban 826/5 August 1423, a few months after his dismissal.

At a time when corruption in the judiciary was rampant, and when prominent jurists were spending large fortunes to secure high judicial appointments, Abū Zayd stands out as a jurist and kādi of unusual integrity. A scholar of great prominence, he was also renowned for his personal modesty; upon his appointment as grand kādi, he proceeded to exercise his functions in his ordinary clothes, and considerable efforts had to be exerted before he was persuaded to don the customary ornamental robes for the dignity of the office. His contemporaries were unanimous in the praise of his character, learning and command of the Arabic language. He left a number of works on bāṭil and jurisprudence, which were mostly commentaries on earlier works; he also wrote on other subjects and left a compilation of obituaries for the jurists and scholars of his time.

Ivyeva, Tapyra i odin god Arabskogo teatra, Moscow 1977, 164-8, 171, 177, 200, 209, 228, 262.

(AL-ABYARI. Shakhri 'Abb al-Hadi Na'ga b. Ridwak b. Na'ga b. Muhammad, a leading Egyptian author and grammarian who was born in 1236/1821 in Abýarb in the Gharbiyya province of Lower Egypt. He was brought up in Abýarb where he received his early education from his father and in one of the kuttab of the town. He studied at al-Azhar and later became a teacher there. Ismå'il Paşa entrusted him with the instruction of his children, and Tawfiq Paşa appointed him maim and mufti of his entourage, a post which he held until his death on 10 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1305/28 July 1888. He belonged to the Shafi'i madhhab.

Al-Abåyåri is credited with the authorship of more than 40 books on various subjects, including grammar, Islamic mysticism, fikih and hadith. He corresponded with a number of leading scholars, including ‘Ibråhim al-Abåb and ‘Abd al-Yazid al-Yazidi. The collection of his correspondence with ‘Ibråhim al-Abåb in Beirut and with others on literary and linguistic topics, al-Wasq'il al-adabyya fi 'l-rastu'il al-adabyya, was published in Cairo in 1301/1883. A dispute on certain linguistic points between Ahmåd Fars al-Shidyak and Sulaymån al-Harråf al-Tanîmi led to an adjudication of the questions at issue by al-Abåyåri, which judgement appeared in print in Cairo in 1279/1862 under the title Al-Na'ga al-thåkîb. A number of his works remains unpublished.


ACCESS TO THE THRONE [see BAY,

AL-ADARRÅK, the name of a family of Berber "physicians", whose ancestor, Abû 'Abb al-Allåh Muhammad (d. 1070/1657-60) left the Sus and settled at Fas; he must have used completely empirical methods, but nevertheless obtained significant results. Ibn Shåkrån [q.v. in Suppl.] was the pupil of a certain Ahmad b. Muhammad Abåråk, who was probably the son of the above-mentioned person, but the best-known member of the family was this Ahmad's son, Abu Muhammad 'Abb al-Wahåb b. Ahmad (b. ca. 1077/1666, d. 28 Safar 1159/22 March 1746), who was attached to Mawkåy Iså'mîl (1082-1139/1672-1727). 'Abb al-Wahåb had also received a traditional education and had a certain talent as a versifier. In actuality, apart from a few poems of an ethicophilosophic nature, a kasåda in praise of the saints buried at Mekånås (Munåmûna fiti madîh al-sallîhî Mîknåsat al-zaytûn), his biographers mainly mention some pieces having a certain connection with medicine: these comprise first of all a commentary on the Na'ga of al-Äntåkî and two urduquås, one complementing that of Ibn Sinå, the other on the subject of smallpox (these works apparently lost); then a kasåda of 31 verses on the fine qualities of mint (na'na), which exists in ms. (Rabat D 158 and D 1131); partial tr. in Renaud, Médécine, 101-3; Lakhdår, 189; and finally, an urduqåya of 179 verses on syphilis (hiyevå), based largely on al-Äntåkî's Na'ga and on the msåba of Ibn Shåkrån on sararpurrella (fi 'l-ushåba al-hindyâya), text published and tr. by Renaud and Colin, Mal fran, Arabic text 25-32, 81-94. Another Adarråk called Ahmad is also cited as a physician to ‘Abî Muhammad b. 'Abb al-Allåh (1171-1204/1575-90).


AL-'ADAWFI, Muhammad Hasåan-Mahîdåf, Azhåri scholar and administrator, one-time shaqhî of the Ahmådi mosque in Tantå, born on 5 Ramadan 1277/1718 March 1861 in the village of Banå 'Adå, near Manfalåt in the Upper Egyptian province of Asyût.

After the completion of his studies at al-Azhar [q.v.] in 1305/1887-8, when he was granted the degree of ‘alim [see ‘ULAMA'], and a short period of teaching at that institution, he was appointed Director of the Azhår Library which was established and organised at his initiative. His commitment to the cause of reform in al-Azhar gave his further career its content and significance when, in the various high administrative offices he held within this institution—the most notable of which were the offices of musåd al-Äzhar and of the Religious Institutes attached to it, mu'tayit al-awal and shaqål al-Azhar—as well as in the period in which he held the office of shaqål of the Ahmådi mosque in Tantå, he was able to give inspiration and direction to the reformist efforts (cf. Ahmåd Shaikh, Mu'håkkårdåf niyf kám, Cairo 1936, ii/2, 137 f., 140, 182, 233). He continued to do so after his resignation from all his administrative functions following a dispute with the Egyptian Sultan Huseyn Kâmil in 1915 (see 'Abb al-Mu'tå'il al-Sa'lådåf, Tå'tåkåh al-islah fi 'l-Azhar wa-safahdt min al-Äzhar båd al-islah, Cairo n.d., 142 ff).

From the latter year onwards, he committed himself solely to private teaching and to the writing of a variety of books and tracts, of which some forty were published, largely pertaining to legal issues and to tasanwef [q.v.]. He was an active member of the Sharåkwåyya branch of the Khålåwîyya [q.v.] and among the principal disciples of its founder Ahmåd b. Sharåkwål al-Kåfåfî (1834-98). He died in Muharram 1355/April 1936.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, see the biographies by Ibås Zakhåhkåråh, Mu'tå'il al-'asr fi ta'rîkåh wa-rusûm akâdir riyåf, Mute, Cairo 1897, ii, 453; Khåyr al-Dån al-Zåriki, al-Älam, Cairo 1954-5, vi, 326; Muhammad 'Abbåb al-Hijådåjådå, Mun al-Älam al-Sa'åfåd fi 'l-karn al-råbåb, àghr al-hådårî, Cairo 1969, 93-112, and Zakåh Muhammad Mu'håkkådåf, al-Älam al-shåkhåfiyå fi 'l-

(Ed.)
Although his mother-tongue was Pashto, Adib Pishwar was regarded as a master of the Persian language, his wide reading and powerful memory enabling him to clothe his ideas in a high literary style. Nevertheless, although he took no active part in public affairs, he had, indeed, written in many works which show that he was well-acquainted with world events; he commented freely on such matters as the Russo-Japanese War, India's fight for freedom, pan-Islam, and the Great War. His early tragic experience had given him a lasting hatred of British imperialism, from which no doubt his support for the Kaiser in part stemmed. At heart he was a fervent nationalist and patriot. At the same time he placed no reliance on patrons, and was never known to have composed a panegyric. He may be regarded as the first of the new generation of poets who abandoned the classical themes and wrote about subjects closer to the lives of ordinary people.


(L.P. ELWELL-SUTTON)

ADIVAR, 'ABBAD AL-HAKEM 'ADNAN, modern Turkish author, scholar and politician (1882-1955). He was born in Gelibolu (Gallipoli), while his father Ahmed Baha, who came from a prominent ulama family of Istanbul, was killed there. He studied medicine at the University of Istanbul and while a student, contributed to various newspapers and was in trouble with the Hamidian police. Upon graduation he fled to Europe, spent a year in Paris and Zurich and settled in Berlin where he became an assistant in the Faculty of Medicine. After the restoration of the Constitution in July 1908, he returned to Turkey, taught at the University of Istanbul and was Dean of the Faculty of Medicine (1909-11). As a prominent member of the powerful Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), he contributed substantially to re-organising the Red Crescent and the Department of Health. In 1917 he married, by proxy, the prominent writer Khadide Edib [q.v.]. Elected a deputy in the post-Armistice Ottoman Parliament, Dr. Adnan (as he was known until 1940 when he took the family name Advar) left Istanbul secretly with his wife in order to avoid certain arrest and deportation by the British, and joined the Nationalist government in Ankara (April 1920), where he served as Minister of Health and of the Interior and as Deputy Speaker of Parliament. Later he joined dissident generals and former members of the CUP, with whom he founded the Progressive Republican Party (Teşvikperiler Dönmhriyeti Fiqhâsi [q.v.]), which represented the main opposition to Mustafa Kemal Pasha [q.v.]. In the summer of 1926, a Unionist conspiracy to assassinate Mustafa Kemal was discovered and several people were arrested. Dr. Adnan was tried in his
absence as he had been in Europe for some months. Although he was acquitted, he and his wife did not return to Turkey until 1939. They lived in England and later in France where he worked as lecturer at the École de Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris, together with Jean Deny (1929-39). When Hasan 'Ali Yücel (Yücel), the reforming Minister of Education (1938-46) decided that a Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* should be published, he appointed Adnan Adivar as chief editor (1940); the latter organised the secretariat of the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* and successfully launched and directed it as an independent deputy (1950-4). He died in Istanbul on 1 July 1955.

Adnan Adivar’s main work is his book on the history of science in Turkey, prepared during his exile in France: *La science chez les Turcs ottomans* (Paris 1939), which he revised and enlarged in the second edition in Turkish, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Himayet Sabiti* (Istanbul 1943), where for the first time all the extensive data on the subject are put systematically together. Apart from an essay on Faust (Faust, *tahlil tecribesi*, Istanbul 1939) and an essay on *Faust* (Faust, *tahlil tecribesi*, Istanbul 1950), and other writings. A list which is, to a certain extent, representative for the 4th/10th century, is to be found in Ibn Kayyala, *Yunus al-akbar*, iii, Cairo 1348/1930, 296-9, under the heading *masāliḥ al-talām*, where *masāliḥ* must have the plain meaning of “spices, food-flavourings”. In Arabic the meaning of *afwāţ* is not sharply marked off from *itīr*, *tif* “scents”, and *‘aţbar* (plur. *‘aţār, ‘aţār*, “drugs” [see *‘Aţţār*]. The lexicographers call *al-afwāţ* whatever is added to spices, and *al-tanţābîl* what is added to food (see Lane, iv, 470). Specific monographs on *al-afwāţ* do not seem to be known. These substances are treated in their appropriate places in works on botany, pharmacognosics, medicine, knowledge of commodities, encyclopaedias and other writings. A list which is, to a certain extent, representative for the 4th/10th century, is to be found in *al-Mas‘udi*, *Marā‘ī*, i, 367, containing 25 main kinds of spices: 1. *sunbâl* spikenard, 2. *karanflu* cloves, 3. *sandal* sandalwood, 4. *gāwāţ hāwā‘* nutmeg, 5. *ward* rose, 6. *sulquâ‘* cassia, 7. *zanūm* (meaning doubtful, cf. Meyerhofer’s edition of *Maimonides*, *Shārī‘ aswād* al-*‘aţār*, no. 137), 8. *kifja*, *cinnamon*, 9. *karnawa* (a kind of sonchus?, cf. Ibn al-Baytar, *al-Ishdrā‘ ildīkh*, [al-afdwih pl. *afdwih*, *afwāţ* pl. *afwāţ*, *afwāţ* pl. *afwāţ*), in this inventory.

Bibliography: Yeni afāţlar, special number, August 1955; Halide Edib Adivar, *Doctör Abdülhalik Adnan Adivar*, Istanbul 1956; Tahir Alangi, 100 unle Türk bayâţı, ii, Istanbul 1974, 1259-65. (Fahrettin Iz)

**ʻADÎMAN** [al-ʻAdîman], the smallest of the seven shaykhdoms of Trucial ‘Uman, which now comprise the United Arab Emirates (al-Imām al-‘Arabiyah al-Muttahida [q.v.]. The shaykhdom proper measures about 100 square miles in extent, and there are two small enclaves, Masfut and Manama, in the interior. The total population is around 5,000. The leading tribal elements are the Karātūs, Hamfrat and Al Bu Khurayban branch of the Al Bu Khurayban section, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, 200 f., no. 757. An unsystematic list of food spices, among which are included the most common like salt (mîlî), is to be found in Ibn Kayyala. *Yunus al-akbar*, iii, Cairo 1348/1930, 296-9, under the heading *masāliḥ al-talām*, where *masāliḥ* must have the plain meaning of “spices, food-flavourings”. In Arabic the meaning of *afwāţ* is not sharply marked off from *itīr*, *tif* “scents”, and *‘aţbar* (plur. *‘aţār, ‘aţār*, “drugs” [see *‘Aţţār*]. The lexicographers call *al-afwāţ* whatever is added to spices, and *al-tanţābîl* what is added to food (see Lane, iv, 470). Specific monographs on *al-afwāţ* do not seem to be known. These substances are treated in their appropriate places in works on botany, pharmacognosics, medicine, knowledge of commodities, encyclopaedias and other writings. A list which is, to a certain extent, representative for the 4th/10th century, is to be found in *al-Mas‘udi*, *Marā‘ī*, i, 367, containing 25 main kinds of spices: 1. *sunbâl* spikenard, 2. *karanflu* cloves, 3. *sandal* sandalwood, 4. *gāwāţ hāwā‘* nutmeg, 5. *ward* rose, 6. *sulquâ‘* cassia, 7. *zanūm* (meaning doubtful, cf. Meyerhofer’s edition of *Maimonides*, *Shārī‘ aswād* al-*‘aţār*, no. 137), 8. *kifja*, *cinnamon*, 9. *karnawa* (a kind of sonchus?, cf. Ibn al-Baytar, *al-Ishdrā‘ ildīkh*, [al-afdwih pl. *afdwih*, *afwāţ* pl. *afwāţ*, *afwāţ* pl. *afwāţ*).
Scattered or unsystematically-arranged material for the knowledge of spices is to be found, as can be expected, in the encyclopaedias of the Arabic and Persian literature. Preliminary statements already appear in al-Khārazmī’s Muhādh al-ulūm (ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895) under medicaments (169-42), spikenard (43 f.), cloves (45-8), costus (49-51), etc. All this is mixed up with detailed statements about other materials which can be counted among spices only with reservations or in no way at all. As in mediaeval Europe, ground spices were often adulterated, especially in times of distress. Here we only recall the original work ‘Djawbari (ca. 615/1218), Kāṭb al-Muḥaddith fī hadāl al-āsār wa-nabāk al-āsār, which allegedly informs traders about deceitful devices in commerce and trade; it was printed several times in the Orient and urgently deserves a critical edition (now in preparation by S. Wild). The section on adulterations of spices and perfumes was translated into German by E. Wiedemann (op. cit., i, 1970, 679-82).

Since there is hardly any spice which was not at the same time used as medicament, it is no wonder that the most comprehensive material on spices is to be found in the pharmacopoeias. These are essentially based on the Materia medica (Ṣān ʿībūt) of Dioscorides [see PFLANZENREICH]. This work, translated into Arabic at an early period, lived on in the Islamic world in ever-new compilations, expanded by a great number of drugs which the Arabs had come to know in the course of their conquests. The material is to be found on the one hand in pharmacognostic and pharmaceutical monographs, the development of which came to a certain conclusion with Ibn al-Baytār’s great compilation, and on the other hand in the pharmacological sections of compendia on general medicine [see MAYERHOFF]. It should, however, be remembered that in these works spices are entered and described as medicines in the first place, not as condiments.

Together with cambric textiles, spices were considered as the most fashionable luxury; both products are often mentioned together as the most lucrative ones (Mez, Renaissance, 152 ff.). In Egypt, where for a long time corn had offered the best chances for investment, spices and drugs took its place after the Crusades. In the later Middle Ages, the spice trade, and the pepper trade in particular, was mainly in the hands of Egyptians and Venetians. A good survey on the spice trade under the Ayūbid and Mamlūks is to be found in G. Wiet, Les marchands d’espices sous les sultans mamelouks, in Cahiers d’histoire égyptienne, série vii (1955), 81-147, with a rich bibliography. However, the author does not deal with particular spices, but with their general trade. Under the protection of the sultans this trade was carried out by imported agents of merchants, who forwarded the spices from India and South-East Asia to Europe by way of Egypt through the Red Sea or by way of Syria through the Persian Gulf. About these trading companies and their monopoly we have some detailed information, especially about the wealthy Kārimī [q.v.], who controlled the spice trade between the Yemen and Egypt. The “spice-wars” with the European ports in the Mediterranean, started by the Ayūbīds and continued by the Mamlūks and the Ottoman Turks, were waged on both sides with great ruthlessness. Internal policy was carried out just as rigorously, especially by the Mamlūks. In 1299 Barsbay founded a state monopoly of pepper and three years later he forced the wholesale merchants to buy from him for 80 dinārs a hini the pepper which they had sold to him earlier for 50 dinārs. Even so, Kānsawh al-Ghawrī not only maintained this monopoloy system, but imposed additional heavy taxes on the merchants. Hopes of cutting out Egyptian middlemen were the decisive inducement for the Spanish and the Portuguese to search for a direct sea-route to India; but after the conquest of the Moluccas in 1607, the Dutch snatched the monopoly of the spice trade away from the Portuguese.


(A. Dietrich)

Afdal al-Dīn Turka, more frequently referred to as Khādja Afdal-Ṣadr, was a famous theologian in the reign of the Timūrid Shāhrukh Mirza [q.v.], and a member of an originally turco-phone family of Isfahān. It should, however, be remembered that in these works spices are entered and described as medicines in the first place, not as condiments. Together with cambric textiles, spices were considered as the most fashionable luxury; both products are often mentioned together as the most lucrative ones (Mez, Renaissance, 152 ff.). In Egypt, where for a long time corn had offered the best chances for investment, spices and drugs took its place after the Crusades. In the later Middle Ages, the spice trade, and the pepper trade in particular, was mainly in the hands of Egyptians and Venetians. A good survey on the spice trade under the Ayūbid and Mamlūk is to be found in G. Wiet, Les marchands d’espices sous les sultans mamelouks, in Cahiers d’histoire égyptienne, série vii (1955), 81-147, with a rich bibliography. However, the author does not deal with particular spices, but with their general trade. Under the protection of the sultans this trade was carried out by imported agents of merchants, who forwarded the spices from India and South-East Asia to Europe by way of Egypt through the Red Sea or by way of Syria through the Persian Gulf. About these trading companies and their monopoly we have some detailed information, especially about the wealthy Kārimī [q.v.], who controlled the spice trade between the

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, Ṭadḥkīrāt al-shuʿrāʾ, ed. Browne, 339; Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-

(A.H. Zarûnknûr)作

AL-‘AFFÎ, ‘Âbd al-Wâhâb b. ‘Âbd al-Sâlâm b. Ahmad b. Hûgazî, an Egyptian mystic belonging to the Shâdhîliyya [q.v.] order, after whom one of his branches is named al-‘Affîyya. He was born in Minyât ‘Affî in the present-day Minûfîyya province in the last quarter of the 17th century. After a period of study at al-Azhâr under a number of notable scholars like the Mâlikî muftî Sâlim b. Ahmad al-Nafrawî, and Ahmad b. Muṣṭafâ al-Sikandarânî al-Sâbbâgh, he taught the Shâdhî of Islam in the madrasa al-aghâ’irîyya and confined himself to an ascetic way of life based upon the precepts of the Shâdhîliyya order. He had been initiated into this tarîkâ [q.v.] by the son of the founder of the Moroccan Tâsâ’îyya [q.v.], the Waqasî hâfiz, Mawdûd all-Mâlikî al-Tâwârîshî (d. 1715), from whom he also received the khîlâfâ [q.v.]. In addition he held an idîfâzat khîlîfî of the Khalwâtîyya order issued to him by Muṣṭafî Kânîl al-Dîn al-Bâkî [q.v.].

His contacts with the Mâlikî annîr who used to come and visit him in his house in Kasr al-Shawk and the generous way in which he gave away to his circle of adepts to increase and spread it into the rural areas.

When he died on 12 Safar 1172/15 October 1758, he was buried close to the mosque of Kâyît Bây in a grave which was swept away by a torrent in the year 1178/1764-5. After this event his body was re-interred at a much higher site in the same area where a domed shrine was constructed over his tomb, as reported by Abd al-Rahmân Abu ‘l-Dhâhil [q.v.].

Two branches of the al-‘Affîyya tarîka were active in Egypt in 1958 (cf. Muhammad Mâhomîd ‘Alîn, al-Ta‘awwuf al-lûmî, râzîlawâhu wa-mubhâdulahu, mädîrîgî wa-tâhidîru, Cairo 1958, 72, 74).


ÂFLÎMUN, FULÂYNÎN, IFLÎMUN, the Greek reticorician and sophist Antonius Polemon (ca. 144 A.D.) of Laodicea (near modern Denizli in Asia Minor) is known for his two works on physiognomy, which have been preserved, apart from one single Greek quotation, in an Arabic translation only. The translator is not known. Polemon’s book (K. Afîmîn fi ‘îfrasîn) presents the characteristics of physiognomy, in contrast to the branch of physiognomy which aims at medical morphology [see FRîSAM]. It was believed that characterological physiognomy provided an insight into someone’s character by means of a skilful interpretation of his physical appearance (ad-idîfâzat bi ‘l-bik’d al-mubârak’d). Polemon’s book is divided into 70 chapters. Ch. 1 treats the characteristics of the human eye, and ch. 2 the characteristics of animals from which, by analogy, conclusions can be drawn about human nature; these constitute about half of the book. Then

on various grounds for wearing yellow headgear in imitation of al-Zubayr b. ‘Awâmî [q.v.], who, according to one tradition, wore a yellow turban on the day of the battle of Badr. In defence of headgear of this colour, a small treatise was published by the order, written by ‘Irâtîm al-Sâdîjînî under the title al-A‘mân al-akhbâr fi ‘îsâm al-man ana karb lihs al-‘Affîyya [q.v.].

The annotations caused his circle of adepts to increase and they mirror Shadhili teaching as translated into the tarikâ’s liturgy and was adopted by Ahmad Zarrûk. The latter’s wa‘zîfâ [q.v.], Risdlat al-Ummahdt became standard reading at a later period, towards the end of the 19th century.

Followers of the ‘Affîyya order have been criticised
follow chs. 3-30 on the different parts of the body, chs. 31-5 on the different nations of the world, chs. 36-40 on the colour of the parts of the body, chs. 41-8 on the growth of hair on the parts of the body, chs. 49-50 on the movements of the body, chs. 51-66 on several outstanding character types, and chs. 67-70 on several other topics connected with foretelling someone's destiny. The book appears to be authentic, as can be seen from the many Greek examples; thus mention is made of Oedipus (ed. Hoffmann, 111, 7), Cypere (ibid. 119, 14), Lydia and Phrygia (ibid. 139, 13), Egypt, Macedonia, Phoenicia, Cilicia and Scythia (ibid. 237, 14-239, 2). The eyes of the Roman Emperor, Hadrian of whom Polemon was a favourite, are described (ibid. 149, 4). Polemon's opponent, Favorinus, is only too well recognisable in the anonymous and malicious description on p. 161, 8 ff. Allusion to the attempt on the Emperor's life is made on p. 141, 1 ff.

Polemon does not give a theoretical introduction to his method. He used materials from the Physiogonomicon of Ps. Aristotle and gave his book a lively tone by including anecdotes about contemporary and avoiding a monotonously scientific treatment of his subject (Siegemann, 1345-7). Polemon's name is mentioned by al-Dajih (d. 253/868 [q.v.]); in his Hayawan, ed. 'A.M. Hārūn, Cairo 1938, iii, 146, 269-75, 284), with extensive quotations on the physiognomy of the dove (fīrāsāt al-hamūm), none of which however can be found in the Arabic physiognomicon as it exists now. Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 377/987 [q.v.]) mentions Polemon's book and, without naming its author, a Fīrāsāt al-hamūm (Fīrāsī, ed. Fliegel, 314). Mention of Polemon is also made by Ibn Hazm (413/1022 [q.v.]) in his Ta'akk al-hamūmnā (ed. D.K. Petrof, Leiden 1914, 30). The quotation by Ibn Hazm is only a faint echo of Polemon, ed. Hoffmann, 169, 1-4. An anecdote about Polemon and Hippocrates (a crude anachronism) in Ps. Aristotolō, Sur an-urūr (cf. ed. Foerster, ii, 187-90) found its way into Ibn al-Kīfī (d. 646/1248 [q.v.]), Tārīkh al-Hukmāna, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 91 l. 1-92 l. 2 and into Ibn Abi Usayba's (d. 668/1270 [q.v.]), Usūn al-anbā', ed. Müller, Königsberg 1884, i, 27-8.

Polemon's book was widely used and epitomised. An Arabised short version is the edition of M.R. al-Tabbakh, Aleppo 1929. The characteristics of the several nations of the Hellenistic world (ed. Hoffmann, 237-9, ed. al-Tabbakh, 46) are applied to peoples of the Islamic world. Another short version is MS Göttingen 85 (3) (see bibliography), which lacks the specific Greek characteristics but is less adapted to Islamic taste than the Aleppo version. An evaluation of the texts written under the name of Polemon has not been undertaken so far. Polemon's book was probably a primary source of al-Dimashqī (d. 727/1327 [q.v.]), K. al-Siydsā fī 'ilm al-fīrāsā (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 161) and Ibn al-Kdīnī (d. 749/1348 [q.v.]), Asād al-ayyāsā fī 'ilm al-fīrāsā (MS Paris, BN, Arab. 2762). Fīrāsā was, and still is, a popular science with its uses both in court life, human relationships and the slave trade. The exact impact, directly or indirectly, of Polemon's work on the numerous tracts on physiognomy of later times, cannot now easily be discerned.

Bibliography: On Polemon in general see the art. Polemon (by W. Stegmann) in Pauly-Wissowa, xx/i/2, cols. 1320-57, and F. Sezgin, GAS, iii, 552-3. On Polemon's position in the Arabic fīrāsā tradition, see T. Fahdi, La doxinaion arabe, Strasbourg 1966, 384-6, and Y. Mourad, La physiognomie arabe. . ., Paris 1939, 44-6, with the literature cited there. Polemon's book was edited by G. Hoffmann, in R. Foerster, Scriptores physiognomici Graeci et Latini, Leipzig 1893, i, 93-294 (= MS Leiden Or. 198 [1]). The only Greek quotation of Polemon preserved is given in ibid., i, p. LXXVI. A Polemonic treatise is mentioned in ibid., ii, p. 147-60 (= MS Gotha Arab. 85 [3]); Other MSS. of treatises under the name of Polemon are mentioned by Fahd, op. cit. 384-6; Ullmann, Medicīn, 96; Foerster, Script. phys., i, p. LXXXVII (identical with Hadjdjr Khaīfa, ed. Fliegel, vii, 297, and (?) with MS Nuruosmanieh, Defier, no. 2388); and M.R. al-Tabbakh in his edn., intro. p. 2. The Greek physiognomicon ascribed to Polemon in Adiutae variæ Historiæ Libri XIII, Rome 1545, ff. 79-81 is not authentic, as has been demonstrated by R. Foerster, in De Polemonis Physiognomici dissertatione, Kiel 1886, 10 ff.

AJRāF (al-Mansūra), an 8th/14th century Marinid royal camp-town (whence its name), commanding Ceuta from the heights west of the peninsula on which this old Moroccan (now Spanish) seaport is situated. Its site lies in an area of modern suburban development: in the north-east the line of its west wall stops short of the Ceuta-Punta Blanca road (of which a stone wall remains), and its towers has survived. Construction techniques suggest Andalusian influence. Ajrāf owed its existence to that of Ceuta, which, from around 1250, had acquired growing economic and strategic importance and become the great entre-îet of the western Mediterranean, boasting an economy thriving on commerce and privateering. Militarily, it was ideally suited to assist Islam in its struggle to maintain its increasingly precarious foot-hold in Spain: it had ships, harbours and a seafaring population equipped for war by land and sea; in good weather its ships could rapidly cross to Algeciras; its fortifications were formidable and, on its landward side, impregnable. However, because it could easily withstand assault and siege from the mainland, it had long enjoyed a profitable measure of independence and, at times under the 'Azaifs [q.v.], escaped Marinid control altogether. Accordingly, when in 728/1327-8 the total collapse of 'Azaifid authority was followed by internal dissension, the Marinid sultan Abū Sa'id decided to assert his authority there once and for all. Among measures to achieve this end were decisions to demolish Ceuta's Outer Suburb (al-rahad al-hamūmī) wall, the most formidable barrier to access from the west, and to impart solidity and permanence to what had doubtless been the site of many an earlier siege camp. Like a similar foundation built by a dynastic predecessor outside Tiemcen, it was given the name al-Mansūra. Abū Sa'id is credited with the construction of a palace there with adjacent mosque as well as other buildings. Most of the wall and fortifications, however, seem to have been the work of Abu l-Hasan (931-52/1331-51). In the 9th/15th century Ajrāf was regarded as a suburb of Ceuta. Much of the place was still standing in the 10th century.

Bibliography: B. Pavón Maldonado, Arte hispánomusulmán en Ceuta y Tetuán, in Cuadernos de la Alhambra, vi (1970), 72-6; J.D. Latham, The strategic position and defence of Ceuta in the later Muslim Period, in Orientalia Hispanica, ed. J.M. Barral, i/1, Leiden 1974, 454 and passim (also
АГАИ, поэтическое имя МУСАРИД РИДА МИРАБ б. ЭР НИЯЗ БЕК, КНЯЗЬ, поэт и переводчик, был родом из Кхива. В 1281/1864, он родился в Кхиве, в княжеской семье.

Благоприятствовало это в поэзии, особенно под его дядей, которого он называл своими словами "мирольдами" (см. "мировые строки""). Его мать была имяной известна своими переводами, а его отец был известен своими историческими работами, но также, как и многие другие высокие чины, он также был предан своим военным наклонностям, что было отмечено в его стихах.

В 1281/1864, он получил звание поэта и переводчика. В 1282/1865, он стал законным наследником своего отца, и с этого времени он полностью посвятил себя литературной работе, и продолжил свою работу, которая была завершена после его смерти в 1300/1882.

В его литературном наследии находится "Изречение осторожно" (1282/1864-65). В работе "Изречение осторожно" были отмечены предыдущие работы поэта и переводчика, как "Ал-хорасани" (1267-71/1850-56) и "Одиссея" (1272-81/1856-64).

В целом, его литературные работы являются совершенно уникальными в своем роде, и были продолжены в работах его наследников, как "Ал-хорасани" (1267-71/1850-56) и "Одиссея" (1272-81/1856-64).

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Agha Hashar Kashmiri — Ahmad Al-Hiba

best-known Urdu dramatist. His actual name was Agha Muhammad Shakhir Hashar his ta'khallus, while his nisba alludes to the country of origin of his father. The latter came from Kashmir, and settled in Benares as a merchant. Here Agha Hashar was born and educated, until in 1892 he ran away from home and made for Bombay. He founded his father's wrath for his misuse of money entrusted to him; and his appetite for the new Urdu drama form, which was flourishing in Bombay, had been whetted by the visit of a theatrical company to Benares. He worked as playwright for various companies in Bombay, and subsequently in several provincial capitals such as Hyderabad and Madras, writing over thirty plays. Many of them were extremely successful, and earned him a fine reputation, and also considerable wealth, which, however, he quickly dissipated. He later worked in films. He died and was buried in Lahore.

When he entered the field, the main lines of the Urdu dramatic form were already established. Agha Hashar, by his technical brilliance and command of language raised it to its highest point. The form was hardly challenged until after the 1939-45 War. Common elements in the form were: use of poetry and rhymed prose, often rhetorical to the point of bombast, prose being reserved for comedy or social drama; the development of subsidiary plots alongside the main one, as in Shakespeare; and historical or heroic themes, based on either Islamic and Indian stories or Shakespeare and other English dramatists, whose plays were freely adapted, with changes in locations and names of characters. Social themes were also employed. Violence and death were common on stage, as in Schrab-v-Hustain (1929), publ. Lahore 1959; yet adaptations of Shakespeare's tragedies might be given happy endings—thus Safid Khubus (1907, publ. Lahore 1954), based on King Lear.

Bibliography: For accounts of earlier Urdu drama, see Muhammad Sadiq, History of Urdu literature, London 1964, 393-9; Ram Babu Sakena, History of Urdu literature, Allahabad 1927, 346-7; J.A. Haywood, Urdu drama—origins and early development, in Iran and Islam—in memory of Vladimir Minorsky, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 293-312; Accounts of Agha Hashar and his dramatic art are to be found in Wakkar 'Azim, Agha Hashar awr un drdme (1907, publ. Lahore 1954), based on King Lear.

Agriculture [see Filahi].

Agriculture [see Agual].

Ahbâsh [see Rababi, Rababah].

al-Adâb [see Ibrahim Al-Adab].

Ahmad Al-Hiba, a religious leader of southern Morocco, and ephemeral pretender to the Sharifian throne, known above all as al-Hiba. He was born in Ramadam 1293 or 1294/September-October 1876 or 1877, the fourth son of the famous Shaykh Ma'al-Aynayn [g.e.]. He was brought up and educated in his father's bosom, and his natural talents and temperament gave his teachers high literary hopes of him.

When his father died at Tiznit in Shawwal 1326/November 1910, he succeeded him at the head of the maldin of the order and was then at the peak of his responsibilities. However, when there was announced the signing of the Protectorate Treaty between France and sultan Mawlay al-Hafiz [g.e.], followed by the rumor of the latter's death and of the murder of the "ulama" of Fès by the French, he proclaimed himself sultan, organised his own mukhallat [g.e.] and launched throughout the Sûs, and then through all Morocco, appeals for resistance. Soon the tribes of
the South (except for the ports) rallied to him, and before official letters announcing the accession of Mawlay Yusuf [q.v.] could arrive, he appointed fresh officials with high responsibilities in the regions which had rejected his rule. He then used the way via Tiznit and followed the road to Marrakesh in an imperial procession. When he arrived before the southern capital, he met with hostility from the high political leaders, but was received with joy by the people of the Haouz [q.v.]. The new sultan entered Marrakesh on Sunday, 5 Ramaḍān 1330/18 August 1912, occupied the kasaba and installed himself in the palace of the ‘Alawīs. He had to face grave troubles immediately. Profiting by the great unrest which had seized people’s hearts and minds, the ‘asfār troops, the floating population of the city and the hungry hordes which had followed the new amīr from Taroudannt, launched themselves into sacking the shops and imposing all sorts of exactions on the populace.

Al-Hlba had secured the handing-over to himself of the few French residents, including the vice-consul of France, who had attempted to flee the city. In an endeavour to save their lives, Gen. Lyautey’s troops got the order to go by forced marches to Marrakesh. Al-Hlba withdrew first of all to base, whence he endeavoured to save their lives, Gen. Lyautey’s troops got the order to go by forced marches to Marrakesh. Al-Hlba withdrew first of all to base, whence he endeavoured to save their lives, Gen. Lyautey’s troops got the order to go by forced marches to Marrakesh. Al-Hlba withdrew first of all to base, whence he endeavoured to save their lives, Gen. Lyautey’s troops got the order to go by forced marches to Marrakesh. Al-Hlba withdrew first of all to base, whence he endeavoured to save their lives, Gen. Lyautey’s troops got the order to go by forced marches to Marrakesh. Al-Hlba withdrew first of all to base, whence he endeavoured to save their lives, Gen. Lyautey’s troops got the order to go by forced marches to Marrakesh. Al-Hlba withdrew first of all to base, whence he endeavoured to save their lives, Gen. Lyautey’s troops got the order to go by forced marches to Marrakesh.
larity among the Shi`a is also reflected by the fact that the leader of the Zand rebellion [see 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Zand] for some time claimed to be his grandson.

W. MEDELSING

AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD OR MAHMUD, called Mu'in al-Fukara, Transoxianian author of an important work on the religious leaders and saints of Bukhara, the Kitab-i Mulzimda or Kitab-i Mazari-i Bukhara, in which the cities of the cemetery and their occupants are described. Since the last date mentioned in the book is 814/1411-12, the author must have lived in the reigns of Timur and Shah-Rukh [see AL-MURID]. From the number of extant manuscripts, the work was obviously popular in Central Asia.

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AHMAD B. ISA — AHMAD-I RUMI
The instruction of the convenant's residents takes a more practical turn in al-Dakā'ik fi 'l-tarīkh, a lengthy maqāṣid in 12 chapters on the relation between murādīd and murādīd. Although Ahmad describes himself as a "follower of Mawāłānā", from his exposition of Sūfī practices he can be seen to be acting as the standard-bearer of the Sufi orders. Rather, Ahmad's works indicate that Sūfī life in the 8th/14th century did not have to be organised along the formal lines of the later great orders.

One instance of lyrical poetry (a ghazal) occurs in a Maqāṣid manuscript in Edinburgh (Hukk, Ethé, Robertson, Descriptive catalogue, no. 281).


**AḤMADĪ, AḤMAD,** a town about 30 years old some 20 km. south of Kuwait City. During the early days of exploration for oil in Kuwait, the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC), then owned in equal shares by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (later renamed British Petroleum) and by the Gulf Oil Corporation of the United States, established its base camp at Maqwa (al-Maqwa) not far north-west of the ridge known as Dhaib (dhaibāt al-Maqwa) seven miles south of Kuwait City. One of the few fairly high places in the state in 1356/1938 KOC discovered oil south of the ridge at Burgan (Būrkan), destined to become one of the largest oil fields in the world. The involvement of Britain and later the United States in the Second World War delayed the first export of oil until 1365/1946. KOC gradually moved its field headquarters to the desert area of the ridge, which was renamed Ahmadi (in Arabic al-Ahmadi) in honour of Shaykh Ahmad al-Dakhil, Al-Shaibani, then the Head of KOC. Oil from Burgan and other fields, including one called Ahmadi, is brought to a tank farm on the ridge, whence it flows by gravity to the nearby coast for shipment from the terminal of Mina al-Āhmadi. The company built at Ahmadi a planned community with many amenities designed especially for the comfort and pleasure of the expatriate staff (British, Americans, etc.). With the passage of time, Kuwaiti's in increasing numbers received the training necessary to qualify them for higher positions in the company. The government also inaugurated and expanded in stages its participation in the ownership of KOC, culminating in a complete takeover in 1394/1975, with the original owners being retained to lend a hand in the operations. The town and the indigenous parts of the state have thus moved towards full integration.

Ahmadi town is also the seat of the Ahmadi Governorate (mašfīq). As Kuwait endeavours to diversify its economy in order to escape undue dependence on the export of oil and natural gas, emphasis is placed on industrialisation. The largest industrial area in the state is now Shuaiba (al-Shu'ayba) on the coast of the Governorate south of Mina al-Ahmadi, with huge plants for generating electricity, distilling sea water, and manufacturing petrochemicals.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the general bibliography for Kuwait, see al-Arabi, Kuwait, Shawwal 1393 and Rabī' II 1396; *Maqāṣid dināsit al-Muhammadi*, Kuwait, Radiqāb 1396; *The Kuwaiti Diet*, Kuwait, Jan.-Feb. 1976; (G. Rustz) *al-AHMADī* [see Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ahmār, in Suppl.].

**AHMED, FAKHĪ, or AHMED FAKHĪ,** early Anatolian Turkish poet whose identity and date are controversial. He is accepted to be the author of the poetry, a paraphrase in modern Turkish and evaluation of the poem, see Fahir Iz, *Eski türk edebiyatında zanaz*, ii, Istanbul 1967, Introduction.

**Bibliography:** A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 270. (FAHIR IZ)

**AḤNĀR, KHĀDĪJA** 'Ubayd Allāh b. MAḤMŪD NAṢĪR AL-DĪN (806/1404-90), a shaykhs of the Nakshbandī order under whose auspices it became firmly rooted in Central Asia and spread also to other regions of the Islamic world; furthermore, the effective ruler of much of Transoxania for four decades. He was born in Ramādān 806/March 1404 in the village of Bāghistān near Tashkent into a family already renowned for its religious and scholarly interests. It was his maternal uncle, Ibrāhīm Shāhī, who first assumed the task of educating him and who sent him to pursue his studies in Samarkand. Because of illness and lack of inclination on his part, Ahrār soon abandoned his studies in Samarkand, and according to his own admission never mastered "more than two pages of Arabic grammar." Throughout his life, indeed, he manifested a certain disdain for formal religious learning, assigning more importance to the enactment of the *ṣaḥif* and the practise of Sūfī. At the age of 24, Ahrār went to Herat, and it was evidently there that his active interest in Sūfism was awakened. He associated with numerous shaykhs of the city without, however, offering his formal allegiance to any of them. The master to whom he gave his devotion was instead Yā'qūb Carhī (d. 851/1447), one of the principal successors of Bahā' al-Dīn Nakshband, eponymous founder of the Nakshbandī order, who had left Bukhārā after the death of his master to settle first in Badakhshān and then in the remote province of Cagāhniyān. Ahrār had already had some dealings in Samarkand with another Nakshbandī shaykhs, Khādīja Ḥasan 'Attār, son-in-law of Bahā' al-Dīn Nakshband, but 'Attār had seen little sign in him of spiritual talent, and advised him instead to learn the martial arts. Returning from Cagāhniyān to Tashkent in about 855/1451, Ahrār established himself as chief Shaykh of the city.

Ahrār's rise to political prominence came in 855/1451, when he extended to the Timūrid prince Abu Sa'id assistance that proved decisive in enabling him to capture the Timūrid capital of Samarkand.
According to the account found in the biographies of Ahrar, Abū Saʿīd, defeated in battle by a rival prince, ʿAbd Allāh Mīrẓā, fled northward to Tashkent, and in the course of his flight dreamed of the celebrated saint, ʿAlamād Yasawī [r.v.]. Yasawī introduced him to a luminous figure who would aid him in his struggle. Describing the figure he had dreamed of to the people of Tashkent, Abū Saʿīd was told that it was none other than Khūṭbaʿidd ʿUbayd Allāh Ahrār. Ahrār was at the time absent from Tashkent, and it was at the small town of Parkent (Fārāḵ) outside the city that Abū Saʿīd went to meet him. Ahrār consented to aid him, on condition that he use his rule to enforce the ʿShāfīʿī law and to alleviate the lot of the people. In the ensuing battle, ʿAbd Allāh Mīrẓā was defeated, and Abū Saʿīd entered Samarqand, soon to be followed by Ahrār. Abū Saʿīd's battle against ʿAbd Allāh Mīrẓā had been won, in reality, by his Uzbek auxiliaries, commanded by Abū l-ʿKhawāṣir Khaṭīb; it is said that they had intervened at the request of Ahrār, but this is uncertain. In any event, Abū Saʿīd felt himself to be in the debt of Ahrār and even, according to the chronicler ʿAbd al-Razzāk Samarqandī, "regarded himself as being under his orders". Ahrār's domination of Samarqand became complete in 861/1457 when Abū Saʿīd transferred his capital to Herat. It survives the death of that prince in 874/1469, this death occurring in the course of a disastrous campaign undertaken with Ahrār's advice; Abū Saʿīd's son, ʿĀlī Ahmad, proved even more devoted to Ahrār than his father had been.

There are a number of episodes, apart from the conquest of Samarqand in 855/1451, that may be mentioned as particularly illustrative of Ahrār's political influence; his organization of the defense of Samarqand against an army from Khurasan in 856/1457 when Abū Saʿīd transferred his capital to Herat. The origins of the Naqshbandī order are unusually copious. A complete bibliography of the order is given in Hamid Algar, ʿAbd al-Awwal Nishapuri, since whose time the Naqshbandī order has maintained an uninterrupted presence among the Turks (see Kim Suhr, Molla Ilahi ve kendisinden sonraki Nakshbandiye muhit, in Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi, iii [October 1948], 129-51).

Ahrār died in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 895/February 1490, and a decade later Timurid rule in Transoxania came to an end. Muhammad Shaybānī, the Uzbek conqueror of Transoxania, showed himself hostile to the sons of Ahrār, confiscating much of the property they had inherited from their father, and putting to death Khūṭbaʿidd ʿUbayd Allāh Mīrẓā, Abū Saʿīd's son. However, Muhammad Shaybānī's nephew, ʿUbayd Allāh Khaṭīb, restored the major part of their lands and took pride in the coincidence of his name with that of the great Ahrār. In general, the posthumous repute and influence of the khūṭbaʿī were great, and the various branches of the Naqshbandī order that descended from him played a major role in the history of Central Asia down to the Russian conquest.
probably in the 7th century and belonged, with produced by the Alexandrian School. A satirical verse presbyter and physician, who lived in Alexandria which Ahrun lived. Abd al-Malik b. Bishr was gov-
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Aghdnl, breath and nose cured by Ahrun before presenting of Abd al-Malik b. Bishr b. Marwan, governor of [q.v.], of al-Hakam b. Paulus of Aigina, to the last great medical scholars medical compendium (Ilav8£KTr|(;, iTjviaypxx?)

himself to the consisting of 30 books, which was translated into
Syriac by a certain Gosios Gregory Abu 'l-Faraj. . . Bar Hebraeus, 1436).

[ms. Institut Vostokovedeniya, Uzbek University 1970; and O.D. Cekovic, Socineniya, Beg i ego vremya, Moscow 1955]; and Minorsky, in see, for example, ms. Institut Vostokovedeniya, Tajik Academy of Sciences, Dushanbe 548. The branches of the Nakshbandiya descending from Kh‘adjda Ahrar are enumerated in Kamal al-Din al-Hariri, Tibyan wasa’il al-hak‘ak, ms. Istanbul, Ibrahim Efendi fl. 34a-14b. Scholarly writing on Ahrar has been done up to the present almost entirely in Russian: mention may be made of the pages devoted to Ahrar in V.V. Bartold’s Ulug Beg eg v time, reprinted in Smel’chenko, Moscow 1964, ii (2), 121-4, 205-17, Eng. tr. V. and T. Minorsky, in Four studies on the history of Central Asia, ii, Leiden 1958, 117-18, 166-77, and a number of more recent studies concentrating on the socio-economic aspects of Ahrar’s activity: R.N. Nabiev, 1; stories politico-ekonomiceskoi zhizni Mucenannikha XV v. [zameki o Khodzha-Akhrare], in Velikiy Uzbeksikii Put—Shormik Statii, Tagkhten 1948, 25-49; Z.A. Kurbave, K istorii van邪lshyn vladenii Khodzha Akhbara i ego potomkov, doctoral thesis, Tagkhten University 1970; and O.D. Čeković, Samarkandskae Dokumenty XV-XVI vv., Moscow 1974. (HAMID ČEKOVIĆ)

AHRUN (AHRON) B. AYAN AL-KAS, "the priest," presbyter and physician, who lived in Alexandria probably in the 7th century and belonged, with Paulus of Aigina, to the last great medical scholars produced by the Alexandrian School. A satirical verse of Abd al-Malik b. Abd al-Malik b. Bishr. Minorsky, governor of Bayra, is advised to have the offensive smell of his breath and nose cured by Ahrun before presenting himself to the amir (Djahiz, Hayawun, i, Cairo 1949-50, 247, 14 = 249, B = 250, 2; Ibn Kutayba, ‘Uyun, Cairo 1930, iv, 62; Agha‘ni, Cairo 1928, ii, 424), possibly offers a terminus post quem for the period in which Ahrun lived. Abd al-Malik b. Bishr was governor under Yazid II in 102/720-1 (Tabari, ii, 1433, 1430).

Ahrun (probably = ‘Arif aw) allegedly composed a medical compendium (Pov‘ekxat, 'Uxvax) consisting of 30 books, which was translated into Syriac by a certain Giosios (The Chronography of Gregory Abu ‘l-Faraj... Bar Hebraeus, tr. Budge, Oxford 1932, 57; see also M. Meyerhoff in, i (1916), 220 ff). Mâasîdjuwayh is said to have translated the work afterwards into Arabic under the title al-kannâsh and to have added two more books. The information on this procedure is, however, defective and inconsistent (see Frisvold, 257; Ibn Djalouli, Tabakht, ed. F. Sayyid, 61; Kifti, Hukumatu‘, ed. Lippert, 80; Ibn Abi Usaybi‘a, ‘Uyun al-amad, i, 109; Sâ‘id, Tabakht, ed. Cheikho, 88; Barhebraeus, Duwâl, ed. Sâhâbî, 157). The data are the more uncertain because it is not known when Mâasîdjuwayh was living. According to Ibn Djalouli, he is said to have translated Ahrun’s work under the caliph Marwan (645-684 or 5) or ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azîz b. Marwan (99-101/717-20); according to others he belongs to the 2nd/8th or 3rd/9th century.

In any case, the kunnâsh must have been highly appreciated (kunnâsh fâdal alfâl al-kunnâsh al-kadîma, Kifti, Hukumatu‘, 324), although it was very badly arranged and difficult to consult even for specialists, according to the judgement of Abû Sahl Bishr b. Ya‘qûb al-Sidjâzi (4th/10th century). For example, the twenty kinds of headaches (suda) are said to have been brought together in one place, while their causes, symptoms and treatments are discussed separately in many places. The subject-matter could thus only be mastered by lengthy readings (see Dietrich, Medicinalia arabica, Göttingen 1966, Arabic text, 6 ff.). Al-Mâdjuwi (Tákb al-Malaki, i, Bâlak 1294, 4 ff) remarks that the work is bad and without value, especially for those who had not read Hunayn b. Ishâk’s translation—which thus also did exist.

The kunnâsh has not preserved in complete manuscript, but it has survived in many quotations, especially in al-Kâfî’s Hâdiq. They have been brought together by Ulmann, Die Medizin im Islam, 88 f., and by Sezgin, Gâsis, iii, 167 f. They can certainly be enlarged through systematic research, see e.g. Maimonides, Sharh asma‘ al-‘âdhr, ed. Meyerhoff, Cairo 1940, no. 247; Ibn al-Khatîb, Tákb an al-mahân li-mam habb, ed. Maria C. Vazquez de Benito, Salamanca 1972, 89, 132, 135, 140. A judgment on the work will only be permitted after all the quotations attainable have been collated systematically with the greatest possible completeness. Râzi more than once quotes an abstract from the kunnâsh under the title al-Fasî‘î. It could not be verified whether the al-Adwîya al-kadîla, mentioned by S. Munadjîdî in RIMA, v (1959), 278, is indeed a work of Ahrun, but Munadjîdî considers the attribution as doubtful.

Bibliography: given in the article. See further, Ulmann and Sezgin, and for the older literature, L. Leclerc, Histoire de la médecine arabe, i, 1876, 77-81. (A. DIETRICH)

‘ÂISHA KANDISHA, a female spirit, diversely referred to as a ginniya (a female ginni [q.v.]), an afîta [see frîft] or a qâha [see qah], by the peoples of northern Morocco. Westermann classifies hers as one of the “individual spirits” whose characteristics are more explicitly elaborated than those of the run-of-the-mill ginni. Although there is some difference of belief in her attributes, ‘Âîshâ Kandîsha is said generally to appear as either a wondrous beauty or an old, wrinkled hag with elongated nipples, pendulous breasts, and long finger nails. In both manifestations she has a hooved foot of a camel, a goat, or an ass. She it thought to be jealous, arbitrary, whimsical, and quick-tempered—ever-ready to strangle or strike those who have offended her. Her victims, at least in the area around
Mikhâsh, must undergo the rituals of the Hamâdîshâ [q.v. in Suppl.], her special devotees, to be rid of the symptoms of her attack: paralysis, sudden deafness, blindness, or mutism. In her beautiful manifestation, she is an insatiable temptress. Once a man has succumbed to her—he is said to be married to her without his absolute power and must follow her every command. His only redress is to plunge a steel knife into the earth before giving into her.

'Âïsha Kandîshâ is said to be married to a far less elaborated djinni, Hammû Kiyû, and to live in the earth or under a river. Along the Moroccan littoral she is thought to live in the sea. The Hamâdîshâ claims that her favourite home is a grotto under a giant fig tree, near the sanctuary of Sîdî 'Ali b. Hamadût, one of the saints whom they venerate, on the Djesel Zaratn. This grotto is visited by 'Âïsha Kandîshâ's followers, especially by women who are anxious for children or for relief from menstrual cramps and other gynaecological complaints. Such women smear henna on their ailing body and make a promise [âr [q.v. in Suppl.]] to sacrifice a chicken or goat if they are relieved of their complaint. During the mawson, or annual pilgrimage [see mawsim], to Sîdî 'Ali's sanctuary, the grotto is the scene of wild, trance-like dances in which some of 'Âïsha Kandîshâ's female followers grovel in the mud in imitation of pigs. 'Âïsha Kandîshâ is said to like henna and to fear iron and steel. Her favourite colours are red and black. She has a preference for black benzoin and certain Hamâdîshâ melodies.

'Âïsha Kandîshâ is often indigenously confused with similar female spirits. She is, of course, identifiable with other female spirits in North Africa and the Middle East. Westerners have related her worship to that of Astarte. The Hamâdîshâ claims that she was brought north from the Sudan by one of their saints, while in Istanbul, Akh Kân was living in poor circumstances; his mother and his brother had deprived him of the wealth to which he was due by inheritance. He had therefore to live on a modest income earned through teaching, as well through contributing to the Persian newspapers, such as the âdâb of Istanbul and Maâkâm Kân's Kanûn published in London. He was one of the outspoken opponents of the 1890 Persian Tobacco Concession and other concessions granted by the Shâh, and his sharp criticism of Nasir al-Dîn made the latter so angry that "...while kicking the ground and chewing his lips, the Shâh said: 'Anyone who establishes correspondence with Akh Kân, I will demolish his house over his head!" (Yahyâ Davlatahâîî, Tâlîqâ'î mu'âjâ' yâ hâdîjîl iâyâjîl i, Tehrân 1957, 125).

In addition to his press campaigns, Akh Kân joined the Pan-Islamic group headed by another critic of the Shâh, Sayyid Djaâmal al-Dîn Asadîbâdî ("Afghanî"), and he also corresponded with the Persian ʿulâmâ' of Irâk. Because of these anti-Shâh activities, the Iranian government urged the Turkish authorities to extradite Akh Kân and his close associates to Iran. This development coincided with the 1893-4 Armenian unrest in Turkey, and Akh Kân was accused of cooperation with the rebels. An arrangement was therefore made that Turkey should exchange Akh Kân and his friends for the rebellious Armenians who had fled to Iran. In the meantime (1314/1896), Nasir al-Dîn Shâh was assassinated by a disciple of Aghânî, Mirzâ Riḍâ Kirmânî; this incident expedited the process of Akh Kân's extradition. Finally, in Safar 1314/July 1896 Akh Kân, together with two friends, Riţî and Hasan Kân Khabâr al-Mulîk, were beheaded in Tabrîz while Muhammad 'Alî Mirzâ, the later Shah, was watching the scene.

Akh Kân has been recognised as a distinguished forerunner of modernist thinking in Iran, of greater intellectual calibre than other contemporaries such as Mâltâm Kân, Aḥkâmūd-Zâdā, and Mustâshâr al-Dawlah Tabrîzî; for one thing, his linguistic ability provided him with a broader access to European sources on social, political, and philosophical thought. Despite his Pan-Islamic activity, he was anti-religious and quite hostile to many traditional practices.

As a modern school of thought, Bábîm attracted Akh Kân and for a while he became one of its adherents. Later, however, he turned against Bábîm, and considered all religious sects to be useless (Firdûs Adamîyât, Āndîqâhâ'î Mirzâ Akh Kân Kirmânî, Tehran 1967, 66). In his thinking, he was influenced by European thinkers such as Voltaire, Spencer, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Guizot. Akh Kân's works, many of them unpublished and incomplete, include detailed accounts of materialism, anarchism, nihilism, nationalism, and the philosophy of religion. He had modernist interpretations of history and suggested a new methodology for Persian historiography; in regard to the arts, and particularly literature, he believed that they should be responsible to and representative of society. In his treatment of society, he proclaimed that "Wealth consists essentially of (1) material objects such as metals and mines, and (2) the labourers' wages. The true criterion for wealth is physical as well as intellectual labour alone ... not silver and gold, which are the means of exchange alone" (ibid., 237-8).

Bibliography: Akh Kân Kirmânî, Hamd bîhâgt, Tehran 1960; idem, Ḥâftu d u du millat, Berlin 1924; idem, Nâmâ-yi 'îbat, in Rastâlîgîz, i
Prosperity of the Muslims in general and the Iranians in particular. Rather, he has often been referred to as a grain hoarder, a venal, power-hungry religious leader, a usurper of other people's property, and an intimidating judge.

Aka Nadjafi, a member of a very powerful religious-radical alliance in Iran, was widely recognized as a religious leader in Isfahan: people were murdered, on the accusations of Babiism being heretical; the Babi religion was ascribed to him and were published at his own expense, but it is believed that they were not in reality written by himself (Mahdi Bamedd, Sharh-i hâli-i rigâd-i Iran, ii, Tehran 1968, 327). Since he was a wealthy landowner, he naturally had much in common with the feudal governor of Isfahan, Zill al-Sultan; they often worked together, although at times this co-operation was replaced by hostility, conspiracy, and struggle.

Aka Nadjafi has been held responsible for two major disorders in Isfahan and Yazd, in which many people were murdered, on the accusations of Babiism and irreligiosity: once in 1890 and another time in 1902, both of which resulted in Aka Nadjafi's banishment to Tehran. He, along with many other people, was imprisoned and tortured to compel his cooperation against the Tobacco Concession of 1890 being given to a British company; he also favoured the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906. In both cases Aka Nadjafi appears less as a genuine lover of freedom than as an opportunist who hoped to increase his prestige, wealth, and influence in the light of those national movements. To preserve his power and wealth, Aka Nadjafi declared as unbelievers, and even at times had murdered, those who opposed him or who were critical of him (Mahdi Malik-Zade, Ta'rikh-i inkildb-i masjirutiyyat-i Iran, i, Tehran 1949, 166). Moreover, by 1911, Aka Nadjafi and his sons had made a volte-face and wished "to place their extensive landed property under foreign protection" (Cd. 5656. Persia, I, 1889, GUI, p. 30). Aka Nadjafi was a wealthy landowner, he naturally had much in common with the feudal governor of Isfahan, Zill al-Sultan; they often worked together, although at times this co-operation was replaced by hostility, conspiracy, and struggle.

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AKÁ NADJAFI — AKHBÁR AL-SIN WA L-HIND


AKAGUNDÜZ, Turkish writer and novelist (1886-1958) whose original name was Husayn 5awîn. He started his career in Salonica in close relationship with his friend 5omer Seyf al-Dîn, as a poet, short story writer and playwright. But he is primarily known as a novelist. Apart from his collection of verse Bâgûnî ("Débâcle"), 1913 and his plays Muḥârem 5âdîl ("Respectable assassin", 1914) and Mu‘în ad-dîlîn ("Blue thunderbolt", 1934), he is the author of several volumes of short stories and more than sixty novels, the most famous of which are Dikmen 5âlzâ ("The star of Dikmen", 1926); Bi singû arasûndî ("Between two hayonets", 1929); 5ewî bi ("The stepmother", 1933) and 5âfîn àsî ("The girl of the plateau", 1940). Akagunduz’s unsophisticated novels and short stories, written in an unpolished style with no claim to literary value, which were immensely popular in the 20s and early 30s, treat, with a certain element of realism, mainly of sentimental or tragic themes among ordinary people.

Bibliography: Yeni yazma, February 1960 [complete list of works; Bîçet 5er-catî, Edibeya- 5amzda ismiy 5ozgû, 5istanbul 1975. 

开阔 (A), a legal term denoting "immovable property", such as houses, shops and land, as opposed to mâl munâmî ("movable property"). As such, 5akîr is identical with "reality" or "real property". All property which is 5akîr is non-fungible (kimî), but the two terms are not coextensive, since animals, furniture, etc. are kimî, although they do not constitute 5akîr. The owner of 5akîr is deemed also to be the owner of anything on it, over it or under it, to any height or depth, so that ownership of land includes ownership of minerals beneath it and buildings and plants on it. Like personality, reality may be held in joint ownership in Islamic law, without the shares being allocated (ilmatî). As regards ownership of the fore- shore and new land formed by natural processes, this is vested in the state in modern Islamic countries.

Bibliography: Mustâfa Ahmad al-Zarqâ, al-Fikr al-islimî fî 5awîwî al-dînî, Damascus 1968, and bibliography there cited; for examples of how items of 5akîr are described and defined in legal documents, see R.Y. Elijj and M.J.L. Young, Some Arabic legal documents of the Ottoman period, Leiden 1976. 

AKBAR B. ARAZGÎZ, Mughal prince. His mother dying when he was an infant, he was very affectionately brought up by Arazgîz [g.]. In 1590/1670 he was deputed to lead an army against the Rajputs, and after initially taking a vigorous part in the operations, he was won over to their side by the rebels. His own reasons for his defection are given in a letter to Arazgîz in 1592/1681, where he criticises his father’s hostility to the Rajputs. However, his attempt at a surprise attack on his father at Adârâq failed, and he had to flee, first to 5âm-bhahdji, then to Shahzâda Muhammad Akbar in the Emperor Arazgîz, Royal Asiatic Society London, MS. No. 173; 5âdâb-i 5amûnî, numerous mss.; see V.J.A. Flynn, 5âdâb-i 5amûnî, an English translation . . ., Australian National Univ., Canberra Ph.D. thesis 1974, unpublished. 

AKHBÁR AL-SIN WA L-HIND, the title by which are now designated two narratives concerning China and India which have, for various reasons, attracted the attention of Arabists.

Ms. 2281 of the B. N. contains amongst other things: I. fols. 2a-23b, an untitled and anonymous text which constitutes the basis of the work; and II. fols. 24a-56a, a sequel to the preceding, of which the author is named as Abî 5azâl al-5ârâfî. In 1718, the Abbê Renaudot published in Paris, under the title Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs mahométains qui y allèrent dans le neu- vième siècle, traduites d’arabe, avec des remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces relations, a version of I and II, which was in its turn translated into English and Italian; since he had supplied no precise information regarding the origin of the text, Renaudot was accused of committing a hoax, but the original (the actual ms. 2281, to which was added, as no. 2282, the copy made by the translator himself) was sub- sequently found in the Bibliothèque Royale and printed through the good offices of Langles; it was, however, M. Reinaud who put it into circulation a few years later, accompanied by a new annotated transla- tion and an introduction, under the title Relations des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l’Inde et Chine dans le XIX siècle de l’ère chrétienne (Paris 1845, 2 vols.). In 1922 G. Ferrand produced a new transla- tion, Voyage du marchand arabe Salâyman en Inde et en Chine, rédigé en 851, suivi de remarques par Abî
Akhbār al-Sīn wa 'l-Hind — AKHBĀRIYYA

Zayd Hasan (vers 916), as vol. vii of the Classiques de l'Orient. Finally, in 1948, J. Sauvaget published in Paris the text, a translation of and a lavish commentary on no. I, as Aḥbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind, Relation de Chine et de l'Inde rédigé en 851.

Independently of the reactions provoked by Renaudot’s version (see Sauvaget, p. xvi), the anonymity of the first of these narratives has given rise to discussions and hypotheses. Quatremère (in JA (1839), 22-5), thought rather unwisely to attribute it to al-Mas‘ūdī (q.v.). Reinaud, on the basis of the name of Sulaymān al-Ṭādīrī which is quoted in the text (§ 12 of the Sauvaget edition), thought that last was the author; G. Ferrand, adopting this point of view, entitled his work Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān, and V. Minorsky (Hudud al-‘lam, index) is seen to follow him deliberately in speaking only of “Sulaymān the Merchant”. It is true that these authors can claim support from an important authority, since Ibn al-Fākhī refers (Buldān, 11); tr. H. Masse, 14) to Sulaymān al-Ṭādīrī in a context other than the narrative in which his name appeared. However, H. Yule (Cathay and the way thither, London, 1866, pp. cii-ccii) and after him P. Pelliot (in Toung-Foo, xx (1912), 116) have drawn attention to the fact that this Sulaymān was apparently only an informant, among others who remained anonymous.

As for the general title, it may be deduced from a remark figuring at the beginning of the “sequel” written by Aḥū Zayd, who says that his own contribution is al-kiyāb al-dhātī min ʿākhbār al-Sīn wa 'l-Hind; even if these words are more a general indication of the contents of the work, later authors have considered them as a title, notably al-Birūnī who, in his Nabaḍl fi ʿākhbār al-Sīn (ed. Krenken, in MMIA, xiii (1935), 388); claims to borrow from a fact of the kīyāb Aḥbār al-Sīn, and there is no reason not to adopt this solution.

The anonymous narrative is called al-Kiyāb at-awwal by Aḥū Zayd, who gives the precise date of 237/851. On the other hand, that of the kīyāb al-dhātī is not so precisely known; but we possess some information on the author of this “sequel”, thanks to al-Mas‘ūdī, who incidentally comments on an error in commenting him, probably inadvertently. Aḥū Zayd Muḥammad b. Yāzīd al-Ṣīrāfī, although he himself says that his surname is al-Ḥasan. The author of the Murājīq declares (§ 321 = § 351) that he met Aḥū Zayd at Baṣra, where he was resident in 303/915-16, and that he received information from him; in reality, Aḥū Zayd must have supplied him with the text of the two narratives which were put to extensive use in the Murājīq, often distorted by al-Mas‘ūdī’s zeal for elegance.

Texts I and II are quite dissimilar; both are clearly recollections of journeys in exotic lands, but if the first is characterised by the quality of the observations of the author or of the merchants who gave him the information and probably constitutes the most ancient account of China, the second, later by about 70 years, seems less reliable. While the first narrative, without pretension of any sort, is in general exact and spontaneous, that of Aḥū Zayd, which had itself been moreover commissioned, is more laboured, gives much space to sailors’ stories and to marvels, and betrays the tendency, resisted however by al-Ḍihaḍī, to introduce fables into this form of ṣabīḥ.

Other authors than al-Mas‘ūdī have exploited, directly or indirectly, admitting it or not, the Aḥbār al-Sīn wa 'l-Hind (see Sauvaget, pp. xxiii–xxix), and it is astonishing that only one ms. of it has survived. It is, however, not impossible that parts of it were detached and passed into the oral domain, which would explain why at a fairly early date the texts ceased to be copied, although these texts were originally written for a literate public.


(C. Pellat)

AKHBĀRIYYA, in Iḥtīnā ʿAḥṣārī Shīʿī, means those who rely primarily on the traditions, ʿaḥbār, of the Imāms as a source of religious knowledge, in contrast to the ʿUṣūliyya (q.v.), who admit a larger share of speculative reason in the principles (uṣūl) of theology and religious law. Opposing traditionalist and rationalist currents were apparent in the Iḥtīnā ʿAḥṣārī Shīʿī from its beginnings in the 2nd/8th century. In the Buwayhid age, the three leading scholars, al-Muḥīṭ (d. 413/1022), al-Murtūz (d. 436/1044) and the Shāhīkh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), in confrontation with the traditionalist school of Kūm, promoted the rationalist ʿUṣūlī doctrine on a firm basis by elaborating a distinctive Iḥtīnā ʿAḥṣārī methodology of jurisprudence (uṣūl al-ʿfiḥ). ʿAḥṣāriyya and ʿUṣūliyya are first mentioned as antagonistic factions by ʿAbd al-Ḍihaṭ al-Kazwīnī, an Iḥtīnā ʿAḥṣārī scholar of Rayy writing ca. 565/1170, who characterises the former as narrowly traditionalist and literalist, the latter as basing the fundamentals of religion on reason and rational investigation.

Aḥbābīrī opposition to the predominant ʿUṣūli trend remained latent during the following centuries, until Mullā Muḥammad ʿAfnī b. Muḥammad Ṣahrī al-Astārabādī (d. 1033/1624), encouraged by his teacher Mīrzā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Astārabādī (d. 1028/1619), articulated the Aḥbābīrī position in his K. al-Faʻīdī al-madānīyya and thus became the founder of the later Aḥbābīrī school. He proposed to restore the early Aḥbābīrī doctrine which had remained undisputed until the time of al-Kušānī (d. 320/929) and vigorously criticised the innovations of the three famous scholars of the Buwayhid age and, even more so, of the Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), the Shāhīd al-ʿUwāl Muḥammad b. Ṣaḥīḥ al-ʿAfnī (d. 966/1558) in the uṣūl al-ʿfiḥ and theology. The basic theses which he affirmed against the ʿUṣūli position included the doctrine that the ʿaḥbār of the Imāms take precedence over the apparent meaning of the ʿUṣūli ʿaḥbār, the fundamental criteria of the Prophet and reason, since the Imāms are their divinely appointed interpreters. The apparent meaning of the ʿaḥbār which were accepted as sound (ṣahīḥ) by the early Iḥtīnā ʿAḥṣārī community provide “certain authority” (ṣaḥīḥ, da‘īf), weak, which the Allāma al-Ḥillī, in imitation of Sunnī practice, introduced with regard to the reliability of the transmitters, are irrelevant. Also, consensus (ijma‘), which has been handled too laxly by the majaḥīdīn, is valid only if the inclusion of the Imāms is absolutely certain and thus does not provide a source of the law separate from the ʿaḥbār. ʿUṣūlīs, leading to mere zann, and takhlīl, i.e. following the opinions of a majaḥīd,
The Akhbari school flourished during the following two centuries. Muhammad Amin al-Astarabadi's teaching was expressly endorsed by the elder al-Imams, teaching was expressly endorsed by the elder al-Imams, also staunchly supported Akhbari views. al-Astarabadi's verbal attacks on the Usulf were resumed by al-Ghita[a.q.v.], was eventually exiled to and splitting the ranks of Akhbari doctrine was forcefully restated by Muhammad Bakir al-Mazini (d. 1108/1696-7), having been promoted to the rank of 1,500/1,000, and was made faceless of the Doab. In 1092/1681 he was appointed as sibhiyot of Dihli, and he held this post till his death in 1108/1696-7, having been promoted to the rank of 4,000/1,000.

A work called the Wafakat-i 'alamgiri or zu'farana-nama-i 'alamgiri is ascribed to him. This contains a very interesting, but on occasions a highly-coloured, account of the war of succession and the opening years of Awrangzib's reign. It does not always present a very flattering picture of Awrangzib, and contains much information not found in the official history, the 'alamgiri-nama. 'Aki Khan was devoted to literary pursuits and was interested in poetry, leaving behind a Diwan and a number of mathnavi poems.

Al-Askari, Abbas Mahmud, one of the most influential figures in the development of Egyptian culture in the first half of the 20th century, literary, journalist, educator, polemicist, was born in Aswan in 1889. He did not complete his secondary education but moved to Cairo at the age of fourteen. While taking a series of minor posts in the civil service, he began to make up for his lack of formal education by reading widely. He was particularly interested in literature, philosophy and the natural sciences, and among his greatest contributions was to pass on to a younger generation of Egyptians a synthesis of his views on these and other subjects. His writings on aesthetics and poetic theory show a strong influence of English writers such as Hazlitt, Coleridge, Macaulay, Mill and Darwin, and he was also acquainted with the ideas of Lessing, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche among German philosophers. It was early in the 1910s that al-'Akkad met Ibrahim al-Mazini, and the two men formed a firm friendship based both on a love of poetry (especially that of the English Romantics found in such works as Palgrave's The Golden Treasury) and on a distaste for the conventions of the neo-classical school of Egyptian poets personified by Ahmad Shawki and Hajiz Ibrahim. Al-'Akkad wrote the Introduction to al-Mazini's first collection of poetry (1913) and published two collections of his own during this decade, yakzat al-sabab (1916) and Wahaj ad-zahira (1917). The same views on poetry were also shared by a third writer, 'Abd al-Ra'man

Al-Akbariyya — Al-'Akkad

are forbidden. Every believer must rather follow the akhbar of the Imams, for whose proper understanding no more than a knowledge of Arabic and the specific terminology of the Imams is needed. If an apparent conflict between two traditions cannot be resolved by the methods prescribed by the Imams, tawqaf, abolition of dual actions, is needed. If an appar-

Akhbariyya

or 'Akkad

Al-'Akkad

...
Shukri, the best poet of the group. These three are often referred to as the “Dīwān School”, but that is somewhat of a misnomer in that al-‘Akkād and al-Mazīn alone were the authors of al-Dīwān, a blistering piece of criticism in which al-Mazīn accused Ḥāthīr ibn ‘Aṣwān of madness and confusion while al-‘Akkād attacked Shawkī’s occasional poetry in the most bitter terms. The three men seemed to share a common view of the nature and role of poetry, but it was al-‘Akkād who provided much of the critical impetus for which the group is primarily remembered.

At the conclusion of the First World War, al-‘Akkād became closely associated with Sa‘d Zahīlā, the leader of the Wafād, and began to write articles for the party’s newspaper, al-Balīq. Many of these articles on literature, aesthetics, religion and history were later collected into book form under such titles as Ma‘āqīlāt fī t‘ādīb uwa r‘umān wa Muḥālātāt fī t‘anfūb uwa r‘bayāt. During the regime of Ismā‘īl Siḍkī in the early 1930s when the constitution was revoked, al-‘Akkād’s fervent convictions led him to undertake the considerable risk of publishing a work criticising the ruling authorities, al-Hukm al-malik fī t‘ārīkh al-sīrāt, for which he was imprisoned for nine months. This decade also saw the appearance of three more volumes of his poetry, al-Mandur, Haydūt al-‘anwān, and ‘Abī sabīl, the novel, Sūrī, and a series of biographies on famous figures from the early history of Islam. These latter works seem to form part of a trend in the 1930s whereby Egyptian intellectuals (including Tāhā Husayn and Muḥammad Husayn Haykal) turned their attentions to religious biographical themes.

In 1938, al-‘Akkād abandoned the Wafād Party and joined the breakaway Sa‘diṣt group led by Ahmad Māhir and al-Nikrā. However, the self-reliance and outspokenness which had served his purpose as a young man seem to have turned progressively to scepticism, arrogance and extreme conservatism. He left the Sa‘diṣt group and became essentially a one-man party. In the literary sphere, he not only vigorously opposed the new free verse poetry which began to emerge following the Second World War, but also changed his mind about the possibilities of blank verse in Arabic, something which he had encouraged Shukri to experiment with in the earlier part of their careers. He joined a number of other conservative critics in opposing “committed” literature; in fact, as David Semah notes (Four Egyptian literary critics, Leiden 1974, 25) he seemed unwilling to accept any kind of criticism of his own views or to tolerate the idea that some of his earlier theories had been superseded.

Al-‘Akkād’s contributions to creative literature tend to be of interest for historical reasons than for their intrinsic literary merit. He composed a large number of personal poems as well as some occasional ones, and translated a number of works from English (see Mustafā Badawi, A critical introduction to modern Arabic poetry, Cambridge 1975, 109 ff.). In his novel, Sūrī, the psychological insights into the relationship of the two lovers may have been on a new level of sophistication when compared with previous works in this genre, but the element of doubt and questioning which pervades the work (six of the chapters have questions as their title) reduces it to an almost abstract analytical plane. Several commentators have also pointed out that the attitude to women found in this work is more than a little autobiographical (Ahmad Haykal, al-Adab al-kaṣāṣs wa l-masraḥ, Cairo 1971, 16; Hilary Kilpatrick, The modern Egyptian novel, London 1974, 32; ’Abd al-Hāfiṣ Diyāb, al-Ma‘rāf fī ḥayāt al-‘Akkād, Cairo 1969, 100 ff.).

The views of al-‘Akkād on aesthetics and poetic theory propounded so forcibly in many of his works are also clearly visible in his writings on other poets, both ancient and modern. While he wrote numerous articles on ancient authors during the 1920s (such as on Imru ‘l-Kays, Abū Nuwās, Bāshār b. Burd and al-Mutanabbi), it is his study of Ibn al-Rūmī published in book form in 1931, Ibn al-Rūmī, ḥayātuh min ghirhi, which is widely regarded as his best literary study and especially as the one which permits al-‘Akkād to use his own theories on psychology, race and poetics in an analysis of this somewhat neglected poet. Al-‘Akkād’s introduction of such objective criteria, often based on non-literary information, into the analysis of literature led to new insights into the Arabic poetic tradition of ancient times. However, it also tended to place more emphasis on the writer than the work of literature, and it was left to the next generation (and especially Muḥammad Mandūr) to restore importance to the work itself in literary analysis, while fusing into the critical process the best elements of the theories which al-‘Akkād had developed.

In 1960, he was awarded the State Appreciation Prize for his contribution to Egyptian literature. Shawkī Dayf’s work, Mi‘ṣr ‘l-‘Akkād (Ibra Series no. 259, Cairo 1964) shows a picture of the aged bachelor browsing in the natural science section of his library (opp. p. 65). He died in 1964.


**AKKRĀR** (A.), pl. akara (abstract ikrā), literally “tiler, cultivator of the ground”, a word of Aramaic origin (see Fränkel, Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, 128-9), borrowed into Arabic, apparently in the post-Islamic period (it does not appear in the Kur‘ān), and applied to the peasantry of Aramaean stock in Syria and ‘Irāq; accordingly, the term had in Arabic eyes, like the name Nabat, a pejorative sense (see Lā‘i, v. 85-6). Some of these peasants were sharecroppers who cultivated lands of wealthy landlords for one-sixth or one-seventh share of the produce and on mukāsama [q.v.] terms of contract (cf. Abī Yūsuf, al-kaṣāṣṣ, Bāṣāt 1884, 52; Ibn Hawkal, Sūrāt al-’arḍ, ed. Kramers, 218). Following the Arab conquest of the Fertile Crescent, the akara paid the lowest amount of poll-tax (ṣī‘aṭ) at the rate of 12 dirhams per head per annum (Bā‘lūdī–Nasirī–Futūḥī, 27).

Social and economic conditions deteriorated for the akara during the ‘Abbāsid period. One finds them as itinerant farm labourers moving from village to village in search of work and working on estates
of land for the highest bidder among landlords (Sābī, Wazarā', ed. Amidroz, 259). They also worked on lands owned by Christian monasteries (Šabūshi, al-Dīyārāt, 214-15). In a typical story we read of a certain akkār who was employed by a rich man of Bayra as a domestic servant, possibly out of farming. His work included husking rice, grinding it in a mill turned by an ox, and making bread for his master (Djahiz, 259). Cairo 1963, 129).

It has evidently recorded in the story of the akkār and his employer the tale of the toiling labourers and the hard task-master of this epoch. Djahiz also mentions a certain māqāhīyīk al-akara (elder of the akara), which may be indicative of some form of organised social group of the akara headed by a revered šaikh (cf. Howān, v, 32). The rural population of the Sawād of Irāk, at least, seems to have continued to be Aramaic-speaking into the 3rd/9th century and perhaps until later; cf. the anecdote of al-Muṭaṣim and the old Nābātī peasant of the Sawād in Masūdī, Murādī, vii, 113-4 = § 2796.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see also Tanuki, al-Furājī b’d al-ğdārān, Cairo 1903, i, 125-6; Thā'lībī, Hamūr al-dīlī, Cairo 1909, 195; al-Sābī, Al-hisāb, ed. D. G. Kühn, Leipzig 1829; Dioscorides, De materia medica, ed. D. G. Kühn, Leipzig 1829; Dioscorides, Codex Biblioteca Nacional MS 4981, f. 7a); in Ibn Djuldjul’s Supplement to Dioscorides (MS Hyde 34, f. 198b) nabīl is mentioned as a poisonous plant whose antidote is butān abruṣ (Amaranthus tricolor L.). Cf. F. J. Simonet, Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes, Madrid 1888, 395.

The Arabic version of these sections (Cod. Dionysii MS Hyde 34) gives as synonyms for (i) nabīl and shaḥīk al-nimr (f. 12a). A marginal note, however, refers to a far more poisonous plant (probably Aconitum ferox Wall.) as shaḥīk al-nimr, which is administered. Ibn Sma distin-

guishes clearly between biṣh and the plant known as khanīk al-dīlīb etc., the latter being described separately (I, 424, 460).

(b) India: Bāg, although sometimes considered a synonym for akkānīn, refers to a far more poisonous plant (probably Aconitum ferox Wall.) and is described as the most deadly of plant poisons by such writers as Thābit b. Kurra (Pisistrē, ch. xxv, 143 (298)), Djabīr b. Ḥayyān (Gifte, 56 = f. 46a-b, 104 = f. 95b, 185 = f. 179a), Ibn Wahshiyya (Poisons, 84-5, 108), Ibn Sīnā (Kânîn, I, 276, III, 223), al-Bīrūnī (Saydina, Arabic 81, Eng. 53). Most agree that there is little if any hope of recovery, even if the Great Tyrāk is administered. Ibn Sīnā distin-
guishes clearly between biṣh and the plant known as khanīk al-dīlīb etc., the latter being described separately (I, 424, 460).

(c) Possible identifications: Although (A) Akkānīn is often equated with an Aconitum sp. (e.g. Ghilīl L.68, Nos. 1752-7, Issa 5, 3, ed. W. Schmucker, Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica in dem Failiar der Hikma des Tabari, Bonn 1969, 126, No. 157, where biṣh = oxītovs), a modern botanist thinks it likely that the oxītovs of Dioscorides was (i) a Dornicum sp., (ii) a Daphne sp., possibly D. staphis-
gagia or D. mezereum. In the case of (B) biṣh, this did not have to be identified in the growing state, but it was known to the Arabs as a deadly poison from India (Issa 4:19).

Bibliography: Dioscorides, De materia medica, ed. D.G. Kuln, Leipzig 1829; Dioscorides, Codex
ALİ AHMAD

SAYYID Djalāl, Iranian prose writer and ideologist (1923-69). His career as a writer: his birth in a Tehrani family in 1945, and, for a brief period, active participation in national politics. Among biographical data, three events of Buzurg 'Alawi's work, it lacks the ironic, slightly nostalgic tone of irony is seldom absent; yet it is still a personal piety throughout his life, Al-i Ahmad is an effort to create "socialist-realist" literature. With its very explicit commitment, in some ways reminiscent of Buzurg 'Alawi's work, it lacks the ironic, observing distance common to Al-i Ahmad's remaining work, and was afterwards considered a failure by the author himself. 'Zan-i ziyādī was written after the breakaway from the Tuda, and contains the story Khudādād-khān, a sarcastic description of the ambitions, hypocrisy and luxuries of a leading party executive. The ideological importance of this collection further lies in the introduction which the author added to the second edition (1963), Rīsālā-ı Fāna'īs bi-kātābīn. A "testament" according to the writer, it calls for literary honesty and commitment. In a less personal rivalry within this "Third Force" movement. He left the forum of organised politics, never to return. Among the literary documents of this political career, the short stories collected in A. Issa, Dictionnaire des noms des plantes en latin, français, anglais et arabe, Paris 1950; E. Ghalib, Naturreichen, Berlin 1950; A. Siggel, Wiesbaden 1958 (with facsimile text); Ibn Sinā, al-Kānānī fi 'l-tibb, 3 vols., repr. Baghdād n.d. [^ 1970?]; Ibn Wahşiyya (translation): M. Levey, Medieval Arabic toxicology: the Book on Poisons of Ibn Wahşiyya and its relation to early Indian and Greek texts, Philadelphia 1966; al-Birūnī, K. al-Saydanā ḏī 'l-tibb, ed. and tr. H.M. Said, Karachi 1975; M. Meyerhof, The article on aconite from al-Biruni's kitab as-Saydāna, in IC, xix/4 (1945); P. Johnstone, Acone et son antidote en Arabique, in Journal for the History of Arabic Science, i/1 (1977); A. Issa, Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature, Beirut 1965.


recapture the "majesty" (izama) and "authenticity" (asdlat) which he could no longer find in the capital, Ankara (1954), Tatlinsihâ-i Balâkî-i Zâlîh (1958) and Dârâ-yi Khârg (1960) have appeared as separate volumes; comparable studies of Khatûzân, Yezid and the outskirts of the Kafr have been included in his collected essays.

Bibliography: 1. Works by Ali Ahmad, in addition to those mentioned in the text: Sarguzâsht-i kandu-hâ (1333 sh.), Bâhshar wa 'anabâbâ', Bâhshar-i amîr, Sârankhâr-i Amîkâr and Guldâstâh va fahu. The first one is available through M.A. Sipânsîl's anthology Bâz-â farîn-yi dehâyât (Tehran 1352 sh.). The other ones have been collected in the posthumously-edited and only narrowly distributed Pandj dâsîn (1350 sh.), which also contains a short autobiographical sketch dated Day 1347 sh.: Matbulam garh-i ahwâlât. The majority of Ali Ahmad's numerous essays and travel reports were first published in periodicals and afterwards reprinted in the collections Haft makâla (1334 sh.), Sîh makâla-î dîger (1337 sh.), Arzâbîr-yi gunâhîkhâ (1344 sh.) and Kûrânuma-i sîh-sâla (1348 sh.). These collections, however, are far from exhaustive, and a substantial number of articles remains scattered over the various magazines, for the later period notably Andîsha va hunar, Arîsh and Dâlîn-i now. Certain other writings were completed by the author before his death, but have not yet been deemed suitable for publication. These include a novel (Nâbî-î gunâhî) and diaries of his travels to Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union. Of the latter, two fragments have appeared in Hunar va sinimâ, Nos. 1 (18 Âfghr 1345) and 2 (25 Âfghr 1345). Translations prepared by Ali Ahmad were almost without exception done from or via French; well-known among these are his rendering of works by André Gide, Albert Camus, Eugène Ionesco and Dostoievski. Translations made from Ali Ahmad's writings include The old school principal, a monography on the poet Nûma-yi Bahadîr, in Cumhurîyetten sonra hikâyê ve roman, 2 vols, Istanbul 1959 and 1965, a comprehensive study on Turkish short story writers and novelists of the 1920-50 period, with copious examples of their works; Omer Seyfetin, Istanbul, 1968; a monograph in the form of biographical novel of this pioneer of the modern Turkish short story; and his posthumous 100 âülü Türk eveti, 2 vols, Istanbul 1974, an anthology from 100 famous works from Turkish literature, with introduction and comments. The second volume of this work covering the last hundred years (1870-1970) is particularly valuable as it is based mainly on his own research. Unfortunately, many of his articles published in various journals and reviews have not yet been collected into book form. Alangu translated from the German) several authors, and particularly from the Israeli author Samuel Agnon.


'Ali b. Hânzâla b. Abî Sâlim al-Mahfûzî al-Wâdiîî l-Hâmândî, succeeded 'Ali b. Muhammad b. al-Walîl [q.v.] as the sixth dâ'î mut'âl of the Musta'îbî 'Uzayyîbî Isâmîlîs in Yaman in 612/1215. As the country was passing through a critical period of internal strife after its occupation by the Ayyûbids, the dâ'î pursued a policy of non-interference in politics. He maintained good relations both with the Ayyûbid rulers of Şan'â' and the Yâmid sulûân of Banû Hâzm in Dhammar which enabled him to carry out his activities without much difficulties. He died on 12 or 22 Rabî' I 626/8 or 16 February 1229.

Both his compositions, Sâng al-hâshâk-kî and Risâlât Dâyâl al-balan wa-miyyât al-sultan, concerning al-muhâd wa l-muqâdî, are considered important works on fahu-kî [q.v.]. The former, edited by 'Abhâs al-Azzaîâwî (Damascus 1953), is a nûfuz poem, whereas the latter is an elaborate treatment of the subject and exists in manuscript.

'Ali b. MuhammAd b. Dja'far b. Ibrahim b. al-Walid al-Anf al-Kurashi, the mentor of 'Ali b. Hātim al-Hāmidī [q.v.], whom he succeeded as the fifth dā‘ī muḥall of the Musta‘iliyya in Yaman in 605/1209, came from a prominent al-Walid family of Kuraysh. His great-grandfather Ibrahim b. Ali Salama was a merchant and died there on 22 Sha‘bān 612/21 December 1215 at the age of ninety. He headed a distinguished family of dā‘īs for approximately three centuries the headship of the dā‘īwān was held by his descendants.


In sum, al-Iyadī seems to have been a great poet, such as Ibn Sharaf (‘Umda, i, 111) shows us the Andalusian Ibn Hānūm [q.v.] on his arrival in al-Kairawān involved in hostilities with the poets already established there, but making specific mention only of al-Iyadī. However, despite the high esteem in which later critics held him, such as Ibn Shara‘f (Questions de critique littéraire, ed. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1953, 9), no poem of his has come down to us in complete form; is this attributable to later Sunni ostracism of the poet after the sudden change to the Zirid regime, or a change in his literary tastes? Whatever the reason may be, out of the 105 verses which the present writer has been able to gather together (Hašqiyya, 1973, 97), only two fragments are Shī‘ī in inspiration. These however are preserved by pro-Fātimid authors, these being firstly a rather poignant and moving relation of the end of Abī Yazzīd, “the man on the donkey” (Sirat Ustādh Dhaqāqár, Cairo, 48, tr. M. Canard, 69) and secondly a eulogy in honour of al-Maṣūr (Dawdādir, Kanz al-dawār, vi, 117). The remainder is made up of well-turned, descriptive fragments, which abound richly in images, hence admired and gathered together for this reason by the anthropologists; thus out of these last, al-Ḥuṣrī (Zahr, 189, 314, 1003) reproduces a description of the Fātimid fleet, armed with the fearsome Greek Fire, a picture of a galloping horse and a tableau of the splendid of the Lake Palace, Dār al-Bahr, at Maṣṣūriyya.

In sum, al-Iyadī seems to have been a great poet, quite apart from his Fātimid allegiance, but our knowledge of his poetry—apart from his talent—remains till now only fragmentary.

Al-Fâsî, Muhammad, Moroccan statesman and writer (1907-74). Born at Fas, he was educated at the university of al-Karawiyin [q.v.]. From the age of 18 onwards, he took part in the diffusion movement throughout Morocco of the progressive movement of the Sahafiyya [q.v.], and his militant attitude in favour of local nationalism, which was reinforced by his oratorical powers, soon led the government to confine him to a house, under guard, at Taza. He was freed in 1931 and returned to Fas, where he began to lecture at the Karawiyin; these lectures were however boycotted by certain religious leaders who feared that his unrestrained political attitudes might well cause difficulties for the Moroccan authorities in their relations with the French Protectorate. Al-Fâsî then took part in the delegation of the most influential Moroccans to the congress of the French protectorate at Fes in 1934, when the document called Matalib al-sha'b al-maghribi (“Demands for reform of the Moroccan people”) was published. The first catechism of the nationalist movement, consisting of a complete programme for the reform and renovation of the land, especially in the politico-social sphere, was presented to the sovereign. The tergiversations and delays of the spokesmen engaged in this exacerbated the more ardent of patriots, and led the Islâl al-’umal al-watani li-tahklk al-Himdyâ fi Marrâdkush min al-wad’ha “Moroccan bloc for national action” which had until 1934 worked in the background, to intensify its activities. Disorders broke out in 1936 in Fas, Sale and Casablanca, and the leaders of the bloc, including ’Allal al- Fâsî, were arrested. After their freeing almost immediately, the bloc decided to disband itself, and two parties were then formed, al- Haraka al-kawmiyya al-maghribi and the Isâl al-watani li-tahklk al-matlâb, which merged in 1943 to form the single party of the Istiklal, led from 1946 onwards by al- Fâsî. In the following year he fled to Cairo, where he organised the Moroccans in residence in Egypt, including the French and Spanish Protectorates from a centre in the Maktab al-Maghrib al-arabî, founded in the Egyptian capital. He returned to Morocco in 1956, the year when his country gained its independence, and was nominated Professor of Islamic Law at Rabat and Fas and then Minister of State entrusted with Islamic affairs and a Deputy. ’Allal al-Fâsî’s work as a publicist, as well as a politician, continued to be most intense. At the beginning of 1957 he founded the newspaper Le Sahara marocain in order to promote the inclusion of Mauretania in Morocco, and in 1962, the monthly review al-Bayyina, which was at the same time Pan-Arab and Pan-Islamic and also concerned with culture and social progress. In all his work, he dealt with topics and problems of the Maghrib’s history and politics, above all in regard to the modern and contemporary periods, with the exception of his Ma’âd li al-sha’b al-’islamiyya wa-mukarramah (Casablanca, n.d.), in which the author gathered together his lectures on law at the Faculty. Two books are devoted to an historico-juridical analysis of the French and Spanish Protectorates over Morocco: al-Himdyâ fi Murrâdkush min al-wad’ha.
places himself in the forefront of the ideology of Arabisation without at the same time renouncing its own way for Arabism to face up to the exigencies of modern life and to become part of European civilisation without at the same time renouncing its own way for Arabism to face up to the heart of western thought. This basic model when it is a question of penetrating political beliefs.

(Cairo 1952), of which last revealing the passionate character of the writer's thought, but at times he goes beyond “Abduh’s own

radio talks (as in Nida’ al-Rahina, Rabat 1959)—these last revealing the passionate character of the writer's political beliefs. Al-Nakd al-dhāti (Cairo 1952), of which there even exists a Chinese translation, is a self-criticism of the Arab world (particularly in regard to Morocco), in which the author analyses with a careful dialectic the recent past, and above all the present, in order to discern exactly the most effective way for Arabism to face up to the exigencies of modern life and to become part of European civilisation without at the same time renouncing its own particular genius and identity. In this, ‘Allāl al-Fāṣī places himself in the forefront of the 'Abd al-Wahhabian, Islamic fundamentalism with its roots in Muhammad ‘Abduh’s thought, but at times he goes beyond this basic model when it is a question of penetrating more clearly to the heart of western thought.

Bibliography: There is information on ‘Allāl al-Fāṣī in all the numerous works (mainly in French) on Morocco. There is a good source of documentation on his political activity in Oumāne Moderno, esp. xvi (1937), 595, xix (1939), 429-30, and xxii (1952), 1-31 passim. See also Anouar Abdel-Malek, Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine. ii, Les essais, Paris 1965, 190-6; and A. Laroui, L’idéologie arabe contemporaine, Paris 1967, passim.

(UC. RIzITANO)

‘ALLAWYH AL-'AŚAR, ABU ’L-ḤASAN ALI B. ‘ABBĀD ALLĀH B. ṢAYF, court musician in early Abbāsid times, died in or shortly after 235/850. He was of Soghdian origin, mawla (al-tish) of the Umayyads and mawla (al-khanda) of the Abbasids. Ibrāhīm and Ishaq al-Mawṣilī taught him the “classical” hijādī music, but he preferred the “romantic” style of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and introduced “Persian melodies” (mugham firdisyā) into Arab music. As a court musician, he started in the third class (tabāka) under Hārūn al-Rashīd and continued to serve the Abbasids. He was of Soghdian origin, mawla (al-tish) of the Umayyads and mawla (al-khanda) of the Abbasids. Ibrāhīm and Ishaq al-Mawṣilī taught him the “classical” hijādī music, but he preferred the “romantic” style of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and introduced “Persian melodies” (mugham firdisyā) into Arab music. As a court musician, he started in the third class (tabāka) under Hārūn al-Rashīd and continued to serve the Abbasids. He was of Soghdian origin, mawla (al-tish) of the Umayyads and mawla (al-khanda) of the Abbasids.

Some of his plays are loose and unimportant, and are only a pretext for describing and reporting the conversations of his pet characters, who are Hamidian pashas, local beauties or toughs, snobs and simple people. Alus is the last representative of the popular entertainment narrative school inaugurated by Ahmad Midhat and continued by Husayn Rahmi, Ahmed Râsim and O.Dj. Kaygili. Perhaps he is more akin to the latter in that he is more entertaining and simplistic without high claims to any moral or philosophical conclusions. In spite of his often unpolished, even sloppy, style and his weakness for the farcical, his work has a great documentary value for the spoken language, way of life, customs and folklore of the period.

Bibliography: Reşat Ekrem Koçu, in Istanbul enciklopedisi, Istanbul, 1958-69, s.v. (the main source for all subsequent studies); Metin And, Meşrûyet dinemendi Türk tiyatrosu, Ankara 1971, 112.

(FAHIR İZ)

‘AM’ĀK, SHERAB AL-DIN BUKHARA, one of the leading Persian poets at the court of the Ilk-Khans (Kara-Khānids) [q.v.] of Transoxiana. Late sources ascribe to him the tazaqq Abu l-Najîb (e.g. Taki al-Din Kāshānî). It is not certain whether ‘Am’āk is a personal name or a lakab used as a pen-name. It cannot be connected with any existing Arabic, Persian or Turkish word. Dh. Şafî has
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suggested a corruption of an original 'a'lak (“magpie”) which occurs as the name of the poet in a manuscript of the Diwan of Sûzanî. S. Naflî conjectured a possible Soghdian origin. The forms “Arîk and “Amîk, which can be found in some manuscripts of the Baharîstân of Dîmânî, are certain to be due to Soghdian influence. "Amîk was born in Bûkhârâ, probably before the middle of the 5th/11th century. If any of the dates given for his death by later biographers viz. 542 (e.g. Dâvânshâh and Ridî-ku’llî Khân Hidâyat), 543 (Tâfîq al-Dîn Khân Hidâyat) or 551 (Sa’dîk b. Sâlîh Ištâfânî in Shâhîd-i Sa’dîk) he would have lived to become a centenarian.

The earliest datable poems that are attributed to 'Amâk are in kasîdas written for the Ilek-Khân Nasr b. Ibrâhîm (460-72/1066-80). The poet must have lived at least till 524/1132. This reputation is correct, he would have lived to his 100th year. The kasîdas of his poetry seem to be dedicated to a dominating position at the court of Samarkand. The story about his rivalry with Rashîdî, told in the Cahîr makâla, pictures him as an amir al-shu’ârd, who was put on the throne of Samarkand by Sandjar in 526/1132. At the time of his father’s murder on 206 ff.; Yu.N. Marr and K.I. Caykin, Ieskâs, 3-127 and 206 ff.; Yu.N. Marr and K.I. Çaykîn, Pis’sma o persian language literature, Tiflis 1976, 119-25. Bibliographical references to 'Amâk are to be found in Nîzâmî Arûdi, Cahîr makâla, Tehran 1955-56, matn 44, 73, 74, cf. torîkât 138 ff., 232 f. and 615, as well as in the tadkhîla works mentioned above. See further Browne, ii, 298, 303, 335 f.; Dh. Saïf, 'Amîk-i Bakhârâî, in Mîrî 3 (1935), 177-81, 289-95, 405-11; idem, Torîkât-i adahiyât dar Isfâhân, i, Tehran 1939/1960, 535-47; E.E. Berlet’s, Istoriya persidsko-tadzikskoi literatury, Moscow 1960, 461-6 and passim; S. Naflî, mukaddama to his edition of the Diwan, 3-127 and 206 ff.; Yu.N. Marr and K.I. Çaykîn, Pis’mo o persidsko literature, Tiflis 1976, 119-25.

J.T.P. de Bruijn

AMÂN ALLĀH, Amîr of Afghanistan and the successor and third son of Habîb Allâh p.a., was born on 2 June 1892 in Paghman and educated at the Military Academy. Intelligent, energetic and hard-working, he was attracted to the nationalist and Islamic modernist ideas of Mahmûd Tarzi (1866-1935), the editor of Sinâq al-akhbâr, and in 1914 married Tarzi’s daughter, Soraya (Thurayya) (d. 21 April 1968). At the time of his father’s murder on 20 February 1919, Amân Allâh, as Governor of Kabul, controlled the capital with its garrison, arsenals and treasury. Supported by the army, the younger nationalists and the Bârzâkî faction, he resisted the claims of his uncle, Naṣr Allâh, and his eldest brother, Inayat Allâh, and was recognised as amîr on 28 February. Amân Allâh promptly asserted Afghanistan’s in-
dependence from British control of her foreign relations. Possibly hoping to promote his goal by the threat of war, he despatched forces to the frontier, but hostilities commenced on 3 May and endured until an armistice at the beginning of June (the Third Afghan War). Uninvited audiences were cliqued at Kābul (8 August 1919); Britain recognised, by implication, Afghanistan’s independence, although the Durand Line remained the frontier. After further negotiations at Mussoorie (April-July 1920) and in Kābul, a treaty of good neighbourhood was signed by Britain and Afghanistan on 22 November 1921. In the meantime Amān Allāh had obtained international recognition through treaties with the USSR (28 February 1921) and Turkey (1 March 1921). Relations were also established with Italy, France, and Iran. In the early years of his reign Amān Allāh espoused a Pan-Islamic policy involving support for Indian Muslims, friendship with Turkey and Iran and the creation of a Central Asian federation under Afghan leadership including Buhārā and Khiwā, but the reassertion of Soviet control over Turkistān put an end to this project.

Amān Allāh’s internal policy was one of rapid modernisation. His reforms came in two main bursts. In the period 1921-4 he reformed the structure of Afghan government, introducing the first budget (1922), constitution (1923), and administrative code (1923). He introduced legal reforms including a family code (1921) and a penal code (1924-5). The legal reforms were partly the work of ex-Ottoman advisors and influenced by Islamic modernism, being derived largely from the Shārī'a but replacing ‘ulamā’ control by that of the state. Education was central to his reforms and he established new secondary schools and sent Afghan students abroad. His support of female education gave rise to bitter criticism from traditional groups. Amān Allāh made some effort to promote economic development by fostering communications (aircraft, radio and telegraph introduced, and railway surveys begun), reforming the currency (the rupee replaced by the afghān), reorganising the customs, and helping light industry. The principal economic success of his reign, however, owed nothing to his efforts; this was the development of the Karakul and carpet industries, following Uzbek immigration into the northern provinces. There was also some agricultural development. Amān Allāh’s reforms were financed largely from domestic resources and lack of money imposed constraints which were especially marked in his military reforms. With the aid of foreign instructors (mainly Turks) Amān Allāh sought to develop a non-tribal national militia based on conscription for short periods, and at the same time to reduce military spending. The result was strong tribal opposition to conscription, and a disaffected, discontented and inefficient army. Hostility to centralisation, conscription and certain social reforms lay behind the Khōšt [q.v.] rebellion in 1924, which was suppressed only after a protracted struggle. For a time Amān Allāh was obliged to abate his reforming zeal.

In December 1927 Amān Allāh departed for a tour of Europe, returning to Kābul on 1 July 1928. His object, he explained, was to discover the secrets of progress; his conclusion was that these were the discarding of outworn ideas and customs. He summoned a national assembly (Lojja) (28 August 5 September) and dressed the delegates in European clothes to hear his new ideas. At the last moment he was persuaded to omit his most far-reaching proposals, but his announced changes in the constitution, new social reforms, and increased taxes were sufficiently disturbing to his hearers. Unabashed, Amān Allāh repeated his proposals in a further series of five three-hour speeches delivered between 30 September and 4 October to an invited audience, which was treated to the spectacle of Queen Soraya dramatically unveiling herself.

Enraged by the social reforms, by their diminution of their own authority, and by new proposals by Amān Allāh to examine them in their proficiency to teach and to expel those trained at Drehband, the ‘ulamā’, under the leadership of the Hazzāt family of Shor Bazar, denounced Amān Allāh as an infidel. The Amir arrested the leaders, but in November found himself confronted by two tribal risings supported by ‘ulamā’, one in the vicinity of Djalālbād, involving the Shinwārs and other tribes, and the second in the Kūhistān, led by a Tādjīk bandit known as Bāčča-yi Ṣasāk. His inadequate forces divided, Amān Allāh was unable to resist the attack on Kābul from the Kūhistān, and his belated withdrawal of nearly all his reforms did not pacify the rebels. On 14 January 1929 Amān Allāh abdicated in favour of ‘Ināyat Allāh and fled to Kandahār. ‘Ināyat Allāh also abdicated on 18 January and the Bāčča became ruler of Kābul with the title of Ṣaḥīḥ Allāh, under which Amān Allāh rescinded his abdication on 24 January and sought help from Britain (which remained neutral), from the USSR (which briefly sent troops to northern Afghanistan), and from Afgān tribes. Although Amān Allāh received help from the Hazāras and some other tribes, he failed to command the support of the Durrāns and the majority of the Ghāzayhs, and was forced to turn back his advance on Kābul at Ghazna. On 23 May he left Afghanistan for India and on 22 June sailed from Bombay to exile in Rome. He died in Switzerland on 26 April 1960 and was brought home and buried at Djalālbād.


(M.E. YAPP)

AMĪD TŪLĀKĪ SŪNĀMĪ, KHAWBA ‘AMĪD AL-DĪN FAKHR AL-MUlk, poet of Muslim India. He was born in Sūnām, an important town (now in the district of Patiala in the Indian part of the Pandžāb) that had emerged as a centre of culture and learning in the 7th/13th century. ‘Amīd called himself Tūlākī along with Sūnāmī because his father was said to have migrated from Tūlāk in Khrūsān to India. In the art of poetry, he was the disciple of a famous master, Shāhīd Māhmar. He started his career as a poet in Mūlān, which had become the capital of a short-lived kingdom under Malīk ‘Īzā al-Dīn Kjān-i Ayāz and his son, Tādj al-Dīn Abī Bakr (who died in 638/1241). Two of his entertainments preserved in mediaeval anthologies are in praise of Sultan Tādj al-Dīn. On the death of patron, he moved from Mūlān to Dihlī, and during the reign of Sultan Balbān he was appointed musta‘īn of the district of Mūlān and Uţē, placed under the charge
of Prince Muhammad, who was later known as Khān-i Shahīd.

Āmīd’s divān is not extant, but the poems contained in mediaeval anthologies and other literary works give us an idea of his greatness and excellency in the art of poetry, showing that he was one of the distinguished poets of the Dihli Sultanate during the 7th/13th century, contributing to the growth of Indo-Persian literature. It emerges from his poems that he was interested in the philosophy of Ḩikrāt or illuminative wisdom as propounded and advocated by Shams al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191).

Like most of his contemporaries, Āmīd was basically a poet of the ḍhidd, and his known poems largely comprise panegyrics on rulers, princes and noblemen. Among his poems, there are also one ṭangī band, two ḡazals and one ḡazl (humorous poem); their characteristic features are simplicity, spontaneity, freshness of thought and beauty of diction. His ḥabūsīyat (poems written in prison and depicting the prisoner’s life [see RASIBYVA BELOW]) shed light on the actual conditions in mediaeval jails. It should also be stressed that his ḡazals, like those of Shams al-Dīn of Hānūs, paved the way for the ḡazal’s subsequent popularity as an independent branch of poetry.


I.H. SUNDAGU

AMĪN AL-HUSAYNĪ — AMĪN AL-HUSAYNĪ

He was born in Jerusalem in 1893, the son of Tahir al-Husaynī. The Husaynīs were a leading family in Jerusalem who claimed Sharīʿi lineage although this was disputed by others, as on two occasions the line went to Cairo and entered al-Azhar, but stayed less than a year and left without graduating and without the title of mufti. He immediately went to make the ʿihādī, from which he returned to Jerusalem. His religious education was incomplete and did not qualify him for the office of mufti. Further education was received in the Ottoman army in which he served during the First World War. He undertook his basic training in the School of Officials, the Mülkiyya, in Istanbul and at the Military Academy. His war years were spent chiefly in an office in Iznik. By virtue of this training he was permitted to wear the tahrīfi, the symbol of an Ottoman official but not of a religious dignitary.

On the conclusion of the war, Āmīn returned to Jerusalem which was to be the base of his activities for the next nineteen years. He worked as teacher, translator and civil servant, but he soon turned to journalism and direct political activity. He was an intensely political man, possessed of great energy and organising ability and from the first inspired by two deeply-held ideas, Arab nationalism and a hatred of the Zionist attempt to change the character of Palestine. For him, Palestine was an Islamic Arab country belonging to the wider Arab world and he believed that any alteration of its basic Arab character would isolate it and its inhabitants from their Arab neighbours. He was convinced that the Palestinians had the right to determine the future form of government of their country, a right possessed by neither the British government nor the Zionist organisation. He also believed that European Jews settling in Palestine would spread customs and usages alien to the traditional Islamic way of life. If change was to come in Palestine, it should be organic and internal and not imposed from outside. He devoted the rest of his life to a vain attempt to stem this tide of change.

Opposition to Zionism amongst the Arabs of Syria and Palestine grew in intensity once Jerusalem and Damascus had fallen to the Allied forces. The opposition was led by a group of young Palestinians, foremost amongst whom were Āmīn al-Husaynī and Arif al-ʿArīf. Verbal opposition in speeches and newspapers led to street demonstrations in September 1919. Editorial and sermons called for the shedding of Jewish blood if protests went unheeded. Āmīn began to organise small groups of ṣalāt al-tawārīkh whose task was to strike against the Jews and the British. When in March 1920 the Syrian National Congress voted for Syrian independence, Palestine Arabs took to the streets in the belief that their country was included in the new state. Ārīf’s newspaper Sāraya al-Duḥā yy wrote that the time had come to strike against the Jews and the British. When in March 1920 the Syrian National Congress voted for Syrian independence, Palestine Arabs took to the streets in the belief that their country was included in the new state. Ārīf’s newspaper Sāraya al-Duḥāyy published the line: ‘The end of the Arab era! The end of European domination!’ She led to a bloody conflict with the British army. She was the first of a series of charges laid against Āmīn and Аріф, whose囡al-tawārīkh tried to retaliate. British intelligence forestalled these attempts and the two had to flee to Transjordan after having been accused of provoking the riots. This was the first of a series of charges laid against Āmīn during his lifetime. His precise role in the provocation can never be ascertained, but it is certain that he approved of all actions taken to discomfit the Jewish population and that he was not averse to the shedding of blood. The concepts of ʿihādī and of the fiddʿī were in Islamic history associated with the possibility of death in the pursuit of a goal. All Muslims could
The British assumed responsibility for these, to run their own religious affairs. The government in the country and the government was loathe to go against the wishes of the people. Samuel eventually decided that Amin was his man and in May he was appointed Grand Mufti (al-mufti al-akbar), a title given by the British to enhance the status of the office. Amin's appointment as head of the Muslim community in Palestine did not solve the problem of the Muslim religious organisation of the country. In Ottoman times, the shari'a courts had come under the general jurisdiction of the Shari'a al-Islam and the wakfs had been administered by the Ministry of Ateka'. The British assumed responsibility for these, but the Muslims soon demanded that they be allowed to run their own religious affairs. The government concurred and the Supreme Muslim Shari'a Council (al-Muftis al-Shari'a al-Islami al-Fida') was elected by leading Muslims. Haggag Amin was chosen as Feida' al-Ulama' and President of the Council, as he later maintained, for life. He had thus, as a young man, consolidated his position as leader of the Palestinian Arabs both in their religious and their secular affairs. In March 1921 he wrote a Memorandum to the British Colonial Secretary, Winston Churchill, in which he outlined Palestinian resistance to Zionism and the ideas which were the foundation of his future policy—the complete prohibition of Jewish immigration, the abolition of the Jewish National Home and the establishment of an Arab government of Palestine.

The period 1921-9 was used by the Mufti to build up his following. As President of the Supreme Muslim Council, he controlled the wakf revenues, which were not used exclusively for charitable purposes. Preachers were paid to disseminate political propaganda and those who did not support his policies were dismissed. Financial assistance was given to Arab schools to instruct their pupils in the Arab nationalist spirit. Demonstrations and boycotts were encouraged. Money was also used to enhance the status of Jerusalem and its mosques in the Islamic world. To Amin, the area of the Haram was the very centre and symbol of his aspirations to preserve Jerusalem and Palestine as Arab and Islamic. In 1928 a screen was set up by the Western Wall of the sanctuary to separate male and female Jewish worshippers. This move was taken as a reason for protest and seen by Muslims as a Jewish encroachment on the Haram. The Mufti felt the threat deeply, and encouraged propaganda to the effect that the Jews were planning to take over the Muslim holy places. A year later feelings between the two communities became so exacerbated that the Arabs attacked and committed atrocities amongst the Jews. 133 were killed by the Arabs and 116 Arabs killed by police action. The subsequent British government report did not accuse the Mufti directly of provoking the attacks, but blamed him for not doing enough to forestall them and for having played upon public feeling. The agitation had been conducted in the name of a religion of which, in Palestine, he was head. The British still saw him as a force for moderation, whereas it is clear that he was committed to an uncompromisingly anti-Zionist policy and that he would do everything in his power to frustrate the establishment of a Jewish National Home.

In 1931 he convened a Pan-Islamic Conference in Jerusalem which he attempted to use as a platform to further his anti-Zionist policy, although his position was challenged by other Palestinian leaders. He later travelled to other Muslim countries to gain political support and to raise funds. In 1935 he helped to found the Palestine Arab Party, a Husayni organisation under the presidency of Djamal, the Mufti's cousin. The Party's policy was that of Amin himself, and it attempted to prohibit the further sale of Arab land to Jewish settlers.

The year 1936 was a time of rising tension in Palestine, culminating in the Arab revolt. The increase in Jewish immigration caused by the rise of Nazism led the Arabs to fear the future takeover of their country by the Zionists. In April an Arab Higher Committee of Christians and Muslims was formed under the leadership of Amin. It immediately supported a general strike, to be called off when the British government suspended Jewish immigration. Murderous attacks on Jews began to occur, but the brunt of the Arab effort was quickly turned against the British and those Arabs considered disloyal. The strike and the unrest continued until October. The British Commission appointed to investigate the disturbances apportioned a large share of the blame for them to the Mufti. The Arab Higher Committee under his chairmanship had clearly instigated illegal acts and had not condemned sabotage and terrorism. The Mufti had seen and encouraged the revolt as a movement of the people, largely peasants, who had risen to defend their country and their rights.

The British still clung to their hope of using Amin as a moderating influence, but after the assassination of a government officer in September 1937, stricter regulations were introduced. The Arab Higher Committee was declared illegal and Amin was removed from his post as president of the Supreme Muslim Council. Six members of the former were arrested and deported (although Djamal al-Husayni escaped) and the Mufti, fearing arrest himself, fled to Lebanon. From there he fought a propaganda war against the British, while his followers contributed to the continuing unrest in Palestine or set about eliminating members of rival clans. He was not allowed to attend the London Conference on the future of Palestine in February 1939, although a four-man delegation of members of the disbanded Higher Committee was present.

In October 1939 the Mufti made another move, this time to Irak. As German successes multiplied in the Second World War, he began to make approaches to the Nazis in the hope that at the end of the war he would be on the winning side. He sent his private secretary to Berlin in September 1940 to ask for German commitments to the Arabs—recognition of the complete independence of the Arab countries, the abrogation of the mandates,
and the right of the Arabs to solve the Jewish question in Palestine "in the national and racial interest on the German-Italian model". These latter words were the Nazi Secretary of State's report of his conversation with Amín's secretary, and it is not clear exactly whether he knew in Bagdád, in September 1940 of the "model" on which the Nazis were solving the Jewish problem and how he would apply it in Palestine. However, his letter was noted in Berlin and he was able to build on it later. His pro-German feelings led him to support Raqqád 'Áli al-Gayláni, the anti-British 'Iráki politician who had become Prime Minister in March 1940. They both sought promises of material support from the Axis, and in April 1941 al-Gayláni and his supporters carried out a shortlived pro-German coup. Promised German support was too little and too late, and a small British force was able to unseat him. Amín had issued a fátuq urging all Muslims to support the coup and to fight the British, and when it failed he had once again to flee, via Iran to Italy.

He was warmly welcomed by Mussolini who hoped to use him for his own purposes. The Mufti was more interested in negotiating with the senior partner of the Axis in Berlin, and he arrived there in November 1941. Al-Gayláni arrived later the same month and the two disputed for the position of spokesman for the Arab cause. Amín claimed that he was the leader of the Arab national movement. He was the first to be received on November 29th by Hitler to whom he repeated his request for the formal recognition by Germany of the independence of the Arab countries. The Führer was non-committal. Nevertheless the Mufti assured him of the friendship and co-operation of the Arabs.

The period that the Mufti spent in Nazi Germany, November 1941 to May 1945 is the most controversial in his life. He had fled to Germany to escape the British and because he believed that the Axis would win the war. As a strict Muslim he could have had little sympathy with National Socialism as such, but his chief aim in life was ridding Palestine of the Jews coincided hideously with the Nazi final solution of the Jewish "problem". He therefore used all available anti-British and anti-Jewish sources in the naive hope that he would be recognised by the Axis as the ruler of an independent Arab state. He never obtained written pledges from the Germans (although the Italians were more forthcoming), and he was used to the limit by Nazi propaganda. The Germans provided staff and finance for Das Arabische Buro from which the Gischnagli was able to send propaganda, both printed and broadcast, to the Middle East. He issued calls to the Arabs to rise against the British and the Jews and to destroy them both. "Only when Britain and her Allies are destroyed will the Jewish questions, our greatest danger be definitely resolved" (broadcast of 11th November 1942).

He also helped to organise fifth columns in the Middle East and to establish Muslim and Arab units to fight in the German armies.

The greatest suspicions surround his attitude to, his knowledge of, and his possible encouragement of the Nazi extermination policy. Calls to Palestinians to rise and kill the Jewish settlers had been frequent since the Balfour Declaration; they had been the headlines of newspapers and the slogans of demonstrations, but they became much more sinister when proclaimed in Nazi Germany. The evidence produced to condemn him is difficult to substantiate. He is said to have been befriended by Eichmann, one of the chief executives of Hitler's policy. During his trial in Jerusalem in 1961, Eichmann denied having known the Mufti well, having met him only once during an official reception. The evidence for the friendship came from Dieter Wisliceny, one of Eichmann's aides, who met him before the Nuremberg Trials had begun, to prepare an alibi for himself at the expense of Eichmann. Wisliceny went much further and accused the Mufti of being an "initiator" of the extermination policy. Other evidence of the Mufti's alleged role came from Rudolf Kastner (a Jewish leader in Hungary), who reported that Wisliceny had told him that "According to my opinion, the Grand Mufti . . . played a role in the decision . . . to exterminate the European Jews". I heard say that, accompanied by Eichmann, he has visited incognito the gas chamber at Auschwitz". These reports coming only from Wisliceny must be questioned until substantiated from other sources.

It has been established that Amín actively tried to prevent the emigration of Jews to Palestine from Nazi-occupied countries. With his aims in mind it is understandable that he would try to prevent an expansion of the Jewish population in Palestine. By his protests he might have influenced German actions, although Hitler had long ago formulated a policy of extermination which could not be contradicted. Eichmann had once offered the lives of a million Hungarian Jews for 10,000 trucks, but Hitler had insisted on extermination. All the Jews in Hungary had been condemned to death, and the voice of the Mufti was insignificant.

A further piece of evidence which has been adduced to condemn him is a broadcast he made in September 1944 in which he referred to the eleven million Jews of the world, when it is said that before the Second World War it was well known that the world Jewish population was seventeen million. Thus, it is alleged, the Mufti knew that precisely six million Jews had been murdered. In September 1944 the holocaust had not been completed, as Eichmann continued his activities at least into October 1944. Moreover, Eichmann is said to have spoken of 5 million victims. The Mufti's figure does not prove that he, alone with the top Nazi leaders, knew the full horror, but neither does it disprove that he knew at least in general terms of German atrocities. At a press conference in 1961 he denied that he knew Eichmann and that he had visited the camps. By his presence in Germany, by his propaganda and other activities, by his protests against Jewish emigration, he gave moral authority to Nazi policy. He was, however, never brought to trial as a war criminal, for the technical reason that he was not, from the British point of view, an enemy national. Amín had chosen the wrong side in the war but as a Palestinian Arab nationalist he had had little choice. If the Nazis won they would adopt an anti-Jewish policy in Palestine, if the British, then they would continue to support the establishment of a Jewish National Home.

When the outcome of the war was clear he escaped again, first to Paris, 1945-6, and then back to the Middle East, to Egypt. During the war Palestinian politics had been rather muted, but in 1944 the Husaynís had decided to re-establish the Palestinian Arab Party and soon called for the return to the exiled Husaynís politicians. Amín began to try to regain his former position and influence. He had become the symbol of Arab opposition to Zionism, and the Arab League, in an effort to end political quarrels amongst the Palestinians, ordered the dis-
solution of the Arab Higher Committee and the Higher Front (the anti-Husayni body) and the formation of the Arab Higher Executive with the Mufti as its chairman. He was not allowed by the British to return to Palestine and had to direct the resistance from outside. He continued to follow an uncompromising line, boycotting the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, refusing to contemplate any partition plans, and urging total opposition to the Zionists. As violence on both sides increased, the Higher Executive at the end of 1947 began to organise and direct military resistance. An Arab Liberation Army, owing partial allegiance to the Mufti, was created which later attempted to co-operate with other Arab armies.

Inter-Arab rivalry hindered co-operation, and after the proclamation of the State of Israel a split grew over Transjordan's ambitions in the West Bank of the Jordan. Egypt supported the Mufti and allowed him to settle in Gaza, where he announced in September 1948 the formation of a Palestine government. A self-constituted Assembly elected him its president and several Arab governments recognised the Gaza regime. However, the rump of Palestine was under Transjordanian control and its final annexation in April 1950 was recognised by the Arab League. Henceforward the Mufti lost any last base of power and spent the rest of his life vainly trying to rally support for an effort to destroy Israel. Amir 'Abd Allah of Transjordan appointed his own mufti and president of the Muslim Supreme Council.

In July 1951 'Abd Allah was assassinated and Amin was thought to be implicated although this was never conclusively proved. In 1951 he chaired a World Muslim Conference which he used as a platform to publicise his policy. He attended the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference in a minor capacity, having to accept the predominance of President 'Abd al-Nasir [q.v. in Suppl.]. In fact, the latter's lack of regard for him caused him to move to Beirut in 1959. He had more freedom of action in Lebanon, but no more authority. He tried various alliances, with President Kásim of Iraq, with the Sa'idis, with Jordan, all to no avail. In the shifting sands of inter-Arab politics, Amin was now of little account. He moved about, to Damascus, to al-Riyadh and back to Beirut. In the Palestine movement, first Ahmad Shukry and then the Palestine Liberation Organisation took over precedence.

Al-Hajj Amin died in Beirut on 7th July 1961. To the end, he proclaimed his unwavering belief that his country had been illegally given away by foreigners to other foreigners, both of whom had scant regard for its Arab and Islamic character. He spent his adult life trying to prevent a change in the character of Palestine. Through his intransigence, his desire to dominate his rivals and his inability to distinguish between his personal aspirations and his political goals, he ended by losing everything for himself and almost everything for the Palestinian Arabs.

**Bibliography.** Two works deal specifically with the Mufti, M. Pearlman, Muff of Jerusalem, London 1947, written in an attempt to have him tried as a war criminal, and J.B. Schechman, The Mufti and the Führer, New York and London 1965, a fairer work but taking too much for granted from Pearlman. Otherwise, references have to be sought in the many histories of the Palestine problem, and in works dealing with German relations with the Middle East and with Nazi policy towards the Jews. (D. Horwood)
introduce certain modernising measures into his own country. He took steps, for instance, to secularise Iranian legal systems, introduce certain modernising measures into his own country. He took steps, for instance, to secularise Iranian legal systems, and so on. He did not, however, pay much attention to the limitation of the monarchic absolute power by establishing a law-making body in Iran; on this problem, he had reportedly said, "I had the intention of establishing constitutionalism (koushtafires), but my big obstacles were the Russians" (Firidun Adamiyyat, Mahkâlet-i târîk, Tehran 1973, 88-9).

In 1858 to 1859, as a Grand Vizier, the Amir created many domestic and foreign enemies for himself because, on the one hand, he limited bribery, injustice, and abuses of power committed by government officials and high dignitaries at court, including the Shâh's mother, Mahdî 'Ulyân, and on the other hand he opposed the Anglo-Russian interventions in Iranian affairs. This hostility at court, together with the Anglo-Russian intervention, finally brought about the Amir's execution in Kâdîgan some two months after his dismissal from the Grand Vizierate, and the succession to that position of Akâ Nûrî, a protege of the British.


ABDUL-HADI HAIRI

AMIR NIZAM, HASAN 'ALI KHAN GARRIŠI (1296/ 1317/1829-99) was born into a distinguished Kuchâr family of the Garrîs district in western Iran. His ancestors and relatives held important positions at the courts of the Timurids, the Safawids, the Afshârs, the Zandîs, and finally the Kâdîjârs. After studying Persian, Arabic, history and calligraphy, he began his government service at the age of seventeen and, as a commander of the Garrîs regiment, he helped Muhammad Shâh Kâdîjâr's army to lay siege to the city of Harât in 1253/1837. After that, the Amir Nizam (a title which he received from Nâšir al-Dîn Shâh in 1302/1884) continued his administrative, political, military, and diplomatic duties with little interruption for approximately 62 years. His military missions include his victorious participation in the 1265/1848 expedition to Mashhad, and that of 1273/1856 to Harât. He was also one of those military commanders who ended the Bâbî movement in Zanjân in 1267/1850 and that of the Nâthâkhanî Shûfs led by Shâhâb 'Ubayd Allâh in Kûrdistan in 1287/1869; the former successor gained the Amir Nizam the title of " sideways-camp" to Nâšir al-Dîn Shâh and the latter the governorship of five western regions in Iran.

In the sphere of civil offices the Amir Nizam served, among other things, as Director of the Office of Royal Effects and Treasuries (1273-5/1856-8), as a member of the Grand Consultative Assembly (1283-4/1866-71), as Minister of Public Works (1289-98/1872-81), and as Governor of Kûrdistan, Kûrmân-Bahîrîstân, and other provinces at various times.

As Nâšir al-Dîn Shâh's special political envoy, the Amir Nizam went to Europe and met the heads of state in London, Paris, Berlin, Brussels, and a few other European capitals in 1275/1858. It was on this trip that he was accompanied by 42 students seeking further education in Europe. Later, from 1276/1859 to 1283/1866, he was appointed Minister Pleintentament in Paris.

The Amir Nizam is known to have refused to cooperate with the Shâh in putting into effect the Tobacco Regie Concession of 1890 which had caused widespread unrest in Adhârâbâd. For this reason, he resigned from his position as vizier to the Shâh's heir-apparent in that province (Muhammad Hasan Khân Fûmidâl al-Sâlânjâ, Râz-nâmâ-yi Khâni, Tehran 1971, 763-70 and passim. Curzon held that "the Amir-i Nizám was reputed to be a strong Russophile" (Persia and the Persian question, i, repr. London 1966, 413, 431). Besides, the Fûmidâl al-Sâlânjâ reported that the Russians were insisting in sending the Amir Nizam back to his previous position in Adhârâbâd (Râz-nâmâ, 773). We also know that the Amir Nizam was popular with the Russians to the extent that he received the insignia of the order of the "White Eagle" from the Russian Emperor (Amir Nizâm, Munghâ'ât, Tehran 1908, 14). It would accordingly probably be safe to assume that, in his opposition to the Tobacco Concession, the Amir Nizam was not inspired by a desire to protect national interests, but was, rather, protecting the interests of the Russians, the latter power being a firm opponent to the Constitutional Movement.

The Amir Nizam had continued contacts with the West through his diplomatic missions abroad. He was one of the distinguished companions of Nâšir al-Dîn Shâh during the latter's trip of 1290/1873 to Europe (Nâšir al-Dîn Shâh, Safâr-nâmâ, Tehran 1964, 12); a trip in which "Our principal goal", said the Shâh, "... is to learn about the basis of reform, development, and the means of interests and progress. We would like to see in person, and choose those things which are instrumental for the welfare and progress of the people in other countries" (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, Shi'îsm and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics, Leiden 1977, 15). In addition, the Amir Nizam was closely associated with intellectual such as Malkâm Khân and Yusuf Khân Mustâshâr al-Dawlâ Tabârî, two men who were widely known as apostles of modernist ideas (idem., The idea of constitutionalism in Persian literature prior to the 1906 Revolution, in Akten des vii. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft. Göttingen, 15. bis 22. August 1974, Göttingen 1976, 189-207). He even reportedly signed an oath, together with a number of Persian modernist thinkers, to work towards "... the progress of our beloved people and country" (Firidûn Adamiyyât, Amâdrî-far-yi tarâkki va bakhtimât-i khânî: 'asr-i Sipahsâlâr, Tehran 1972, 249 ff.).

Despite all these facts, however, the Amir Nizam seems in practice to have followed very much the traditional ways characteristic of despotic regimes. Thus it is reported that he used to burn in furnaces bakers who were believed to have overcharged their customers, and mutilated Kurds when he was sent to suppress their uprisings. At one time, his hostility towards modernisation went so far as to have 'Ali Kûrf Safevâr bastinadoed and his Tabârî newspaper
The Amir Nizam's reputation as a learned man, a stylistically distinguished prose writer, an excellent calligrapher, and a tough bureaucrat made him so highly respected in the royal court that at one time, in 1316/1898, even Muzaffar al-Din Shah preferred to side with the Amir Nizam in the latter's conflicts with the royal heir-apparent, Muhammad 'Ali Mirza (Mahdi Kulf Hidayat, khatirat va khatorat, Tehran 1965, 98-9). Among foreign observers, Carzon called him "a man of very strong will and determination" (Persia, i, 431). Dr. J.B. Feuvrier admired him as a "vieillard d'une intelligence superieur, d'une grande experience et d'une sagesse consommee" (Trois am a la cour de Perse, Paris, n.d., 86).

Some of his epistolary works can also be found in 'Abbás Ikbál, Amir Nizám Garrúsí, in Yádád, iii/6-7 (1947), 8-33, and in some other references given in the Bibliography below.

**Bibliography:**


**AMIR NIZÁM — AL-'AMIRÍ**


**A'BÁT-HÁDI HÁIRI**

**AL-'AMIRÍ, 'ÁBU L-'HÁSÁN MUHAMMAD B. YÚSUF,** philosopher who lived mainly in Persia, born early in the 4th/10th century in Khúrášán, where he studied with the well-known geographer and philosopher Abú Zayd al-Bálkhi [see AL-BÁLQJ]. From about 355/966 he spent some years in 882/1479 taking the patronage there of the Búyíd vizier 'Ábu l-Fadl b. al-'Amid, and of his son and successor 'Abú l-Fáth [see IBN AL-ÁMIRÍ]. Al-'Amirí also visited Baghdad at least twice, in 360/970-1 and again in 364/974-5. There he met many of the leading intellectuals of the day, but according to al-Tawhidi he was very coldly received, being regarded as an uncouth provincial. By 370/980 he had returned to Khúrášán, where he dedicated a treatise to the Sámanid vizier 'Abú l-Husayn al-Udáb (d. ca. 372/982), and composed another in Bakhárár in 375/985-6. Al-'Amirí died in Níshápúr on 27 Shawwál 381/6 January 992.

In his K. al-Amad 'ala l'-abád (MS Istanbul Serví 179, edition by E.K. Rowson forthcoming), written only six years before his death, al-'Amirí gives a list of his works, comprising seventeen titles, of which four are known to be extant: K. al-Husayn wa l-muhtáár (MS. Cairo, al-Muyassa press) containing interesting and useful information about 19th century Iran. Some of his epistolary works can also be found in 'Abbás Ikbál, Amir Nizám Garrúsí, in Yádád, iii/6-7 (1947), 8-33, and in some other references given in the Bibliography below.

**Bibliography:**

AMIR, MIRZA MUHAMMAD SADIK ADIB AL-MAMLIK, Persian poet and journalist, was born in Kazarun near Sultanabadi (mod. Arak) in 1860. On his father’s side he was directly descended from Mirza Abu ‘l-Kasim K’a’inma’ākh Parhaññ, statesman and writer of the early 19th century, while his mother was a member of the same family. After his father’s death in 1874 the family was in serious financial difficulties, until in 1890 Mirza Sadik took service with Amir-Szīnām Gurrāst, whom he accompanied to Tabriz, K’a’inma’ākh and Tehran. During this period he acquired the titles Amir al-Shu’arā’ (whence his taqālīs Amirī) and later Adib al-Mamilik. In 1894 he was in charge of the Government Translation Bureau in Tehran. Two years later he returned to Tabriz, and after taking theological qualifications became Vice-Principal of the Lukanma‘yya College of Science and medicine. For a time he published Adab, a literary and scientific journal; and in 1900 he left Tabriz by way of the Caucasus and Khwāya to Mashhad, and in 1903 to Tehran, in both of which cities he resumed publication of his journal. 1904 saw him in Baku, where he edited a Persian supplement to the Turkish periodical Ifrāgh. After the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 he became editor of Maqālis, the record of the National Assembly debates, and later of the official periodicals Rā’īyāt-i Amīrī and Iqbal, in between he started his own journal, Frāk-i ‘Aṣam. In 1911 he entered the judicial service at Tabriz, K’a’inma’ākh and Tehran, Sāvūsqulugh, Sultanabadi and Yazd. He died in Tehran in 1917.

Amiri had a wide range of interests from geography, mathematics and lexicography to history, literature and astrology. He was well-versed in Persian and Arabic, in both of which he composed poems, and was familiar with a number of other languages. However, he was no ivory tower poet; his poems, following the new trend to re-unite literature and daily life, reflect the turbulent politics of his time, in which he was generally on the side of the Constitutionists. His later writings are marked by social satire and revolutionary fervour.

villages in maintenance grant in the pargana of Nindru (now in the district of Bidjnore).

During the Mughal period, Amroha also produced famous Sufis and scholars, such as Shaykh Ibān Čigīr during the reign of Akbar. Mir Sayyid Muhammad, the famous Mir 'Adi (Chief justice) and Mawlānā Allāhāddād (d. 990/1582), a leading scholar, also belonged to Amrohā. Mašāhi Amrohāṭī, the famous Urdu poet of the 18th and 19th centuries, was also born and educated there. Wīkār al-Mulk, an associate of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and one of the founder members of the Aligarh Movement, also hailed from Amrohā. It is now a tahsīl headquarters in the district of Murādabād in Uttar Pradesh.


AL-ʾÂMULĪ [See Haydar-ʾi ʾĂmulī, in Suppl.].

**ANDJUMAN-I KHUDDĀM-I KĀBA,** a religious society founded by Indian Muslims in their period of great pan-Islamic fervour just before World War One. The Andjuman was started by Mawlānā ‘Abd al-ʾBārī (q.v. above) and Muṣḥir Ḥusayn Kidwāt (q.v.) of Lucknow who hoped to be able to defend Mecca and Medina by raising ten million rupees to build dreadnoughts and airships and to maintain armed forces. Such an ambitious programme proved impracticable, and the final constitution of the organisation published early in 1332/1914 declared that to defend the Holy Places it would: (a) preach the aims and objects of the Andjuman to Muslims generally; invite them to join it; and induce them to render sincere service to the holy places; (b) spread Islamic ethics in the neighbourhood of the holy places; invite the attention of the inhabitants of those places to a knowledge of the religion; promote intercourse and unity among them; and persuade them to the allegiance and assistance of the guardian of the holy places; (c) promote relations between Muslims and the holy places and extend and facilitate means of communication with the holy places.

The leaders of the Andjuman came in large part from young western-educated Muslims of pan-Islamic predilections, for instance, Muḥammad and Shaḵwat ʿAlī (q.q.), Dr. M.A. Anṣārī and Muṣḥir Ḥusayn Kidwāt, and ʿulāma who were in some way connected with the Farangī Mahall family (q.q.) below of Lucknow, for instance, ‘Abd al-ʾBārī, Shīr ʿAmīd Ahmad Aṣghar of Kaţwā and ʿAbd al-Maḏjid Kādīr of Bahāḍīn. The ʿulāma of Deoband, landlords, and men closely associated with government, were conspicuous by their absence. Nevertheless, many, including women, joined the Andjuman. By Shawaรว in 1332/September 1914 the Andjuman had over 17,000 members, a central organisation in Dihī and branches throughout India; moreover, it had grown faster and spread more widely than any other Indo-Muslim organisation.

The achievements of the Andjuman, however, were limited. One problem was that the Government of India, suspicious of the alliance between young western-educated politicians and ʿulāma, refused to support it. The Andjuman’s work was restricted to the Ḥajj, and here Shaḵwat ʿAlī strove to improve the conditions of Indian pilgrims and attempted to break the European monopoly of the pilgrimage trade by setting up, with Turkish aid, a wholly Muslim shipping company. But the outbreak of World War One and the closing of the Ḥajj route put an end to this work, and the organisation, without an obvious function, fell apart amidst squabbles between the ʿulāma and the young politicians. In 1334/1916 ʿAbd al-ʾBārī moved its central office to Lucknow and the organisation was last talked of in 1336/1918 when he tried to restart it as a vehicle for a campaign to release Muslims who had been interned during the War.

The importance of the Andjuman lies more in what it portended than in what it achieved. In working to protect the Holy Places, the leading pan-Islamic politicians of the day, Shaḵwat and Muḥammad ʿAlī, met ʿAbd al-ʾBārī and became markāds of this very important piety. More generally, young western-educated politicians came to appreciate the widespread influence in Indo-Muslim society of ʿulāma like those of the Farangi Mahall family. These same people were to come together again after World War One to organise a much greater effort for a pan-Islamic cause, the ʿAlīfāt movement (q.v.).


**ANĪS,** Mir Bābā ʿAlī (1217-91/1803-74), Urdu poet, was born in Faydābād (Fyzabad) (q.v.) to a family which had produced five generations of poets. Some of these, including his father Ḥabīb, wrote the characteristically Indian type of marthiya which thrived at public recitals in Lucknow, capital of the Shīrī Nawāb of Oudh. This type, which may have originated in the Deccan, was devoted to the martyrdom of al-Husayn b. ʿAlī at Karbala (61/680). Anīs moved to Lucknow as a young man, and devoted his life to writing poetry, especially marthiya. He became the leading exponent of this form, thousands attended his readings in Lucknow, and in other Indian cities which he occasionally visited later in life. Some critics thought his contemporary and rival Dābir superior, but this view is now discounted.

By the time Anīs began writing, the main lines of the Indian marthiya had already been foreshadowed, if not fully established; and he used it to the full. Formerly in quatrains, it was now almost always in masadda form. Starting as a short emotional and devotional lament, it was lengthened to over a hundred verses of varied content. Alongside the incidents involving al-Husayn and his followers at Karbala, Anīs includes description of nature, such as landscape, the desert, and storms; character sketches of the protagonists; the horse, the sword; warlike accoutrements; and a philosophising which gave universality to a superficially restricted theme. The language employs all the devices of rhetoric (balāghiyya), yet there is an inherent simplicity and sincerity which contrasted strongly with the Urdu ghazal [see ghazal, iv] then in vogue. It consequently won the approval of forward-looking critics and poets such as Hālī and Aẓād, and occupies an important place in Urdu literary history. It says much for Anīs’s artistry that he managed to sustain interest in an output estimated at 250,000 verses; but it is...
hardly surprising that the form ceased to be widely cultivated after the end of the 19th century.

_Bibliography:_ Critical accounts of Anis and his mašhūrī may be found in Muhammad Sadiq, _History of Urdu literature, _London 1964, 153-63; Abū `l-Laylī Shāhīdī, _Lahorī kā dokhtāin-i ābār_ (Lahore 1955), which also contains examples from previous and subsequent mathnawī poets. Ram Babu Saksena's _History of Urdu literature, _Allahabad 1927, in a general chapter on "Elegy and elegy writers" (123 ff.), contains a genealogical table of Anis’s family (p. 136), showing the poets in the family before and after him.

Among critical studies of Anis are Amir Ahmad, _Yādār-i Anis, _Lucknow 1924, and Ḍafā’ī Ahl Khān, _Ahn i maṭarqa nī gārī_ (Lucknow 1951). Shibli Nu’mān’s _Mawṣūla-yi Ānis-o-Dābur_ is still the standard comparison of the two poets, though heavily weighted in Anis’s favour. There are numerous editions of Anis’s poetry, none complete. One of the fullest is Marāthī Anis, ed. Nātīb Husayn Nakwī Amroṭā, 4 vols., Karatschī 1959. The three-volume edition of Nawāb Haydar Ḍāng, Badārīn 1935, is less full, but has an introduction by Ṣayyīm al-Dīn Huṣayn Nīṭāmī Badārīnī (J. A. Haywood).

Anṣārī, Ṣayyid Murtādā, despite his being rather unknown in the West, is considered to have been a Shi’ī muqtaḥad whose widely-recognised religious leadership in the Shi’ī world has not yet been surpassed. He was born into a noted but financially poor clerical family of Dizful, in the south of Iran, in 1236/1820, when Ansari, together with hundreds of other Iranian people, fled from Karbalā’ due to the pressures imposed by the Ottoman governor at Baghdad, Dāwūd Pasha, after the growth of the Perso-Ottoman hostility at that time (S.H. Longrigg, _Four centuries of modern Iraq, _Oxford 1925, 242-9; Sir Percy Sykes, _A history of Persia, _ii. repr. London 1963, 316 ff.). Anṣārī then returned to Dizful.

_In ca. 1237/1821, Anṣārī again went to Karbalā‘, and attended the circle of the famous muqtaḥad Molla Muhammad Sarhī al-Ulūma, (d. 1245/1829). In ca. 1238/1829 he proceeded to Nadjaf and continued his studies under Ṣayyid Musa Kāshīf al-Ghīṭā, (d. 1241/1825), and after a year or so he again returned to his home town, Dizful. Heading for Maḥhad in 1240/1824 with the intention of attending the circles for religious learning in different Iranian cities, Anṣārī joined the teaching circle of Ṣayyid Ahmad Bākīr Shafī‘ī (d. 1270/1853) in Isfahān (Anṣārī’s biography written by Muhammad Rūdāl al-Radawī al-Khānāsārī (sic), in Anṣārī, _Ḳitāb al-Maṭāṣiq al-Mukābī_, Tehran 1908, 1), each for no more than a month._

When Anṣārī met Mulla Ahmad Naraḵī (d. 1245/1829) in Kāshān, he decided to remain there because he found Naraḵī’s circle most congenial for learning. Naraḵī also found Anṣārī exceptionally knowledgeable, saying that within his experience he had never met any established muqtaḥad as learned as Anṣārī, who was then ca. thirty years of age (Murtādā al-Anṣārī, _Zendgānī va saddehīyāt-i Shāhīk-i Anṣārī kudāsā sirah, _Ahwāz (sic) 1960, 69).

In 1245/1828, Anṣārī left Kāshān for Maḥhad, and after a few months living there he went to Tehran. In 1246/1830, he returned to Dizful, where he was widely recognised as a religious authority, despite the presence of other important ‘ulamā’ in that town. It is said that Anṣārī suddenly left Dizful secretly sometime because he, as a religious-legal judge, was put under pressure to bring in a one-sided verdict in a legal case. He then arrived in Nadjaf in ca. 1249/1833 and joined the teaching circle of Shaykh ‘Ali Kāshīf al-Ghīτā (d. 1254/1838) and, according to some sources, that of Shaykh Muhammad Ḥasan Sāhīb al-Dīwānī (d. 1266/1849), but each for only a few months, and soon organised his own teaching-circle independently.

Anṣārī’s life as a distinguished religious scholar entered a new phase in 1266/1849 after he had received an overwhelming recognition from all the Shi’ī communities which formed a population then estimated at 40 million across the Muslim world, so that the institution of muqtaḥad-i taklīd [q.v.] reached its highest point. “The Twelve Shi’ī population of Iran,” wrote one of Anṣārī’s contemporaries, Muhammad Ḥasan Pātimād al-Saltana, “and the numerous Shi’ī groups who live in India, in Russia, in some of the Ottoman provinces, and in several other cities of Afghanistan, Turkistan, and elsewhere used to send to Anṣārī their endowment funds, alms taxes, one-fifth of their annual savings ... and other similar payments, which amounted to 200,000 tāmāns [ca. $30,000.00] annually” (al-Ma’tāṣiq wa t-ʿāghār, Tehran 1888, 136-7).

Despite his vast income and his overwhelming leadership, Anṣārī, according to a number of eye-witness accounts, nevertheless denied his family a comfortable life and himself lived an ascetic life, as was evident from his appearance (cf. inter alia, Muhammad Hīrz al-Dīn, _Maṭāṣiq al-razgāi, _ii, Nadjaf 1964, 399-404). Instead, he gave the money to the poor and needy, to the students of religious schools, and at times to those Muslims who, on their way to visit the shrine of Imām Rīḍa in Maḥhad, were taken captive by the Turkomans. When Anṣārī died in 1281/1864 his wealth and belongings were worth only seventeen tāmāns (less than three dollars), for an equal amount of which he was in debt. One of his followers therefore took charge of the funeral expenses.

Aḥṣārī’s piety, and above all his scholarly qualifications, deserved of course such recognition, but other factors also were certainly instrumental in establishing his leadership: the then great muqtaḥad-i taklīd, Sāḥīb al-Dīwānī, shortly before his death declared Aḥṣārī to be the legitimate sole muqtaḥad-i taklīd of the Shi’a. This endorsement was compounded with the earlier death of other distinguished religious authorities such as Shaykh Muhammad Ḥasan Sāḥīb al-Fuṣūl (d. 1261/1845). In addition, this development was preceded by the gradual decline of Isfahān as religious centre, a process which had begun its course since the fall of the Saʿādawī dynasty and was accelerated by the death of such religious authorities of Isfahān as Shafī‘ī and Ḥārīm
Karbaš (d. 1262/1845). Consequently, Nadjaf began then to enjoy an unprecedented attention from the Shī'ite of Iran, and most of this attention was certainly focused on the person of Ansārī. Ansārī not only established a new era in the history of the Shī'ī leadership but was also an important figure in the field of Shī'ī jurisprudence, being considered to have opened up a more productive way of practising usūlī hadā in general and for dealing with the problem of private ownership in particular. Ansārī's system in jurisprudence laid great importance on the maqādīr-i tūkilī's being the most learned man of his time; he said that 'a'la (reason) and 'ugī (social conventions and common practices) are to be taken as criteria and bases for introducing new laws. His name is also mentioned as an authority with original views on such usūl subjects as the principles of istihāb, bana'a, and zaman, each of which were the subject of an independent study done by Ansārī (for a concise definition of the above terms, cf. ‘Abd al-Qādir Ṣadīqī, Farhang-i al-‘ulūm-i nakhī va adabī, Tehran 1965, 51-3, 359).

Ansārī's school of thought has been clearly dominant in Shī'ī scholarly circles since the middle of the 19th century, and his views have been discussed and adopted by most of the Shī'ī ulama. A descendant of Ansārī's brother has listed the names of 144 musnāhīs who have written commentaries on Ansārī's various books (Ansārī, Zendgānī, 354-87). Ansārī's influence on the later 'ulama' can also be found in the bio-bibliographical dictionaries compiled on the Shī'ī authorities (cf. Bihār). The influence of Ansārī's ideas is further seen in the laws made for various Shī'ī communities, because many of those who were involved in the process of law-making were either Ansārī's disciples or were indirectly under the influence of his thought. The Persian civil law which was substantially based on the Shī'ī jurisprudence may be mentioned as an example; and the man who "translated into Russian the Islamic law according to which the Muslims of Caucasus were being tried in the legal courts" was Mirzā Kāẓīm Bīy, a disciple of Ansārī (Maḥfūz Ḥāfīzī Muḥtahār, ‘ulamā‘-i taklīds, Tehran 1974). Ansārī's circle of teaching was attended by numerous pupils, many of whom became great maqādīr-i tūkilīs of their times, e.g., Husayn Kūshkārī (d. 1291/ 1874), Muhammad Irwānī (d. 1306/1888), Ḥabīb Allāh Rašīfī (d. 1312/1894), Maḥmūd Ḥasan Shāhriāzī (d. 1312/1894), and Maḥmūd Kāẓīm Khurāsānī (d. 1329/1911). There are also reports that Sayyid Dāmil al-Dīn Asadābādī "Afghānī" was also a pupil of Ansārī (Asghar Mahdawī and Iradj Afshar, Khvāṭī, Tehran 1974, 187, nor has Lutf Allah Khan been correctly quoted in influence in the interest of his followers. Persian or otherwise, in their political and other struggles. Theoretically, however, he believed that the 'ulama' were not only the custodians of religions, but are also unquestionably responsible for judicial and political affairs also (Hārī, Shī‘īs and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics, Leiden 1977, 60). Ansārī's lack of interest in social and political issues has been criticised by contemporary modernist thinkers. Fath ‘Alī Aḥkāmī-Zāda, for instance, said: "God has not given Ansārī enough insight to understand why Iran is in the state of collapse and why the Iranians are suffering abasement" (Aḥkāmī-Zāda, Baku 1963, 121), and Aḵā Kān Kirmānī [q.v. above] believed that Ansārī contributed to the people's ignorance and perplexity (Firdūdī Aḏānīyat, ‘Aḏānīyat-i Mirzā Aḵā Kān Kirmānī, Tehran 1967, 66).

On the other hand, his aloofness from politics was warmly welcomed by the political authorities, who seem to have taken it as a sign of his asceticism. Thus we come across the reports that the governor of 'Irāq referred to him as the Greatest 'Ālam (i.e., one who distinguishes truth from falsehood) and that the British Ambassador allegedly said: "Ansārī is either Jesus himself or his special deputy on earth" (Hānī Kān Shāykh ‘Arūsfī Ansārī, Tārīḵ-i Ḥudūd va Ray va hana-yi ḥudūd, Tehran 1943, 76 ANSĀRĪ
inside the front cover). The cult formed around him led some people to say that Ansari had met with the Twelth Imam.

Ansari has also been praised in Babi literature as “...a man renowned for his tolerance, his wisdom, his understanding of his people and nobility of character”; the leader of the Baha’is, Mirza Husayn ‘Ali Nari known as Bahá’í Allah [g.v.], included Ansari among “those doctors who have indeed drunk of the cup of renunciation”; ‘Abbas Efendi (‘Abd al-Bahá) also referred to Ansarf as “the illustrious and erudite doctor, the noble and celebrated scholar, the seal of seekers after truth” (Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By, Wilmette, Illinois 1944, 143).

Under Bábí auspices he was also referred to Ansarf as “the illustrious and erudite doctor, the noble and celebrated scholar, the seal of seekers after truth” (Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By, Wilmette, Illinois 1944, 143).

Abd al-Baha was known as Baha 3

Ansar is thus praised because he did not share the condemnation of other Shí‘i ‘ulamá’ of the Bábí faith and rituals. He did not attend the meeting convened by the Shí‘i ‘ulamá’ in Kazimayn in 1863 for determining on the banishment of Bahá’í. He did not attend the meeting convened by the Shaykh al-Muhamm 5

Anthropoid [see Kirby]
European store of medicines, but, according to Meyerhof, it is still well-known in the Orient, especially in the drugmarket in Cairo.

According to Dioscorides, the yellowish bitter resin was above all useful for causing new flesh wounds (tēhē, "flesh") to coalesce ("glue") scar over. Already al-Kindī used it as component of a good number of recipes (ʿabrāb_khīn, see Bibli, below), among others for leprosy. The most detailed description is given by Ibn al-Baytār on the basis of Greek and Arabic sources as well as his own observations. The resin consumes the festering flesh of putrescent abscesses, assists the ripening of tumours, carries away mucus and yellow gall, and is a remedy for inflammations of the eye, for agglutinating eyelids and for excessive secretion of the eye. Taken internally, the resin is a strong purgative, but causes also the hair to fall out. The best Sarcocolla consists of crushed, white seeds, mixed with walnut oil. Measured out in different ways, it can be mingled with other drugs (sapagenum, myrobalanum, aloes, bdellium, etc.). When taken neat, the resin can be lethal; therefore, its use should be more than 2½ dirhām. Ibn al-Baytār, however, maintains that he saw in Egypt women partaking, immediately after a bath, of up to 3½ ounces of anzārūt, together with the pulp of the yellow melon, hoping to increase thus their corpulence.


(A. Dietrich)

APÆ [see ʾmaʿ.]
licit, he will be forever marked by dishonour. Thus we return to the primitive sense of the word 'âr, which is not however used in the Orient in the same way as in Morocco. J. Chelhod (op. laut., iii), who has drawn attention to the use of this word to designate a spouse ('ârî = my wife), links it to 'cure "nudity, modesty, etc."', but the two words do not belong to the same root and, what is more, 'ed "honour" is also used in the same sense (for Mousl, see A. Jaussen, Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Mousli', Paris 1948, 45, n. 3). In this case, 'âr would seem rather to imply the idea that dishonour would affect the husband who did not protect his wife; one dare not go so far as to attribute to this term the sense of "protection", but there is found here a notion firmly rooted in the Arab mentality, the notion of honour upon which B. Fares has founded his entire thesis.

The Moroccan 'âr thus implies a transfer of responsibility and of obligation, for the supplicateur, to accord his protection to the supplicant, in default of which dishonour falls on the former, who is obliged to give satisfaction to the latter. This transfer can operate in a number of ways, with variable consequences. The most simple consists in saying 'âr 'âlî "the 'âr on you" and making a material contact with the person to whom the appeal is made, for example touching the edge of his turban, or leaving one's hand upon him or his mount. More serious is the case of a man guilty of a crime or a misdeed and pursued by his enemies: the pursuit must cease as soon as the suppliant has touched the ropes or the pole of the tent of the supplicateur or has penetrated his home: the result is still more spectacular when the latter is an interested party of vengeance on the guilty party; a douar can even impose it on another whose cooperation it is seeking, by simulating an assault on the tribe, a mosque, or the tomb of a saint enjoying a right of asylum rarely violated. This institution gives rise to judicial work over a prescribed period. If the head of the family to whom appeal has been made, the latter is obliged to grant the request presented in this manner from the instant that he sets foot in the pool of blood or simply perceives it; here the efficacy of the procedure is due to the blood [see DAM, in the Supplement], which possesses magic power. Finally, to appeal for the aid of another tribe, to address a request to the authorities or to give force to a submission to central government, recourse would made to the t'argïha which consisted in hamstringing a horse, a camel or a bull and placing it in the possession of a suppllicant.

Other procedures are still employed (see E. Wimmerarch, op. laut., 87-107) which may be passed over without comment except to recall that the persons solicited are not permitted to refuse and that they are bound, whatever their inner inclination, to protect the suppllicant, and whatever the circumstances, to provide him with hospitality: a private house, and in more serious cases where the 'âr has been imposed on the tribe, a mosque, or the tomb of a saint enjoying a right of asylum rarely violated. There was quoted at the beginning of this article an example of 'âr exercised with regard to a Tunisian saint. The Moroccans also use it towards their saints (see below), to whom they offer sacrifices to obtain their intercession; they also employ other procedures (heaps of stones, votary offerings, etc.) which doubtless rely more on sympathetic magic than on 'âr in the true sense of the word. In the same way, they assure themselves of the neutrality of djinnim by imitations which could be interpreted as offerings and therefore unrelated to 'âr.

The latter is imposed, so it is understood, to obtain all sorts of things, from the most banal to the most important; to obtain pardon for an offence; to assure oneself of an intervention, to protect oneself from an enemy, to bring about a change of mind on the part of a father who has refused to give his daughter in marriage to a suitor, to oblige the parents of a murdered man to accept the diya and not to insist on vengeance on the guilty party; a douar can even impose it on another whose cooperation it is seeking, for example in the harvest.

Women can also have recourse to the 'âr, under the same conditions as men or using procedures of their own. In certain Berber tribes of Morocco, a woman who wishes to leave her husband may take refuge in an alien tent or house, kiss a beam or handle the mechanism of a mill; from that moment, the owner of the property must marry her and compensate the abandoned husband, or... take flight. A fugitive who has succeeded in sucking a woman's nipple obtains her protection and that of her husband, and cases are known of adoption by sucking (see G. Marcy, in Râfr., laxis (1936), 957-73) or even by simulated sucking [see for instance AL-KAHINA].

As regards adoption, which does not exist in Islamic law, a particular aspect of 'âr in certain Berber tribes is an institution concerning an individual called, with nuances, amazzal, amzyad, ambaz, amhars, aourl, etc. It occurs in the case of a stranger to the group who, usually after committing some offence in his own clan (also sometimes one refused by a father whose daughter he has asked for in marriage), has imposed the 'âr and obtained the protection of another group which makes henceforward the beneficiary of his work. He becomes amazzal when his protector has given to him in marriage his own daughter or another woman over whom he holds the right of djâhr [q.v. in Suppl.]; the marriage-price must be paid in work over a prescribed period. If the head of the family so decides, the amazzal may be adopted and may enjoy all the rights of a legitimate son, even though he is the daughter's husband. In certain parishes, a distinction is drawn between the amhars, a term designating the stranger adopted by a man, and the amazzal in the true sense of the word; in this last case, a widow who is the head of a family may adopt a stranger whom she makes her concubine and whom she has the right to reject or to marry legally when the pre-arranged marriage-price has been paid in full. This institution gives rise to judicial arrangements, the details of which cannot be discussed here (see G. Marcy, Zâminer, index; G. Surdon, Institutions et coutumes des Berbères du Maghreb, Tangier-Fez 1938, 244-50).

In spite of the absence, in Berber speech, of an original term to designate 'âr, it is quite certain that this custom presents a number of autochthonous features which justify a treatment distinct from that of the ancient djewâr and its aspects which define within strict limits the protection accorded by oriental Bedouin to strangers to their tribe. However, orthodox opinion is particularly worried by the practice of throwing one's cloak or turban on the tomb of a saint, or furthermore, of slaughtering an animal there as a form of 'âr, and the fukahâ make the comment that the deceased would not be able alone to fulfil the request. They object in other
ways besides to the use of the word ‘ār, and only permit these rites when their object is to obtain the baraka of the saint or when an animal is sacrificed for the distribution of its meat to the guardians of the sanctuary (see al-Kattānī, Salwat al-anfās, i, 54-6).

A bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see G. Kampfmeier, Texte aus Fez, Berlin 1909 (text vi); E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, London 1928; idem, L’ār, the transference of conditional curses in Morocco, in Anthropological essays presented to E.B. Tylor, Oxford 1907, 361-74; A. Jaussen, Costumes des Arabes au pays de Moulāh, Paris 1948, 187-220. (Ch. Pellat)

ARAGHŪN, Arabic name corresponding to the Spanish Aragon. In fact, this word has both a geographical and a political sense. It is a geographical term, it refers to a river, dominated by the fortress of Shantaramiyya, the first of the defensive system of Navarre (al-Himyarī, Razī, no. 105). This watercourse rises on the southern slope of the Pyrenees, near Canfranc; after passing the town of Jaca, the Sierra de la Peña diverts it towards the west, watering Berdun, Tiermas, Sangiésa, Aïbar, Caparroso and Villafranca before joining the Arga and flowing into the Ebro in Navarre.

This Wādi Araghūn would seem to constitute the natural path of incursion into the Christian kingdom of Navarre. Having followed the river as far as Sanguesa, the Muslim forces followed the course of its tributary the Irati, in the direction of Pamplona. This is to be inferred from Bayānī, ii, 148, “Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Malīk al-Tawfīl marched in 298/911 towards Aragon with the object of capturing Pamplona and linking up there with ‘Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. Lābīs.” This is precisely the route used in the famous campaign of ‘Abd al-Rahmān III in 312/924. The forces of the caliph, coming from Tudela, attacked the stronghold of Karkastal/Carcastillo on the river Aragon, Markwī/Marcuella, Sangiésa, Rocaforte, Aïbar, Caparroso and Villafranca before joining the Arga and flowing into the Ebro in Navarre.

If Rāzī it was also a mountain range (Crónica monov., ed. Catalan, Madrid 1975, 48-9) “E en su término (de Huesca) ha... otro (castillo) que ha nombre Tola, yaze cerca de la sierra de Aragon. E Aragon es muy nombrada sierra entre las Españas. E en ella yazen dos castillos muy buenos, el uno ha nombre Sen e el otro Ben; y yaze en dos peñas que son encima de la sierra de Aragon, e corre por entre ellos un río de Flumen... E de las sierras... e logares nombrados en fortaleza, son en aquella tierra que se yauta con monte Aragon que ha nombre Monte Negro, e non lo podra pasar omne a cavallo, que ande bien, en menos de tres días.” Al-Udghīrī (Māʾṣūlīkh., v, 56) states that the town and district of Huesca “lies in the vicinity of the Lqabl Araghūn, renowned among the Christians.”

If it is accepted that this valley was the route employed by the various Muslim expeditions, not only towards the Christian centre of Jaca but also, and especially, towards Navarre, it must be assumed that it was organised as a “frontier” for the defence of Pamplona. This defensive function would create a centre for resistance and for counter-attacks. The “reconquest” of the valley of the Ebro would have been an enterprise of Aragon rather than Navarre, just as Castille had absorbed the old kingdom of Leon. The Christian advance at the expense of al-Andalus would henceforward be the product of these two “frontier” forces, Raghūla [p.e.] and Araghūn. In fact, these two kingdoms were therefore share between themselves their frontier conquests. This gave rise to various formal treaties: Tudellein (1151), Cazorla (1179) and Almizra (1244) (Roque Chabas, División de la conquista de España nueva entre Aragón y Castilla, in Congreso Hist. Aragón, Barcelona 1909), in which were fixed the respective zones of the legal expansion of Aragon and Castille. The former, having achieved by 1238 its own particular “reconquest”, turned its attention to the sea. It was then that there took shape the broad outlines of its policy towards Africa (Ch. E. Dufourcq, L’Estagne catalane et le Maghrīb aux XIII e XIV siècles, Paris 1965), the Mediterranean (Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and the kingdoms of Naples—in competition with the Angevin dynasty), annexation of part of the Byzantine empire (the duchies of Athens and of Neopatria), of the island of Cyprus, and commercial relations with Mamlūk Egypt (A. Masta de Ros, La Coronada de Aragón y los estados del Norte de África, Barcelona 1951; A. López de San, Los consulados en Alejandría y Damasco en el reinado de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso, Saragossa 1956; F. Giunta, Aragonesi e Catalani nel Mediterraneo, Palermo 1959; L. Nicolau d’Olwer, L’expansio de Catalunya a la Mediterrània Oriental, Barcelona 1926). After the union of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castille in 1474, Spain inherited this interventionist line to the Mediterranean: attempts at invasion of Algiers in 1519 and 1541 (directed against the piracy of the Barbarossa brothers [see ARÔI et CHAYK AL-DIN BARBARASSA]), conquest of the island of Djerba (1529), the capture of La Golotta at Tunis (1535). (E.G. Ontiveros, La política norteafricana de Carlos I, Madrid 1950) and the battle of Lepanto [see AYNÀBAKH] in 1571.

But Araghūn above all has a political sense. According to al-Himyarī (Razī, no. 8), “it is the name of the territory of Ghuribī s. Shandju, comprising cantons (bildān), staging posts (munnūzīl), and districts (wādīl).” According to Makhkārī (Nafī, ed. Beirut, i, 137), “The fifth region, bordered by Aragón and Saragossa and their environs, towards the territory of Aragon, to the south of which lies Barcelona.” As a political concept, its borders were constantly changing. Just as al-Andalus did not cease to contract in the course of the centuries, Araghūn constantly expanded. So its history is founded on the recession of the Muslim thagr al-d̄īl [p.e.], sc. of the Upper March. Its growth took place at the expense of the neighbouring Hispanic-Arab states; the marks of this “reconquest” are the taking of Graus (1083), Monzón (1089), Alquézar (1091), Almenara (1093), Huesca (1096), Barbastro (1100), Balaguer (1105), Ejea and Tauste (1106), Taraüte (1107), Morella and Bèlhèt (1117), Saragossa (1118), Tarazona and Tudela (1119), Calataüd and Daroca (1120), Alcañiz (1124), Tortosa (1148), Lèrida, Fraga and Mequinenza (1149), Tened (ca. 1157), Valderrober (1169), Caspe (1171), Majorca (1229), Morella (1293), Burriana (1233), Peñíscola (1234), Ibiza (1235), Valencia (1238) and Minorca (1287). The expansion
of Castile was fundamentally local, while that of Aragon took place in a wider context. Alfonso I was in a sense a crusader. The author of the *Halul* mentions that he chose, assem-bled and equipped 4,000 horsemen of Aragon, whom they selected on their squire. They agreed and swore by the Gospel that not one of them would desert his companion. First of all, a psychological offensive took place (articles by D.M. Dunlop, A. Cutler and A. Turki, in *Al-Andalus*, 1952, 1963 and 1966; Chalmets in RUM, xx, 1972), followed by the Council of Toulouse in 1118 which proclaimed the expedition against Muslim Spain. There was also participation by numerous French troops, creating a greater “mass movement” and a change of tactics. Technical innovations (catapults and mobile siege-towers built by an expert, a veteran of the sieges of Nice, Antioch, and especially Jerusalem, Gaston de Bearn) made possible the capture of strongholds hitherto impregnable. The great campaigns of James I the Conqueror (the Balearic islands in 1229 and Valencia in 1238) were also to be considered as a crusade (R.I. Burns, *The Crusader kingdom of Valencia*. Cambridge, Mass. 1967). The royal house of Aragon was considered as the vanguard of the Christian kingdoms towards the conquered Muslims. The treaties of capitulation seem all to have been inspired by the need to retain labourers and peasants (hence this was a policy different from “repopulation”). The first example was to be that of the conquest of Valencia by the Cid in 1094. Those, subsequently, of Saragossa, Tudela and Tortosa, as well as the later ones signed by James I, also correspond to this scheme (R.M. Menendez Pidal, *La Espafia del Cid*, Madrid 1956, 483-95; R.I. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, Princeton 1973, 118-38, 173-83). These circumstances explain the importance of the Mudéjars (q.v.), and Macho Ortega, *Condición social de los mudéjares aragoneses (s. XV)* in Mem. Fac. Fac. Zaragoza, i (1923), 137-319, and L. Piles, *La situación social de los moros de realengo en la Valencia del s. XV*, Madrid 1949, and later of the Moriscos (q.v., and T. Halperin Donghi, *El problema morisco en Aragón al comienzo del reinado de Felipe II*, Valencia 1969) in these regions where they were almost always vassals of local lords and bore the name of “exarcado” (Burk. E. Hinomousa, *Mezquitas y exarcos . . .*, in *Obra*, Madrid 1948, 245-56). It is the permanence of this modus vivendi which explains the fact that the vast majority of aljamia (q.v.) literature comes from this region.

For the Arab historians, Aragón means not only a region but also all the territories of the political entity embodied in the Kingdom of Aragon. In this context are included Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia. Al-Marrakushr (Mu`cib, 50-1, 235, 267) defines its extent in 621/1224 thus: “The Banu Hid possessed the towns of this region (al-Andalus), Tortosa and its environs, Saragossa and its environs, Fraga, Lerida and Calatayud all under the rule of the prince of Barcelona, and constitute the country known as Aragón. The latter has the borders of the kingdom of Aragon, to the French border. Neighbouring
Yakzan al-Kalbī and al-Husayn b. Yahya al-Ansan, Aragonese (with whom they had family ties) of the Banū Kasīt, Musa b. Musa rnuwallad, name of al-Hakam I, but the representative of the Tudjibid Banū Salama in the region of Huesca, oust-and politically very unstable. We find there the Aragonese, the Catalans, the Navarrese and the tenant, the mawla Badr. The Yemenis Sulayman b. in the 10th century the Banū Shabrit b. al-Tawfl and'of Sancho (ai-salage, there was annual tribute of 700 and the status of vass- dinars. In fact, it seems that, in about 228/843 enclaves by the emirate of Cordova. Thanks to an there was legal recognition of the North-Pyrenean Christians. In fact, it seems that, in about 228/843 there was legal recognition of the North-Pyrenean enclaves by the emirate of Cordova. Thanks to an annual tribute of 700 and the status of vassalage, there was ēfūł [g.v. of the territories of Inigo and of Sancho (al-Ughri, 30).

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(Chalmeta)

ARAT, REŞİD RâMEŢI, up to 1934 G.R. RAGHANTI, modern Turkish Reşîd Râmeţî ARAT, Turkish scholar and philologist (1900-64); Born at Eski Uğurım, to the south-west of Kazan, he was the son of Abd al-Reşîd 'İsmet Allah, of a family of mudârinûn who emigrated from Kazan and set up a "hereditary" madrasa there. He attended vari- ous schools in his home town, and later in Kızılûr (Petropavlovsk) and in Harbin in Manchuria where he finished high school (1921). He joined cultural associations of the Kazan Tatars in Harbin and contributed to various papers. In December 1922 he left for Germany and he enrolled in Berlin University, where he was trained in Turkish philology by Willy Bang. He obtained his Ph. D. in 1927 with a thesis on Die Hülfervorlagen und Hulpwörterbücher im Altotischen which was published in Ural-alttische Jahrbücher, viii/1-4 (1927), 1-66. He then joined the teaching staff of the Department of Oriental languages at the University. In the same year he mar- ried Dr. Rabi'a, also from the Kazan area, whom he met in Harbin. In 1928 he was made a research assistant in the Prussian Academy. In 1933, following the university reform in Turkey, he was offered the chair of Turkish philology in the University of Istanbul where he taught until his death. He was the director of the Institute of Turcology (1940-50) founded by Fu'âd Koprulu in 1924 and a visiting professor in the SOAS London (1949-51). He died in Istanbul on 29 November 1964. R. R. Arat, who contributed greatly in intro- ducing the historic and comparative approach to studies of Turkish language and dialects, was a scholar who preferred to limit his efforts to a given area and to deepen it rather than spread over many problems and disparate fields. He remained strictly interested in linguistic and philological problems and text criticism. He is the author of the following major works: Zur Heilige der Ughuren, 2 vols, Berlin 1930-2; Die Legende von Oguz Qeğhan (with W. Bang), Berlin 1932; Türkische Turfan Texte, vi, Berlin 1936; Un sevit de Mehmed II, le Conquérant, in Annali RISON, xx (1940); Bâburî, Vékayî, 2 vols, Ankara 1943-6; Kütâbıli Hili (critical edition), Istanbul 1947; Alt kütbıli 'b-hukuıyık (critical edition and modern Turkish paraphrase), Istanbul 1951; Yavuz Haci Hısırli, Kütlibili hili (Modern Turkish paraphrase), Ankara 1959; Türk tıekerći inatını, in FM, x, (1953), 139-139 (a summary of former attempts to classify Turkish dialects, together with a new proposal; under the influence of his own dialect, Arat insisted on using the term sevit (accent) instead of lâqab (dialect) of standard Turkish); Eski türk süt (Pre-Islamic and early Islamic Turkish verse, texts, modern Turkish paraphrase and notes), Istanbul 1965; ibid. 1969; J. Lacarra, Historia del reino de Navarra, Pamplona 1972; idem, La conquista de Zaragoza por Alfonso I, in Andalus, xii, (1947), 65-96; idem, La reconquista y reposición del valle del Ebro, in Est. E. M. C. Aragón, iii (1946), 39-83; idem, La reposición de Zaragoza por Alfonso el Batallador, in Est. Ha. Social, Esp Madrid 1949, 205-23; idem, Obras de lideranto de Andaruz, Saragossa 1965; E. Lévi-Provençal, Hist. Esp. mus., index; J. Mallas, El texto de hizbaddar musulmanes referentes a la Cataluna carolingia, in Quaderns d'Estudis, xiv (1922); M. Pallares Gil, La frontera sararrera en tiempo de Berenguer IV, in Bol. Ha. Gen. Baja Aragón, iv (1907).

(FAHIR İZ)

ARBA'ÜN HADITH', a genre of literary and religious works centred round 40 hadīths of the Prophet.

This type of work has arisen, from one aspect, from the hadith which says "The member of my community who learns 40 hadīths connected with the pre- dictions of the faith will be raised to life by God among the authorities on the law and the scholars", and from another aspect, from certain secondary factors: the desire to be covered by the Prophet's grace, the hope of escaping the tortures of hell-fire, the inten- tion of major others to see the great ones, etc.

Works in this category of arba'ūn hadīth' may be written in prose, verse or a mixture of the two. The contents may also differ: some writers and compil- ers are content to gather together the hadīths, others add to them explanations, whilst yet others adorn and complete these texts by means of accounts, āyît and homiletic material. The elements of works

SRAGHON. The Kaya's relieved al-Sumayl while 'Abd al-Rahmān I attempted a crossing to Spain (bkhabīr, 62-79). Later the amīr sent there his trusted lieu- tenant, the nāṣirī Bâdîr. The Yemenīs Sufaymān b. Yakâin al-Kalbī and al-Ḥusayn b. Yâlâyî al-Anṣârî, by promising Saragossa to Charlemagne, encouraged him to undertake his ill-fated expedition of 778. This Upper March was always an extremely volatile zone and politically very unstable. We find there the Tudjibid Banū Salama in the region of Huesca, oust-
in this general category are selected according to dif-
fering principles: *abdulhadi kadriyya*, of divine inspira-
tion [see HADITH KUDSI]; *mathas of the Prophet*; *hadiths*
chosen from amongst those texts easy for learning by
heart; etc. *Arba’un* hadiths, *khutbas* hadiths, *tadris* [see HADITH KUDSI]; *statements of the Prophet*;
and his Companions (or even his children and grand-
children), sects and mysticism, knowledge and the
scholar, politics and law, the holy war, social and
moral life, etc.

The genre is called *cihil hadith* by the Persians and *kirk hadith* by the Turks. It developed first of
all in Arabic and developed extensively. Amongst
the oldest collections are those of Abu Bakr al-
Adjurri (d. 330/942) and of Ibn Wad’ân (d. 494/1101). But the most celebrated is that put
together by Muhîyî ’l-Dîn Abû Zakariyya Yahyâ al-
Nawawî (631/1235-77), the number of numerous
comments in Arabic and translations into other
Islamic languages. The first *cihil hadith* collections
in Persian which have come down to us were written
in the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, sc. the *Tâbîb al-
’Ali. However, the most famous and most widely
reprinted collection is that composed in quattrain
verses, the *Târgayûn-yi Arba’un hadith* of ’Abî
al-Rahmân Djamî (817-98/1414-92). The works of
Nawawî and Djamî were translated into Turkish
and published on many occasions.

It should further be noted that the Turks not only
accepted the genre quite in its general aspect, but also
composed didactic works full of teaching points.
The oldest of these in Turkish known to us is the
*Nahhâl al-furadîs* of Mahmûd b. ’Ali (8th/14th cen-
tury), followed in the next one by Kemîl Umâmî
(transliteration after 815/1412) and also ’Ali Shîr Newâ’î (845-
906/1441-1501), and then in the 10th/16th century
by Fudhîl (3885-963/1480-1556), Usîlî (d. 975/1568,
Newît [942/1007-1035-99], *Arif Celebi Nafta*î (transliteration 979/1571) and Muṣafî ’Ali (translation
1005/1597). This work of translation was further
pursued with enthusiasm in succeeding centuries, the
most important works being those of Mehmed Tiynûn
(1011/1603). Ismâ’îl Rusukhi (d. 1040/1631), Yusuf
Nabî (1052-1124/1642-1712), ’Othmân-zâde Ti’bbî
(1120/1712), Munif (1145/1733), ’Omer Dîyâ’î al-Dîn
(publ. 1326/1908) and Ahmed Na’îm (publ.
1343/1925).

*Arif Celebi, dervish mystic, grandson of*
Mawlânâ Dîjàl al-Dîn Rûmî and the third *khâjîfî* of
the Mawlawîya order, was born at Konya on 8 Dhu
‘l-Ka’dâ 707/6 July 1272 as a son to Sulûn Walâd and
Fâtimâ Khâtûn, the daughter of the goldsmith
Sâlûh al-Dîn. His actual name was Dîjàl al-Dîn
Farâ’înî, Mawlânâ, who named him thus after his two
grandfathers, maye him also the by-name *Arif*
*Arif*, from which the commonly-used Turkish form
Ulû *Arif* has been derived.

An extensive biography with many hagiographic traits
is contained in the eighth chapter of the *Munâkh al-
ârifîn* by Allâkî [q.v.]. Being one of *Arif’s* pupils, Allâkî
was an eyewitness to a great part of his life and accom-
panied him on a number of his travels. *Arif* frequently
wandered through Anatolia, but he made journeys to
’Irâq and Persia as well. On one occasion, Sulûn Walâd
sent him to the court of the Il-Khan at Sultânîyâ to
remonstrate against the pro-Sâfî policy adopted by
Oldjeytî. In 712/1312, *Arif* succeeded his father as
the head of the Mawlawîya. His death occurred at
Konya on 23 Dhu ‘l-Hijjâ 719/5 November 1320.
His tomb is still extant in the Mawlawî târîb.

The anecdotes related by Allâkî depict *Arif* as a
colourful personality. Through his conduct, he
expressed the antimasonic tendencies inherent in
the Mawlawî tradition from its origin. He acted like a
real dervish and indulged in long and exhaustive *samâî*
sessions which often gave rise to scandal.

Unlike his ancestors, *Arif* was neither prominent
as a scholar nor as a writer. The only works known
to us are collections of his *ghazals* and his quatrains
which were all written in Persian. The rareness of
these poems both in separate manuscripts and in col-
clections of Mawlawî poetry suggests that they were
not very highly appreciated in the literary tradition
of the order. A manuscript in the Leiden University
Library contains a collection of *Arif’s* *ghazals* and
*rubâ’îs* under the heading of *Arâr al-Afâ’în* (Or. 1676
B/8, ff. 89a-130a).

*Arif, Mîrzâ* Aqî ’l-‘Asr, Persian revo-
lutionary poet and satirist, was born in Kâzîmîn
ca. 1880, and after studying Persian, Arabic, callig-
raphy and music, became a rovelgâfân, an occu-
pation that he abandoned after his father’s death.
At 17 he married a young girl against her parents’ wishes, and two years later was obliged to divorce her; he never married again. Leaving for Tehran, he took service at the court of Muhammad al-Din Shāh, where his singing attracted the attention of the sovereign and leading courtiers. Court life, however, did not appeal to him, and he returned to Kazvin, where he remained until the 1906 Constitutional Revolution, of which he was one of the leading spirits. His outspoken and reckless verses, usually sung at public concerts, made him many enemies, including even his former friend the poet ʿIraqī Mīrzā. In 1915 he joined the muḥādjarat to Kermānšāh, whence he went to Istanbul, returning to Persia in 1919. During the next few years he gave his support successively to Col. Muhammad Tākī Khamān, the dissident gendarmerie officer in Khurasan, Sayyid Dīvān, and Rīdā Khamān. In 1924 he campaigned in favour of the establishment of a republic, but after the accession of Rīdā Khamān to the throne he was unable to continue his public concerts, and retired on a small government pension to Hamadān, where he died in poverty in 1934. His Dīwān was published in Berlin in 1924 together with an autobiography on the lines of Rousseau’s confessions. ʿArīf was a man of dervish-like disposition, and had no natural or material wealth or respect for authority and position. His poetry is full of social satire, attacks on corruption, and nostalgia for Persia’s great past, all couched in popular language free from classical artificialities.


ʿAРИF, MĪRZĀ – ARNA'B

Grammatically this noun is feminine and denotes the hare with the general meaning of a leporid, either as a collective noun, or specifically the doe hare (see Ch. Pellar, Sur quelques noms d’animaux en arabe classique, in GLECS, viii, 95-9). In all the Arabic dialects the term maintains this meaning, but in Maghribi two plural forms are found, rawūdīn and arnāīn. Today its archaic synonym kwâd (fem. kwâda) seems to have been forgotten. Arabic lexicographers give it the root r-w-b (see Lit. according to the rules of triliteralism, but its etymology should perhaps be sought in Sumerian or Akkadian, from which a number of animal and bird names in Arabic are derived (like ḥīyā, ḡurāb, iwwāz, ḫarṣī, etc.). Semantic equivalents to arnb are khāngā, in Persian, tāsan, Turkish, avtul (pl. tvatul, vtatul), in Berber of the Maghrib, merewel (pl. merewel, fem. merewelt, pl. merewelitn) from the verb tvatul, “to flee”, in Tamaḥak, while ḥawšāb (pl. ḥawšān, fem. ḥawšānit, pl. ḥawšānit) is little used.

Among the order of lagomorphs and the family of leporids, the genus lepus is represented in Islamic lands predominantly by the lepus capensis or Cape hare. Its breeding ground stretches from Africa (Cape of Good Hope) to China (Shantung, bordering on the Yellow Sea of Asia). In the Mediterranean zone it is found with the plains species, l. granatensis (Spain), l. solstitialis (Morocco), l. mediterraneus and l. karayici (Algeria), l. tanetae (Tunisia) and l. rutschchild (Egypt); in Western Morocco the smaller l. atlanticus is also found. In the hills are found l. marocanus and l. pediunculatus (Morocco) and l. sefranus (Algeria). The characteristic desert hare, l. arabicus, is found on the borders of the Sahara, together with l. palidus, l. harti and l. barcaus, from Morocco to the Sinai Peninsula. A systematic study of the hares of the Arabian Peninsula has yet to be made. The species l. campacrus is represented in the Near East in several isolated places as well as l. syriacus (Lebanon) and l. iudeae (Palestine).

Literary authorities differ about the gender of the noun ʿarnāb; some see it as masculine with an associated feminine ʿarnāba (see al-Ībāh fi fīl al-ībāh, Cairo 1929, 391), but country people, both sedentary and nomadic, knew from very early times how to distinguish the sex and age of hares by a specific terminology which is unambiguous. The male, or buck, was called ḥarâs (pl. ḥarāz, ḥarâz) or ḥawshāb or ḥawšāb (Maghribī ʿarâbī). The female, or doe, was named ḥirzā (Ṣaʿdī, ʿulāmā); while suckling she was called ḥamārīn. The levet was called ḫarnīk (pl. ḫarnānak) or the ṣawāla, and the weanling ṣulba (Maghribī ḫirbāḥ, ḫirbāh; Tamaḥak...
The hare is certainly one of the most highly-prized game animals in Muslim countries, as elsewhere. Where to catch it, man has employed all kinds of ingenuity; he has caught it with nets (khibāla, pl. ‘abiyāla), snares (ṣurak, pl. aṣurāk) and traps (maghāri, pl. maghāriq; mughawwāl, pl. mughawwāyla; bukna, pl. bukna), and he has hunted (ṣurada) with the help of trained beasts (ṣurāt) like the gazacond (salātī salātī, pl. ṣurāta) which always hunts by sight, and pointers or other hounds (ṣurāk, pl. ṣurāk, Maghribī harts, pl. ṣurātā, which hunt by scent). The Persians like hawks, falcons (ṣurādīr) and trained dogs (ṣurātā) are also used. He has used various weapons to attack the hare like the thrown cudgel (ḥirāka, zarīla/zarūdiya), which the young shepherds of the plains of the Maghrib can wield so skilfully, as well as the sling (mikdāqa, mikdāla), the bow, then the cross-bow and eventually firearms. As well as man, the hare is surrounded by a number of natural enemies, carnivores and rapacious predators; it is especially threatened by the tawny eagle (aydīna ẓafīna) which is appropriately called ‘alāb al-arnab or šak al-arnab. Hare flesh has no fat or tendons, owing to the fact that it is the asexual eunuch of the animal. It is instinctively attracted to certain aromatic and sweet plants, and the Bedouin expression ʾanab al-khulī, "the hare of the sweet plants" summarises the appreciation of the gourmet and the glutton (Hayaqān, iv, 134). The gastronomic authority Abu l-Wadāʾī al-UkJī, a man of the desert and one of the informants of al-Djāhīz, gave pride of place to the hare in the metaphor: "If the ʿumra红枣xūrd (dabī ḥq.; q.), had been a chicken, the hare would be a francolın (dardāj)" (Hayaqān, vi, 353). Oriental cookery books esteem hare highly in their chapters on meats (see M. Rodinson, Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine, in REI [1949], 107). To serve jugged hare (ʿanabī) or roast saddle of hare (ʿanīj; maghār) to a guest was a mark of honour, especially if one kept the kidneys for him; these were regarded as the finest morsel, as can be seen from the picturesque maxim al-im ʿaṣkā-ka min kākū fat ʿanab "feed your brother with hare's kidneys," which meant using the tenderest words to console a friend in difficulty.

Al-Djāhīz draws attention to the double benefit which the hare provides. Apart from its highly desirable flesh, its fine warm pelt also has a commercial value in the fur trade [see ĠAR] and the textile industry. An anonymous satirical line of verse (Hayaqān, vi, 360) alludes to the trade in these terms: "When gentle folk move (among them), it is to see them touching hare skins with their hands wide open". The sentence expresses the scorn which has always attached to rabbit skin dealers. Rabbit skin is not distinguished from hare skin in the making of fabrics called ʿawānāb/munānab and certain felts. The fur is also used to line gloves and slippers and to trim winter bonnets. It is not misconceivable that they were also used as counterfeit furs, which would normally be more highly priced, but the secrets of dyeing and other treatments were known only to the tricksters. The colour of the fur can vary from light brown almost to blonde according to the hare's habitat, and certain beige materials are called marnābhīnā "hare coloured"; conversely, in popular French the hare is known as "capuchin" because of the brown habit worn by the monks of that order. The hare's tail is black on top and immaculately white underneath; it is conspicuous even from a distance because the tuft is always erect. The Saharans have a name (abbāt nac₀wāq) "the one with the flower" which is used for the hare as well as for the fox.

As Islam expanded westwards to Spain and north-eastwards to the Indus, Arabs were introduced to a second leporid, the rabbit (Oryctolagus cuniculus), both wild and domestic. Since there was no specific term for rabbit in the Ġaruṣīya, ʿanab was used. At first they regarded the wild rabbit simply as a small hare, and it was sometimes called "levert" (ghānīk). The duality of the term ʿanab in the East to cover hare and rabbit is a source of constant confusion, but one of the first to find difficulty with it was Ibn al-Mukaffa. When he was translating the fables of Bidpay from Pahlavi, he encountered the typically Indian episode of the elephants who were looking for water and trampled over a rabbit warren (and li ʿl-ʿanāb), crushing the inhabitants in their burrows (ḏiẓir, pl. ʿadhār, ʿadḥāna, ʿadḥara), but the
clever rabbit Fayruz (= Felix) became their spokesman and drove away the elephants by a trick (see Ibn Sa'id, i, 22). For Tunisia, Ibn Sa'id (in al-Makhz, Anecdota, i, 22) notes that the wild rabbits (arzab / arzid) are raised there from Spain in the 7th/15th century; the wild rabbit is to be found only on some coastal islets, and it is common in Algeria (cuniculus algirus) and in northern Morocco. According to Kur'anic law, the flesh of a hare which has had its throat cut ritually may be consumed; the doctors of law agree unanimously about this, for the hare is a product of hunting and the animal is herbivorous and not carnivorous. It is true that the same hadiths suggest that the Prophet Muhammad abstained from eating hare, but no-one accepts this as a formal prohibition [but see see YA’AYAN concerning the Rāfīḍīs]. This permission extended ipso facto also to the rabbit when the animal was introduced to Muslims. In al-Andalus, the rabbit was highly prized and the only restriction imposed on it was that it should not be sold around the Great Mosque. Instead, a place was chosen by the muhtasib and there they had to be offered for sale properly equipped by the owner to protect him from evil eyes (see AYN). Every man who went into a strange village would equip himself with one to protect him from evil eyes [see AYN]. Since Sasanid times in Iran, hares and rabbits have held a position of not negligible importance in the field of Muslim art. They figure either as a decorative motif incorporated into a hunting scene or are themselves the main theme of inspiration. Besides the mass of Persian miniatures, probably the most typical representations of leporids are in illustrations of the incident mentioned above, where the sly Fayruz harangues the king of the elephants; it is found in Syrian manuscripts of the 8th/14th century of Kalila wa-Dimna and in Provencal romance literature, for example in the fable of the wily rabbit from Provence (op. cit., i, 23). It is found in illustrations of leporids. Perhaps after all, Arab empirical medicine was not just pure fancy. Dried and powdered hare’s blood had recognised healing qualities for sores and wounds and helped to extract foreign bodies like splinters and thorns; it was also used to treat arrow wounds. In surgery, leporid hair was used instead of cotton wool as an absorbent tampon and as a cap for ruptured veins and arteries.

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constellation is called “Arneb” (α Leporis, mag. 2.7; see A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in AIEO, Algiers [1951], 179-80).


**ARMOURED [see silanda]**

**ÄS.** Arabic for the myrtle, *Myrtus communis* L. (Myrtaceae), the well-known fragrant, evergreen shrub, growing to over a man’s height. The term, derived from Akkadian *šuwa* came into Arabic through Aramaic *šā₂*; the Greek term μυρων (μύρωτος) exists also as *marwa* (and variants). Much material has been collected by I. Löw (*Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 257-74), among which are many, more or less locally-defined species. Occasionally, myrtle is mentioned in the *hadith* (Darîm, see Wensinck, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 253), by the Arab botanists and in the verses quoted by them (Dinawarî, K. al-Nahhâf, ed. B. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953, 23 f.; Asma’î, K. al-Nahhâf, ed. al-Ghanaym, Cairo 1992/1972, 32), but the plant was mainly used as medicine. Like Dioscorides, the Arabs knew the black garden-myrtle (al-dāri al-hādpî or al-aṣūr) and the white field-myrtle (al-dāri al-barî al-ḥadyî), the leaves, blossoms and berries of which occasioned positive therapeutic results. The scent of the myrtle mitigates headaches and invigorates the heart. The extract is suitable for hipphathâ, which cure ulcers of the fundament and uterius; as a beverage it calms down the spitting of blood and cures coughs and diarrhoea. Dried and pulverized leaves of the myrtle remove putrescent boils and facilitate the growing of new flesh. Râźf, otherwise critical and not given to superstition, curiously enough declares in his *Mukhâṣṣas*, more particularly of Ibn Hishâm, more particularly of Ibn Hishâm, more particularly of Ibn Hishâm, that some of his traditions go beyond the serious framework accepted by Muslim theological good sense, as the fact that Ibn Musâ was under no obligation to masters recognised as such by the majority of the Egyptians who are known to us from this period, in particular with ‘Abd Allâh b. Lahî’ (97-174/715-90) and al-Layth b. Sa’d (94-175/713-91), a great master and one of the richest men in Egypt who, on whose behalf it is common believe, following his flight from the persecution of the Umayyad family to which he himself belonged (A. DIETRICH), exercised the most profound influence on him, although the texts that are available to us show very few signs of this influence expressee values. Opinion is divided among Arab-Islamic writers as to the value of Asad’s activity as a traditionalist; while al-Bukhârî calls attention to the reputation of his *hadîth*, al-Nasâḥ refutes this statement to some extent in declaring that he is “worth of belief, but he would have done better not to write” *(Dhahabî, Hâfiz; Ibn Hâджâr, Tahâdhî)*. Since then, the tendency has been to attack him vociferously, pointing out the exaggerated side of his traditions, as is indicated by Ibn Khâlid’s resume on this subject (Mukhtârât, 564-6). This distrust, like that shown towards the work of Ibn Iṣâk and many authors of the early period of Islam, is explained, not so much by the fact that some of his traditions go beyond the serious framework accepted by Muslim theological good sense, as the fact that Ibn Musâ was under no obligation to masters recognised as such by the major schools of *hadîth*. On this basis, the author’s fate was no better than that of his master Ibn Lahî’, whose material has been taken into consideration and propagated by other means, and especially under other names (R.G. Khouyry, *Asad*, 29). Asad’s known primarily as transmitter of the *kitâb al-Tawjîh* of Ibn Hâджâr, more particularly of the part that is associated with Ibn Munâbbih (Abbott, *Studies*, i, 12; R.G. Khouyry, *Wâhî b. Munâbbih*, p. 296, esp. 292). Asad’s interest in the Yemeni heritage is no doubt explained by the in

ARNAB – ASAD b. MÜSÄ b. IBRÂHİM 87
fluence of the policies of Muʿawiyah on all his descend-
dants, but also by the author's wish to borrow mate-
rial for his own writings from a ǧāṣy as famous as Wāḥb. As a transmitter, he is also encountered in
a number of historical and ascetic books, like the
Fihrist of Ibn ABD al-Hakam (see Bibliography), where
there is a large number of traditions linked with his
name; these are, like the majority of those attrib-
uted to his Egyptian masters, of an ascetic and pious
nature. Other works are further attributed to him: Muṣnad Asad b. Mūsā (Ibn Ǧhayr, Fihrist, 141-2; Ibn
al-Farādī), the four versions mentioned by the isābāt
of Ibn Ǧhayr were the work of one Nāṣr b. Marzūk.
Not one of them seems to have appeared in book
form. Then there is a treatise entitled Risālat Asad
b. Mūsā ilā Asad b. al-Farādī [112-213/759-828] fi
laṣām al-sunnah wa l-tabāhā dar min al-bidā (Ibn Ǧhayr,
299) (see R. Sayyid, who seems to have discovered
a manuscript of it). Ibn Ǧhayr (270) also mentions
Fāḍlīl al-taḥābīn, a book that he attributes to Saʿdīn,
son of Asad, which Ibn Ḥajjār had seen in two
volumes and which apparently contained, according
to the last-named, a great deal of information afford-
ed by the father (Asad) and his circle (Ibn Ḥajjār,
ibid.). Finally, there is the Kitāb al-ʿiḥād wa l-ībāda
wa l-ḥaqqīn min al-bidā (Ibn Ǧhayr, 339) (see R. Sayyid, who
seems to have discovered a manuscript of it). Ibn Ǧhayr
comprised several books (kutub) corresponding to the
three parts of the title which he supplies.
Unfortunately, only two copies of the Kitāb al-ʿiḥād are
available to us, one of them preserved in Berlin
(Sprenger, 495) the other in Damascus (Zahiriyya,
madj., 100/1). The first was edited by Leszynsky
who, in the guise of an introduction, devoted a
study to the traditions of the book and compared
them with their parallels in Judaism and Christianity,
adding to it all the “certificates of reading” in both
nature. Other works are further attributed to him:
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ma[dj.], 100/1). The first was edited by Leszynsky
who, in the guise of an introduction, devoted a
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them with their parallels in Judaism and Christianity,
adding to it all the "certificates of reading" in both
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ma[dj.], 100/1). The first was edited by Leszynsky
who, in the guise of an introduction, devoted a
study to the traditions of the book and compared
them with their parallels in Judaism and Christianity,
will nevertheless be condemned to eternal punishment; for this al-Asamm did not base himself, like his Mu'tazil colleagues, on Qur'anic evidence (which refers to unbelievers), but on the unanimous judgment of the community (ibid., 278, 11. 3 ff.; Ibn Hazm, Fisal, iv, 45, 11. 10 ff.). He based himself on a peculiar exegesis of sūra III, 104 (cf. Ibn Hazm, Fisal, iv, 171, 11. 10 ff.). He wrote about the createdness of the Kūr'ān at a moment when other Mu'tazils (cf. Ḥṣḏ'arī, 272, 11. 4 ff.) had not yet entirely corresponded to those of other Mu'tazils (cf. Ḥṣḏ'arī, 272, 11. 2 ff.); he based himself peculiarly on a non-existent exegesis of sūra III, 99 (cf. Fīhrīs, ed. Badawi, 170, 11. 5 ff.).

Theological doctrine most strongly connected with Asamm's name was his denial of the accidents (dā`īd), which he put in opposition to Dirār b. 'Amr (q.v. and may have brought him into a certain connection with Ḥṣḏ'arī b. al-Hakam (q.v.; cf. Tawḥīdī, Ḥadīth, ii, 825, ult. ff.). He seems to have proceeded from a sensualistic basis: only bodies are visible; qualities appearing on them cannot subsist by themselves and can therefore not be ascribed a separate existence (ibid., also Ḥṣḏ'arī, Maksālit, 335, 11. 12 ff.). In comparison with Dirār's ideas, this was perhaps not so much a difference in substance but in explanation and in the conceptual apparatus. Like Dirār, he was led to deny a separate existence of the soul (cf. Ḥṣḏ'arī, Maksālit, 335, 11. 1 ff.; and 331, 11. 6 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, Fisal, iv, 70, 1. 4 and 74, 4. 1 ff.). Dirār thought also like him he seems to have rejected the idea of kūmān (q.v.; cf. Ḥṣḏ'arī, 328, 11. 14 ff.). In any case, he was not an atomist; this is why he was attacked for his doctrine by Abu ʾl-Hudhayf, who tried to show that juridical obligations are normally not concerned with man as a whole, but with one of his accidents (e.g. his prostration in prayer, or his being lifted in case of adultery; cf. Fīhrīs, 262, qpa. ff.). Ḥṣḏ'arī b. Fīহdā, a disciple of Abu ʾl-Hudhayf, seems to have been mainly shocked by the ensuing denial of movement (which, understood in a very broad sense, was considered as the only accident by al-Nazẓām; cf. the title of Fīheritance's book in Fīheritance, ed. Fīheritance, 69, 1. 1). Many opponents and, influenced by their polemics, the later heresiographers, tended to understand Asamm's denial of the accidental character of qualities as a denial of qualities as such (cf. Ḥṣḏ'arī, 343, 11. 12 ff.; Baghdādī, Fīheritance, 96, 11. 8 1/116, 11. 7 ff.; u.l.; Ḥṣḏ'arī, 7, 11. 14 ff., etc.). He consequently also regarded the Kūr'ān as a body, and may have derived its createdness from this; God is the only essence which is not a body. Under this aspect, the doctrine seems to have been taken over by Ḥṣḏ'arī b. Muhāshīr (q.v.; cf. Ḥṣḏ'arī, 588, 11. 4 ff.).

In addition to these ideas, al-Asamm is frequently mentioned for his unusual views concerning political theory. Government (inmām) was according to him not an obligatory attribute of human society; the ideal community is the community of the righteous which can do without a ruler (cf. Baghdādī, Uṣūl al-dīn, 272, 1. 10 and 271, 11. 14 ff.; many later sources like Māwardī, al-Abkām al-sulātīyya, ed. Enger, 3, 1. 7; Ghazzālī, Fadā`īt b. Bānīsyya, ed. Badawi, 170, 11. 5 ff.; Rāzī, al-Muḥāṣṣal, 176, 11. 9 ff.; etc.). Government is therefore not prescribed by reason nor by revelation, but is a mere practical measure against human iniquity. Theoretically speaking, universal knowledge of the Kūr'ān should be sufficient in order to keep a society in order (cf. Pāzīdī, Uṣūl al-dīn, ed. Lims, 186, 11. 11 ff.); but the reality being imperfect, the Muslims always decided to choose somebody as their inmām. This can only be done by consensus (cf. Ḥṣḏ'arī, 460, 11. 6 ff.; Baghdādī, Fīheritance, 150, 11. 4/164, 11. 1 ff.; etc.), and once somebody has been agreed upon, the election is irreversible, even if a more appropriate (affal) candidate presents himself afterwards (cf. al-Naṣīḥ, Uṣūl al-nihāl, ed. van Ess, § 99). Armed resistance against a ruler is only allowed if this person has seized power by violating the proper form of election (cf. Baghdādī, al-Muṣāma, probably in correspondence with the policy pursued by al-Mahdi (156-69/775-785), and may have derived its createdness from this; God is the only essence which is not a body. Under this aspect, the doctrine seems to have been taken over by Ḥṣḏ'arī, 11. 5 ff.; u.l.)

Applied to the historical reality of the past, this meant that al-Asamm accepted Abū Bakr and 'Umar as the most appropriate candidates in the moment of their election. After 'Umar's death, the affal was 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, who demonstrated his virtue by renouncing the caliphate for himself; 'Uthmān was only second in rank after him (cf. Naṣīḥ, Uṣūl al-nihāl, § 100). In contrast to him, 'Ali was not elected by a ḥishā, i.e. by consensus; his government was therefore unrighteous (ibid., § 101). This does not mean that all his measurements were unlawful per se; in the case of his war against Ṭaḥla and Zubayr and of his establishing the arbitration at Siffin, an impartial assessment would have to proceed from his intentions and those of his opponents, whether he acted out of mere despotism or in order to put things right again. But as these intentions are no longer known, we have to suspend judgment. It is clear, however, that Ṭaḥla and Zubayr had a certain superiority over 'Ali (perhaps because they sought revenge for Ṭaḥmān and that Abū Mūsā al-Asammī was right when he deposed 'Ali in order to give his community a single ruler (cf. al-Muḥāṣṣal, K. al-Dīnāl, Najāh 1382/1963, 26, 11. 16 ff., tr. M. Rouhani, La victoire de Bassora, Paris 1974, 17, and, and, shorter, Ḥṣḏ'arī, 457, 11. 13 ff.; ibid., 453, 11. 13 ff.). Muḥāṣṣal was right in his resistance against 'Ali, because he had been legally appointed governor of Syria by 'Umar and confirmed in his office by 'Uthmān; he would have only been obliged to hand over Syria to a ruler who had been elected by consensus (cf. Naṣīḥ, § 102).

Thus far Asamm's theory could be learnt from his books, mainly his K. al-Inmām (cf. Ḥṣḏ'arī, title no. 7) which, for understandable reasons, encountered opposition especially from the Ṣḥi`tis and from the theologians sympathetic to them: from Ḥṣḏīr b. al-Muṣāmār (cf. Ḥṣḏ'arī, ed. Fīheritance, 162, 1. 21), probably from the early Shi`ī Fadl b. Shāhānī (died 260/874; cf. Ḥṣḏīrī, 150, 11. 10 ff.) and even much later from the ʿabādī al-Muḥīd (died 413/1022), who also seems to quote from the original in his K. al-Dīnāl, 26, 11. 16 ff. Al-Naṣīḥ also preserves, however, an oral tradition from Asamm's closest adherents saying
that there may be several rulers at once in the Muslim community, provided that they are legally elected and co-ordinate their efforts in righteousness. He based this theory on the fact that the Prophet appointed governors for different regions and that, after his death, his prerogative had been transferred to the people. At a certain point in their history, the three regions in the Middle East, who may decide according to their own wishes (cf. §§ 103 ff). As to the origin of these ideas, Goldziher suggested the influence of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Piπoμαλαίηος which may have been translated thus early (1916), vii, 276 and Cheikho's edition of the text in Mahnig, x (1907).

For his own time, al-Asamm deemed it necessary to issue laws (cf. §§ 103 ff; cf. § 103 f.). Thus to the people and the ruler (cf. §§ 103 ff; cf. § 103 f.). As to the origin of these ideas, Goldziher suggested the influence of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Piπομαλαίηος which may have been translated thus early (1916), vii, 276 and Cheikho's edition of the text in Mahnig, x (1907), 311 f.; for an analysis of the text itself S. M. Stern, Aristotle on the World State, Oxford 1968, passim. M. Grignaschi in BEO, xix (1965-6), vii and M. Manzalaoui in Orients, xxiii-xxiv (1974), 207. But it seems easier to assume that they were stimulated by discussions in the Islamic world. For his own time, al-Asamm deemed it necessary to issue laws (cf. §§ 103 ff; cf. § 103 f.).

Al-Asamm's high appreciation of the consensus led him to a kind of theory that the "ilm (knowledge) is sufficient in number not to agree on a lie, are able to issue laws (cf. Ash'arf 467, l. 6 f.) for their shade is not a matter of mere probability; every true judgment is based upon an irrefutable proof. Among the different opinions, therefore, only one is right (cf. Abu 'l-Husayn al-Basn, p. 41). But he was quoted exclusively by the ancients," a phrase occurring nine times in the text itself S. M. Stern, Haddad, 37, 1. 4 and 222, 11. 3 f.; Nabhakht, Fadl al-Tizařl, 316, 1. 3).

A rational trend appears also to have permeated al-Asamm's Tafsīr. He develops the muḥkamāt as those verses, the veracity of which cannot be denied by any opponent as, e.g., all statements about the past; the muṭḥabbat are verses which tell something about the future and which reveal their truth only after reflection as, e.g., statements about the Last Judgment (cf. Ash'arf, 225, l. 3 ff; Baghhādī, Usūl al-dīn, 222, l. 4 ff; Rāzī, Mafātīḥ al-ghayb, Cairo n.d., vii, 182, l. 5 ff). There are thus no verses which remain permanently obscure to human reason. Al-Asamm seems to have concentrated on the meaning of entire passages (maḏā'ī); he did not deal with philological problems. The verse containing the problematic word abū (aūl LX, 31) is counted by him among the muṭḥabbat. Naẓārī critιcised this view and noted that his Muḥkama, which did not distinguish itself from non-Mu'tazīli commentators like Kalbī or Muqātīl b. Sulaymān (cf. Dżahīz, Haywān, i, 343, l. 5 ff; translated by Goldziher, Richtungen der Konkursausscheidung, 111 f.). But he was quoted exclusively by Dżubbařī in his lost Tafsīr (although perhaps only for one passage; cf. Fadl al-Tizařl, 316, l. 1 f.) and later on by Mūṣīrī in his Tawālīl al-ulum (cf. i, 59, l. 4 ff; 95, l. 8 ff; 103, l. 1 ff), by Ahmad b. Muhammād al-Thālabī al-Nīhābīrī (died 427/1035) in his Kāfī wa l-bayān (cf. GĀS, i, 615), by Ḥikīm al-Ǧuṣṣāmī (died 944/1101) in his voluminous Tafsīr, and by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his Mafātīḥ al-ghayb (cf. iii, 230, ult. ff; iv, 160, l. 13 ff etc). Dżahīz uses the word sometimes (cf. Haywān, iv, 73, l. -4 ff; also 205, l. 6 ff), and Tābārī may have known it, although he does not mention al-Asamm by name. But it was interesting mainly to theologically-minded commentators and accessible only in the East. Whether the ms. Khīr Ālī 53/8 really contains the text (cf. GĀL, S, ii, 984 no. 7) has still to be checked.

This Brunān Muṭₜazīī should not be confounded with another Muṭₜazīī by the name of Abū Bakr al-Asamm who lived in Egypt and who initiated the muḥna there at the instigation of Ibn Abī Duwād. He was called Naṣr b. Abī Laydh and was at least one generation younger than Abū al-Rahmān b. Kays. (cf. Kādī ‘Iyād, Tarīḫ al-mudawir, Beirut 1387/1967, i, 518, l. -3 ff; 527, l. 6 ff; 564, l. ff etc.; cf. the index).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but cf. also amongst sources: Ash'arf, Makādī, 242, l. 2; 456, l. 9 ff; 458, l. 3 ff; 564, l. 3 ff. Nabhakhtī, Fī āl Shī'ī, l. 1, 4 ff; Kānsī, Makādī, l. 3 ff; Ibn Baṭṣa, Ihtāna, ed. Laoust, 91, l. 15 f and 92, l. 16; al-Sharīf al-Muṭṣadī, al-Fusul al-mukhtāra, l. 63, l. 10 ff; 68, l. 4 f; Kādī ‘Abd al-Dżabbār, al-Maʃṣūr, Baghhādī, al-Farḳ bayn al-firāk, 74, l. 7; idem, Usūl al-dīn, l. 14 ff and 36, ult. l; Abū Ya’lā, al-Muṭṣadī fi usūl al-dīn, ed. Haddad, 37, l. 4 and 222, l. 3 ff; Dżwayny, al-Šanīl, l. 168, l. 6 f; Pāzadvāri, Usūl al-dīn, ed. Liṭṣn, l. 11 f; al-Shahrāsīnī, Miḥāl, l. 19, l. 3 ff; 51, l. 5 ff; 53, l. 6 f; Ibn al-Muṭṣadī, Ṭabāḵāt al-Muṭṣadīa, ed. Diwald-Wilzer, l. 56, l. 17 f; Ibn Ḥaḍar, Liṭṣn al-mīzān, iii, 427, l. 2 ff; Dżawdād, Ṭabāḵāt al-muṣafāsīn, ed. ‘Alī Muhammād ‘Umar, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 269, no. 238; Studies: M. Horig, Die philosophischen Systeme der spätantiken Theologen im Islam, Bonn 1912, 298 ff; A.S. Tritton, Muslim theology, London 1947, 126 f; A.N. Nader, Le système philosophique des Mu'tazilites, Beirut 1956, index s.v. Abū Bakr al-Asamm (sīh); H. Brentjes, Die Imamatslehren im Islam, Berlin 1964, 43, 52; W. Madelung, Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn İbrāhīm, Berlin 1965, 42 f; E. Graj, in Buṣīn, x/2-3 (1969) 44; H. Laoust, La politique de Cronçq, Paris 1970, 231; H. Daiber, Das theologisch-philosophische System der Mu'tazilites von Abū Bakr al-Nudair, Beirut 1975, Index s.v. (Josef van Ess).

ASṬĪR AL-AWWALĪN "stories of the ancients," a phrase occurring nine times in the Kur'ān (VI, 25/25, VIII, 31/31, XVI, 24/26, XXIII, 83/85, XXV, 5/6, XXVII, 68/70, XLVI, 17/16, LXVIII, 15/15, and LXVIII, 13/13; see also E/.
Jeffery, Baroda 1938, point with the opponent of the Prophet, al-Nadr b. Kommentar, Stuttgart 1971, 137). The commentators and in their opinion silly, things could already be of the former (generations) when similar, asdfir against the doctrine of the Resurrection, by referring IV, 980b, s.v. KHALK) and there "put exclusively in al-Harith. Travelling as a merchant to Fars or al-
bara, although attribution and date are was declared a plurale tantum, or else entirely hypo-
thetical singular forms were reconstructed (Lane, and, more generally, the derivation of the word. It containing knowledge and wisdom which it was not blame-
confused statements." It was explained as reflecting This is philologically possible and would represent a kind of The fact that, with the exception of XXV, 5/6, all occurrences are at the ends of verses suggests a meaning expression that had been long in use. The appear-
ance of asdīr in a verse by the nakhlījam poet 'Abd Allah b. al-Zihārī, although attribution and date are uncertain, seems to support the assumption of its cur-
tency in Mecca in pre-Islamic times (e.g., Horovitz, Koranische Untersuchungen, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, 70; A. Jeffery, The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an, Baroda 1938, 56 f.; P. Minganti, in RSO, xxxviii, (1965), 326 f., 351). With its general meaning hardly in doubt, most of the discussion has concerned the grammatical form and, more generally, the derivation of the word. It was declared a praele quantum, or else entirely hypo-
thetical singular forms were reconstructed (Lane, 1350). Its widely accepted derivation from s-t-r led to means such as "writings, written (accounts, stories)." It was glossing "lying stories," or asdīr "rhymed prose pieces," or, frequently, turrahdt "obscure and confused statements." It was explained as reflecting s-t-r 'ālā in the sense of "making up embellished sto-
ries for" (Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihāya, s. r.d.). Later Muslims (as, strangely, also a modern scholar, D. Künstlinger, in OLZ, xxxix (1936), 482), imbued with respect for the cultural achievements of the "ancients," would ask themselves why the phrase should have been used in a negative sense when "the ancients wrote things contain-
ing knowledge and wisdom which it was not blame-
worthy to state", and give the answer that use of it was meant to criticise the Qur'an as unrevealed or as difficult and obscure (Ibn al-Dhawī, ʿādī al-mustnīr, Damascus 1384-8, ii, 20, to VI, 25).

Orientalists, beginning, it seems, with Golius, have suggested a derivation from Greek histori, see, e.g., the references in T. Noldeke and F. Schwally, Geschichte des Qanān, i, 16; Horovitz; Jeffery; R. Köberl, in Orientalia, N.S., xiv (1945), 274-6; F. Rosenthal, A History of Muslim historiography, Leiden 1968, 28 f.; Paret, op. cit.). This is philologically possible and would make good sense. However, neither this etymology nor another connecting the word with Syriac ḥa-r-t "stupidities" (Künstlinger) can be supported by proof, nor is there any compelling evidence for a South Arabian origin. For the time being, its connection with Arabic ʿādārī to write" (possibly supported also by Kurān, XXV, 5/6) appears to have the best claim to being correct.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(F. Rosenthal)

'ÂSHIK WEYSEL, modern Turkish 'Âshik Weysel (1894-1973), Turkish folk poet and the last great representative of the tradition of Sâz şâfîleri [see KARAĐAGHAÝAN]. He was born in Sivrihâl, a village near Shahrkîsâh of Sivas province, the son of a farmer, Kara Ahmed, whose family name of Şatîrogulu Weyssel rarely used. Loss of sight in both his eyes at the age of seven followed smallpox. At ten he began to chant poetry accompanied by his instrument the sîz [q.v.]. An 'âshik of his own village and other wander-
ing folk poets whom he came across and who dis-
covered his talent, taught him poetry and music and encouraged him to continue. In 1931, in a traditional gathering of folk poets at Sivas, he was hailed as a prominent 'âshik. In 1953 he joined, as a volunteer, the 10th Anniversary celebrations of the Turkish Republic in Ankara, to which he went wandering on foot during several months, accompanied by a friend. He went all over Anatolia reciting his poems and playing his sîz. He performed many times on Ankara and Istanbul radios. For a short while (1942-4) he taught folk songs in the Village Institutes [see KÖY INSTITUTLARI]. He died in his village on 21 March 1973. 'Âshik Weyssel was married and had six chil-
dren. Differing from many contemporary folk poets who joined the "social protest" literature of most modern writers, 'Âshik Weyssel preferred to follow the classical tradition of folk poetry in the line of KARAĐAGHAÝAN. 'Emrâh, Rahkefat and others and he sang of love, friendship, nostalgia, separation, life's mutability and death. He is the author of Depeşter (1944) and Safizman select (1950). His collected works have been edited by Umit Yaşar Oğuzcan as Depeşterleri (1970).


ASHRAF AL-DIN GILANI, Persian journalist and poet, was born in Râsht in 1871. He completed his early studies in Kâzîn, and from 1883 to 1888 was a theological student in Naqîf. Returning to Rasht, he earned his living as a letter-writer until the Revolution of 1906, when he began the publication of Nasım-i Şîmâl (a name that he also sometimes used as his subgüllesi). This weekly journal was suppressed after the counter-
revolution of Muhammad 'Ali Shâh in 1908, but the following years Ashraf accompanied the Constitutionalists forces on their successful occupa-
tion of Tehran, where he resumed publication of his journal. Although he admired Rıdâ Khan, he abandoned public life after the latter's accession to the throne in 1925, and devoted him-self to literary pursuits. Apart from his poems, which mostly first appeared in Nasım-i Şîmâl, he wrote a novel in verse and prose and works on history and phil-
osophy. He died in poverty and ill-health in 1934.

Though Ashraf's poetic talent was not up to the level of some of his contemporaries, he was an influen-
tial innovator in the use of colloquial vocabulary and style. He was an ardent supporter of constitu-
tionalism and social reform, including the emancipation of women, and a fervent patriot who often cited the example of Persia's great past. Nasım-i Şîmâl was regarded as one of the best literary journals of its day.

Bibliography: Ashraf's poems were collected in Bâghi-i Bâhith, Tehran 1919, and Djilik-i davâm-i Nasını-
î Şîmâl, Bombay 1927; Biographical details in: E.G. Browne, Pers and poetry of modern Persia, Cambridge, 1914, 182-200; M. Ishaque, Iliânân-ı İran dar 'ar-
i hâdit, i, Calcutta 1933, 146-70; ibid., Modern Persian poetry, Calcutta 1943, passim; Sayyid Muhammad Bâkî
Burka'i, Sukkawawar-i na'mi-yi mu'asir, ii, Tehran 1951, 250-5; Muhammad 'Sadir Hāshimi, Tirki-i āqar'ud wa ma'allalī-ti Irān, iv, Tehran 1953, 295-9; Bozorg Alavi, Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur, Berlin 1964, 51-5.

ASHUTRKA, Astorga, the ancient town of Astorga, the Asturica Augusta of the Roman period, capital of the Conventus Asturum, already by then a focal point for communications (J.M. Roldán, Iter ab Emerita Asturicam. El camino de la Plata, Salamanca 1971), and later a halting-point on the “route of the herds” (R. Aiken, Rutas de trasluminación en la Meseta castellana, in Estudios geográficos, xxvi (1947), 192-3) and on the “road to St. James” (G.C. Dubler, Los caminos a Compostela in la obra de Idrisí, in An., xiv (1949), 114; N. Benavides Moro, Otro camino a Santiago por tierra leonesa, in Tierras de León, v (1964). Al-Udhrf compares it with Saragossa (F. de la Granja, La Marca Superior en la obra de al-Udhrf, in Estudios Edad Media Corona Aragón (1967), 456). Astorga was another urbs magnifica, although Theodoric destroyed it in 456 (A. Quintana, Astorga en en tempo de los suevos, in Archivos Leoneses (1966)). Al-Idrisí says that Astorga was “a small town, surrounded by a green countryside” (E. Saavedra, L’emeritense y el norte de la España de Idrisí, Madrid 1881, 67, 80; H. Mu’nis, Ta’rīkh al-джغرfiyya wa t’-джгрф бfi fi ’l-Andalus, Madrid 1967, 265). Astorga was captured by Tarik b. Ziyâd in 95/714. In 718 there was formed to the north of it the kingdom of the Asturias, which nevertheless did not include all the territory of the Conventus Asturum (G. Fabre, Le tissu urbain dans le N.O. de la peninsule, (G. Fabre, Le tissu urbain dans le N.O. de la peninsule (1966). Al-Idrfsf says that in 729/1331 that Astorga was re-established there (A. Quintana, Astorga 1909. There exists an outstanding monograph by M. Rodríguez Diaz, Historia de la muy noble y benemérita ciudad de Astorga, Astorga 1909.

ASHMA’ BINT ‘UMAYS B. MA’D-AL-KHĀṭAMIYYA, a contemporary of the Prophet (d. 39/660-61). Her mother and half-brother ‘Asaf b. Zubayr, called al-‘Adżuf al-Qurāshīyya, was famous through the illustriousness of her sons-in-law, amongst whom were included the Prophet, al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muttalib and Hamza b. ‘Abd al-Mu’talib (Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥabbār, 91, 109), as well as of Asma’’s husbands. In fact, the latter probably married in the first place Rabī’a b. Ruyāh al-Hillâlî, by whom she had three sons, Mālik, ‘Abd Allâh and Abî Ḥusayyâ; but all the sources agree that she was successively the wife of (1) Dja’far b. Abl Talib, by whom she had three further sons, ‘Abd Allâh, ‘Awn and Muhammad, with whom she emigrated to Abyssinia, where she saw for the first time biers, introducing them subsequently into usage in Arabia; the continuance of Dja’far’s line was assumed by Muhammad; (2) Abû Bakr, by whom she had Muhammad; and (3) ‘A’li b. Abî Ṭālib, by whom she further had Yalayâ. Despite all these marriages, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considered to be one of the famous mutazawwiajat, she was not considere

ASHRAF AL-DIN GIILANI — ASMA’
Abd al-Salam al-Asmar, 16th century revivalist of the ‘Arusiyya order, was born on 12 Rabii' I 880/16 July 1475 in the coastal oasis of Zliten (Zalftan, Zliten; obsolete forms, Zalften, Yazlftan, Yazlltm, Izbitan) in Tripolitania. He belonged to the Fayturiyya (Faytatiya tribe, whose lubab, the nickname al-Asmar was given to him by his mother who had been ordered to do so in a dream. He received his early mystical training (zalftan, yazlftan, yazlltm, izlltan) in Tripolitania. Coastal oasis of Zliten (Zalftan, Zliten; obsolete forms, zalften, yazlftan) to whose circle of disciples he belonged for seven years. According to the canonised history of the order, he received additional instruction from eight other shaykhs before he started to manifest himself as the revivalist of ‘Arusiyya, whose coming had been predicted by the founder of this tarika Almad 1. ‘Arsu (d. 868/1463). His proselytising efforts involved him in tribal rivalries and led to accusations of sorcery and heresy being brought against him. On various occasions he was expelled from villages and from tribal territories, where he must have aroused the hostility of the population because of his denunciation of the prevailing marriage customs (cf. WK, 113; see Bibliography), mourning rites (cf. WK, 117), and of the relatively free social intermingling of the sexes in tribal society (see e.g. WK, 127). He was expelled from the town of Tripoli, where he had settled in the early 16th century, and where he had become an increasingly popular religious leader, by the local ruler, who may well have considered ‘Abd al-Salam’s proselytising activities as part of a Hafsid (q.v.) plot aimed at his overthrow and the re-establishment of the dynasty’s power in the area. The actual revival of the tarika had not started until after he again took up residence in Zliten, where he estab-lished a zawiya (q.v.) in the territory of one of the local tribes, the Baraamaha, who had come to accept his claims to sainthood. Here he died in Ramadhan 981/January 1574.

‘Abd al-Salam al-Asmar gave a new direction to the original ‘Arusiyya of which he amended the ritual and to which he added his own body of teachings. He obliged his adherents to wear white clothes (‘Abd al-Salam 100 ff.), forbade smoking (WK, 70), and introduced the playing of the hadra (daff) during the hadra (q.v.), claiming that he had received an authorisation to this effect from heaven (al-Mulaydjl, 257 ff; see bibliography). In addition, he prohibited self-mutilating ritual during the hadra (WK, 201) and stressed the importance of attending these occasions by proclaiming that attendance was half the word (q.v.) and that absence consequently meant abandoning the word (WK, 170; Rawdat, 307), which he came to consist of a number of awd northern compositions by ‘Abd al-Salam himself, in addition to the original ‘Arsi word (WK, 393 ff). He claimed that the ‘Arusiyya were the original Shadhiliyya (q.v.), which was the tarika practised by the most intimate companions of the Prophet (Rawdat, 104), and that its outstanding nature was testified to by the fact that in a miraculous act, the angels had written the names of the prophets mentioned in the al-salia (q.v.) on the back of multifas (q.v.) (WK, 267). Moreover, he taught that anybody who had received the hadra and on other ceremoni-als occasions) would be protected by God in this world and in the next (WK, 217), and that his adherents would be assisted by him, wherever they were, by means of his miraculous omnipresence (WK, 262; this belief is also expressed in the introductory lines to every kasida composed by him, viz. al-asmar fi al-waqf 7 daww, kasidh fi ‘asfat al-tilli ...). Members of the order were moreover required to direct their lives in accordance with a number of ethical precepts and admonitions elaborated by ‘Abd al-Salam in a set of rules known as al-Wasijiyah al-kubra, which is very similar to the Sufi tract on adab (q.v.) of earlier eras. To abandon the tarika was considered as equal to apostasy and would, as was taught, not be considered as such only by those belonging to the order, but by God himself (WK, 260). ‘Abd al-Salam exhorted his adherents to adopt al-Sanuri’s ‘adilce in matters of tawhid (WK, 3), but urged them at the same time to pay tribute to Ibn al-‘Arabi as the greatest wal (q.v.) of all times—except for the Prophets and the companions of the Prophet Muhammad—and stressed him as the pillar of the tarika (WK, 245).

The period in which ‘Abd al-Salam lived, largely coincided with the turbulent era in which the Hafsids, the Spaniards, local tribal chiefs, the Knights of Saint John and the Ottomans were involved in the struggle for control of Tripolitania. This caused conditions of life to become increasingly unsettled, and must have made it possible for an exclusivist mystical salvationist movement, like the one into which the original ‘Arusiyya had been elaborated by ‘Abd al-Salam, to flourish and spread the way it did.

Throughout the collections of sayings and texts attributed to ‘Abd al-Salam al-Asmar, the tarika is referred to as al-‘Arusiyya. It does not seem to have been referred to as al-Salamiyya until in the 19th century in Tunisia (cf. Muhammad Muhammad Maqhta, al-Anwar al-kudsiyya fi ‘l-kasidh an baktka al-tarika al-Salamiyya al-Shadhiliyya, Cairo 1365, 9), where the order had obtained a substantial membership, in particular in the southern parts (cf. Mustafa Kreien, La Tunisie pré-coloniale, Tunis 1973, ii, 129).

 Nowadays, the names ‘Arusiyya and Salamiyya are used more or less synonymously throughout North Africa, except for Egypt where the names refer to two distinct branches, which emerged there in the 19th century. Active lodges of the tarika of ‘Abd al-Salam may be found in Tunisia (see al-Sadiq al-Rizki, al-Aghani al-Tunisiyya, Tunis 1967, 129 ff), in Egypt, where it has a wide-spread membership (see Ibrahim Muhammad al-Fahlam, Ibn ‘Aras wa ‘l-tarika al-Arusiyya, in al-Funi al-Adabiyya, iv (Cairo 1970, no. 15, 71), and in Libya (see DjamI Hilal, Diniyatisation fi ‘l-wakfi al-Libi, Tripoli 1969, 141 ff; ‘Abd al-Djalal al-‘Tahir, al-Masjima al-Libi, lindi diniyatiyyiya wa-anthubhaitiydiyyiya, Sayda/Beirut 1969, 325 ff; and al-Muslim, xx (Cairo 1969), no. i, 23). The shrine of ‘Abd al-Salam at Zliten has significance, as a centre of pilgrimage; religious education is provided at the establishment attached to it known as al-mudhak al-asmari (cf. Mulaydjl, 23).

Bibliography: al-Wasijiyah al-kubra (abbreviated in the article as WK, with reference to the paragraph in which it is sub-head), also known as Nashid al-numadat li 7dariyyat al-mashuhadat bi li ‘l-Arsu, was pub-lished in Cairo n.d., in Tripoli (cf. O. Depont and X. Coppolani, Les confréries religieuses musulmanes, Algiers 1897, 339-49, 351), and in Ishak Ibrahim al-Mulaydjl, Fi hamiyya hayyi Sidi ‘Abd al-Salam al-Asmar, Tripoli 1969, 422-529. This book contains also ‘Abd al-Salam’s
A sample of al-Asmar's poetry, reflecting his ideas, may also be found in al-Rizki's book referred to in the article and in "Abd al-Salam al-Asmar, Safinan al-buhur, Cairo 1969. For a defence of playing the bandari (daff) in this tarika, see Muhammad Mushin al-Mas'ud, Rastat al-kaawul al-mur'af ft akhdam al-darb bi 'l-daff, contained in Mas'udina al-Anwar al-badiyya (see the article). For details about the history of the Salamiyya and al-Arabiyya in Egypt and further references, see F. De Jong, Tarq and tarq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt, passim, Leiden 1978. In addition to these references, see the biographies of Tahâ Muhammad Mushin al-Tadjudi, al-Tarika al-Salamiyya al-Shadidyana, in Majadafit al-Islam see I-Tawafiq (1959), no. 10, 79-81; Salim b. Hamuda, al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Salam al-Asmar, al-Muamalat xii (Cairo 1962), no. 8, 10-20; Muhammad al-Bahdib Zahir, al-Tawakkilt al-thamnafi a'ayan majdubin al-lam-Ma'dina, Cairo 1324-5/1906-7, 200 f.; Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, Fihris al-fahdina, Cairo 1346/1927-8, i, 147. (F. De Jong) ASSASSINS [see NASBAHIYYA]. ASSOCIATION [see ANJUMAN, I'AITYWA]. ASYLUM [see BAST, BIMARISTAN].

'ATABAT (a. "thresholds"); more fully, 'atabat-i 'alif or 'atabat-i ma'afa'deen ("the lofty or sacred thresholds"), the sixth historical cities of the 'Irâk—Nadjaf, Karbala', Kazîmayn and Samarra (q.v.)—comprising the tombs of six of the Imamîs as well as a number of secondary shrines and places of visitation.

Nadjaf, 10 km. to the west of Kîfâ, is the alleged site of burial of 'Ali b. Abî Tâlib (d. 41/661) (another shrine dedicated to 'Ali is that at Mazâr-i-Sharîf in Northern Afghanistan; see Khâja Sayf al-Din Khudjandî, Karonân-i Balâk, Mazâr-i Sharîf, n.d., 18 ff.). His tomb is said to have been kept secret throughout the Umayyad period and was marked with a dome for the first time in the late 3rd/9th century by Abu 'l-Haydja, the Hamâdîn ruler of Mosul; this early structure was repaired and expanded by 'Abd al-Dawla the Buwayhid in 369/979-80 (Ibn al-Athîr, viii, 518). Karbala', 100 km. to the south-west of Baghdad, is the site of the martyrdom and burial in 61/680 of Husayn b. 'Ali, became very early a centre of Shi‘i pilgrimage; according to Shi‘i tradition, the first pilgrim was Dâjîr b. 'Abd Allah, who visited the site forty days after the death of Husayn. Endowments were settled on the shrine (known as Mas'udâ al-Hârîr, "shrine of the garden pool") by Um'm Mûsá, mother of the 'Abbâsîd caliph al-Mahdi (Tabârî, iii, 752), but it was temporarily destroyed in 236/850 by an 'Abbâsîd less favourable to the Shî‘a, al-Mutawakkil: he caused the site to be flooded (Tabârî, iii, 1407). By the time that Ibn Hâwîl visited Karbala' in 366/977, the shrine had evidently been restored (ed. J.H. Kramers, i, 166), and it was expanded, like that at Nadjaf, by 'Abd al-Dawla in the late 4th/10th century (Ibn al-Athîr, x, 103).

From the Buwayhid period onward, Nadjaf and Karbala', the two most important of the 'atabât, have in fact had a common destiny, each receiving patronage and pilgrimage from the successive conquerors and rulers of 'Irâk. Thus Malîk Shâh the Saldjuk visited both Nadjaf and Karbala' in 479/1086-7 and bestowed gifts on the shrines (Ibn al-Athîr, x, 103). Spared by the Mongol invaders, the two shrines prospered under Il Khânid rule. 'Ala' al-Dîn Djawwâni Shâh al-Dîwan had a hospice erected at Nadjaf in 666/1267 to accommodate pilgrims, and also began the construction of a canal linking the city with the Euphrates ("Abbâs al-'Azzawi, Tarîkh-i 'Irâk hayy ilhâmî, Baghdad 1354/1935, i, 263, 310). In 703/1303, Ghâzî Khân visited both shrines: in Nadjaf he built a lodging for the sayyids resident there (dâr al-sayyid), together with a further hostel for pilgrims, as well as improving the canal constructed by Djawwâni Shâh; this was the last time that Ottoman rule of 'Irâk was threatened, this new occupation terminated by Murâd IV in 1048/1638, led to a further enriching and expansion of the shrines at both Nadjaf and Karbala'. Again in the years 1156-9/1743-6, parts of 'Irâk, including Nadjaf and Karbala', were temporarily removed from Ottoman sovereignty, this time by Nâdir Shâh; he is variously reported to have had the main dome at Karbala' gilded, and to have plundered the treasury at the shrine. This was the last time that Ottoman rule of 'Irâk was threatened from Iran, but throughout the 13th/19th century royal Iranian patronage of both Nadjaf and Karbala' continued, and it is this that accounts for the largely Iranian appearance of the shrines in the present age. 'Abî Muhammad Khân, the first Qâjâr monarch, had the dome at Karbala' regilded and, in 1376/1757-8, had it preserved and restored. Shah Shustârî had the shrine at Nadjaf plundered in 1226/1811, and Nâdir al-Dîn Shâh himself visited the 'atabât in 1287/1870 and commissioned
various work in Nadjaf, Karbala and Kāzīmān (Algar, op. cit., 48, 104, 167). Gifts and endowments were also sent to the ‘atabāt by the rulers of various Shi‘ī principalities in India, especially Oudh (J.N. Hollister, The Shi‘a of India, London 1953, 107, 112, 162-3).

Kāzīmān (also known as Kāzīmiyya), the third of the ‘atabāt, formerly a city on the right bank of the Tigris but now virtually a suburb of Baghdad, is the site of the tombs of the seventh and ninth Imāms, Mūsā al-Kāzīm (d. 186/802) and Muhammad al-Takl (or al-Djawād) (d. 219/834). It occupies a geographically central place among the ‘atabāt, being situated between Sāmarrā to the north and Nadjaf and Karbala to the south, and has always received a steady flow of pilgrims. Unlike Nadjaf and Karbala, it did not escape the Mongol invasion unscathed, and was extensively damaged by fire during conquest of Baghdad in 656/1258. Most of the existing structures in Kāzīmān date from the time of Shāh Ismā‘īl, who was particularly lavish with his patronage in Kāzīmān because of his claim to descent from the seventh Imām. The work begun under his auspices was completed by Sultan Sulaymān in 941/1534 and restored and expanded by several later Abbasid monarchs in the 19th century. The major courtyard (sahn) at Kāzīmān was built in 1298/1880 by Farḥād Mīrzā, a Kādgār prince. Also buried in Kāzīmān are two early Shi‘ī scholars, Shārfī al-Radī (d. 406/1015) and Shārfī al-Murtadā (d. 436/1044); two sons of Mūsā al-Kāzīm, Ismā‘īl and Ibrāhīm; Tāhir b. Zayn al-Abīdin, a son of the fourth Imām, Khālid bint al-Hasan; and Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn (L. Massingham, Les saints musulmans enterrés à Bagdad, in Opera miura, ed. Y. Moubareac, Beirut, 1970, 100-1).

Sāmarrā, the fourth of the ‘atabāt, contains the tombs of the tenth and eleventh Imāms, ‘A‘īf al-Najjār (d. 254/868) and Ḥasan al-Aškārī (d. 260/873), as well as the cistern (ṣardab) where the twelfth Imām, Muhammad al-Mahdī, entered the state of occultation (ghayba) in 260/873 and where too he is destined to reappear at the beginning of his renewed manifestation at the end of time.

The ‘atabāt play a role of great importance in the life of Shi‘ī Islam, functioning almost as a secondary kibla. They are above all places of pilgrimage, the site of rituals and feasts. The soil of Karbala has fulfilled a similar function in recent years, following the exile there in 1963 of Ayat Allāh Khuṣaynī. The Shi‘ī ‘ulamā residing in the ‘atabāt have also exerted influence on the 20th century history of Iran; they played, for example, a directive role in attempting to thwart the imposition of a British mandate on the country (‘Abd Allah Fahd al-NafTsi, Dīwān al-Shī‘a fī tātawwur al-Irāk al-siyāṣī al-hadīth, Beirut 1973, 80 ff.).

Finally, mention may be made of the fact that the ‘atabāt are of interest not only to the ‘Ithnā ‘Ashāfī Shi‘a, but also to the adherents of various branches of Ismā‘īlism; although they hardly ever make the ‘umrah, they frequently perform pilgrimage to Nadjaf and Karbala (Hollister, op. cit., 289, 291) and it is probable that a number of Nizārī Imāms of the post-Mongol period are buried in Nadjaf (W. Ivanow, Tombs of some Persian Ismā‘īlī Imams, in JBRBS, xiv (1938), 49-52). The Bektashi, who in many ways may be considered a crypto-Shi‘ī sect, also used to maintain tekkes in Nadjaf, Karbala and Kāzīmān (al-‘Azzawi, op. cit., iv, 152-3; Murat Sertoğlu, Bektash, Istanbul 1969, 319).

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According to his own temperament and personal taste, it is unanimously accepted that it is his sharp flair as a critic which discovered and launched many young talents on to the literary scene (e.g. Orhan Veli Kanik, F.H. Dağlarca, etc.). Restless, impatient, aggressive by temperament and equipped with a piercing mind and armed with “methodical doubt”, Ataç waged an unrelenting war against fanaticism, intolerance, sentimentality, “poetical” artificiality, clichés and ready-made thoughts and formulate. He was a conscious extremist in language reform and believed that only the “self-sacrifice” of some extremists would nullify the harm caused by the ultra-conservatives. Ataç studied 15th century prose works, particularly Mergânem Ahmed’s masterly translation of Ay kültüs’s Kibbůz-nama [see KAY KAYUS B. ISKANDAR] and used them as the model for a new style. He experimented successfully with a new syntax which included inversion (devrik tâmi), which naturally exists in spoken Turkish and which was frequently used in early Turkish writings before the syntax of the written Turkish was “frozen”. Ataç coined a number of neologisms, some of which survived and were incorporated into the language (for a list of Ataç’s neologisms, see Ataçın sözçikleri, ed. Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1963). Ataç left several thousand essays and articles, some of which (mostly his post-1940 writings) have been published in book form in 10 volumes: Günterin getiriği (1946), Karalama defleri (1952), Sözden söz (1952), Ateşken (1954), Djejenis (1954), Söz, arasında (1957), Okuruma mektuplar (1958), Günce (1960), Prospero ile Caliban (1961), Süveyşler, 2 vols. (1964). Ataç’s diaries covering the years 1953-7 have been published in two volumes as Günce, Ankara 1972. Ataç also made perfect examples of literary translation in Turkish. He translated more than 50 literary works from ancient Greek, Latin and Russian authors (via French), and in particular, directly from French, the most famous of which being his translation of Stendhal’s Le rouge et le noir rendered as Kirmizi ve siyah (1941), second edition as Kizli i kara (1946).


ATALÎK, Türkic title which existed in Central Asia in the post-Mongol period, with the same original meaning as the title atabeg [see ATABA]. In the ulus of Düzî (the Golden Horde) and its immediate successors, as in the khanates of Kazan and Khiva, the title atalik would also be used, as in the Caghatayid state in Mogholistan, the atalik was, in the first place, a guardian and tutor of a young prince and, in this capacity, an actual governor of his appanage. The sovereign himself (khan or sultan) also had an atalik who was his close counsellor and confident, often playing the role of the first minister. The ataliks were nominated from among the Turkic tribal nobility, the senior begs (amirs). It seems that, according to Türkic nomadic custom, a ruler should always have an atalik; it was a kind of control over his conduct exercised by the tribal aristocracy. Timurid and Şahşâhâned sources often also use, instead of the term atalik and in the same meaning, the term ata, or ata (most probably,
which created a special relationship a'ka, a contracted form from Tawdnkh-i guzida-i nusrat-between the two sides (see Up together with the princes of the ruling dynasty, dmilddsh); these persons were brought kokdltdsh (atalik) was entrusted often to a added to proper names and titles). The post of atalik was gradually transformed. In
the government. He could be at the same time governor of a province: atalik Yalangtush Biv, who was häkim of Samarkand in the first half of the 17th century and became famous by his building activity, was a semi-independent ruler. There was also, besides him, an atalik of the khan's heir residing in Balkh with the same functions in his respective region. In the reign of 'Ubayd Allah Khan (1114-23/1702-11), the kosh-begi became the head of the civil administration in Bukhara, he being an official of mean origin—probably as an attempt of the khan at cutting down the influence of the Uzbek aristocracy. But the importance of the atalik did not diminish; already earlier, at the end of the 17th century, the atalik in Balkh became independent ruler of this province, and in the middle of the 18th century Muhammad Rahim Atalik of the Mangit (q.v.) tribe founded a new ruling dynasty in Bukhara, having killed the last khan of the Ashtar-khanids. Muhammad Rahim was proclaimed khan in 1710/1756; his uncle and successor Daniyl Biv (1172-99/1758-85) preferred to remain atalik, entrusting puppet khans of Cingizid origin, but his son Shāh Murād eliminated these khans and proclaimed himself amir, which lasted also in Bukhara later the title of the Mangit rulers par excellence. In the administrative manual Mağmal al-arkām compiled under Shāh Murād in 1212/1798, the post of atalik is defined as that of senior amir, who was charged specifically with oversight of the irrigation of the Zarafshan valley from Samarkand to Karakul, and, at the same time, was the mīrāb of the main city canal of Bukhara, Rūd-i Shahr, as well as dārgāha of the rabab of Bukhara (see facsimile in Pismenny pamyatniki Vostoka 1968, Moscow 1970, 50-1; cf. A.A. Semenov, in Sovetskoye vostokovedenzya, v [1948], 144-7). But already in the first half of the 19th century, the atalik became a purely honorary rank (the highest in the hierarchy of 15 ranks in Bukhara) given very rarely, the 1820 a semi-independent governor of Hīsār, father-in-law of the amir, had this rank (see G. Meyendorff, Voyage d'Orenburg à Boukhara, fait en 1820, Paris 1826, 259; cf. V. L. Vygatkin, in Izvestiya Sredneaziatskogo otdela Russkogo geografi-českogo obščestva, xvii [1928], 20); in 1840 the atalik was also a father-in-law of the amir, a ruler of Shahrisabz (see N. Khanilov, Opyanye Bakhorskogo khanstva, St. Petersburg 1843, 185). Under the last two amirs, only the governor of Hīsār (who had also the title kosh-begi) was given the rank of atalik.
In the Khanate of Khiva, atalik was originally also a guardian and counsellor of the khan and of princes (sulţān) who ruled in their appanages. Abu l-Ghāzi (q.v.) in his Shadr-zan-i Turk (ed. Desmarest, text, 252, tr. 269) says about an atalik (in the middle of the 16th century) that he was “the mouth, tongue and will” (agdhiz, tili wa ikhtiyār) of his sulţān. Russian sources of the 17th century compare the ataliks in Khiva with the Russian boyars (see Material po istorii Uzbeckoy, Tadzhikskoy i Turkmenskoy SSR, Moscow-Lehrang 1931, 266). According to Mu'īn (q.v.) (Firdaws al-ikbal, MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, f. 65b), Abu l-Ghāzi Kāhān, reorganising the administration of the khanate, established posts of four ataliks, who were members of the khan's council of 34 'amāldāris. Later they were called “the great atalik” (ubqār atalik, cf. idem., ff. 112a, 118b); they represented four tribal groups (tupi) into which all Khāzāridian Uzbeks were divided: Yughār and Nāyman, Kungrat and Kiyat, Mangit and Kungrat and Kipcak. One of the “great ataliks” was the atalik of the khan (see ibid., ff. 69b, 101b). In the first half of the 18th century, the atalik of the khan was a most powerful figure in Khiva, but from the 1740s onwards he was pushed somewhat into the background by another dignitary, the ināk (q.v.). It is not clear whether in the time of Abu l-Ghāzi there existed only the four ataliks mentioned by Mu'īn; but in the middle of the 18th century there was quite a number of them. In 1740 a letter to the inhabitants of Khiva sent by the Khiwan dignitaries from the camp of Nādir Shāh was signed by eleven ataliks (see Geograficheskii ezhevystvya, 1850, 546-7). Apparently, already at that time, as in the 19th century, the title atalik was given also to the chiefs of the Uzbek tribes; such an atalik was senior biy in his tribe, and his title was usually hereditary, though it had to be confirmed by the khan. In the 19th century this title was granted also, as a purely honorary distinction, to some Turkmen tribal chiefs (see Yu. Bregel', in Problemi vostokovedenzya, 1960, No. 1, 171; cf. idem., Khorezmskoye tarkmeni v XIX veke, Moscow 1961, 129). In 1859 this title was introduced also for the chiefs of the Karakalpak tribes (see Yu. Bregel', Dokumenti arkhiva khivinskikh khanov po istorii i ètnografii karakalpokov, Moscow 1967, 58). The number of “great ataliks” increased before 1873 from four to eight (see A.L. Khun's papers in the Archives of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, file 1/13, 105-6). As distinct from the other tribal chiefs, they were considered among the amārā-yi āzām. The atalik of the khan, who in the 19th century always belonged to the khan's tribe, the Kungrat (q.v.), and was mostly a relative of the khan, was considered as the senior amir in the khanate; in the first half of the 19th century he still exercised some influence as the khan's counsellor, but later this post lost its importance. Less is known about the role of ataliks in the Khanate of Khokand (q.v.). The rulers of Khokh and the founders of the Ming dynasty of this khanate, Shāhrūshik Biv (early 18th century) received the title atalik from the khan of Bukhara (see V.P. Nalivkin, Historie du khanat de Khoekh, Paris 1889,
were full of emotional, patriotic and anti-reactionary later articles in the same paper during the Balkan War. Apparently, the atalık in the Khanate of Khokand, as well as in Bukhara at the time, was considered rather an honorary rank than an official post.

In Eastern Turkestan under the Čaghatayids in the 16th and 17th centuries, the title atalık preserved its original meaning. The governors of provinces (princes of the ruling house), the khan’s heir and the khan himself had their atalık, who were always senior Turkic bei. The atalık of the khan was at the same time the governor (hükûm) of Yarkand, and that of the heir the governor of Aksu or Khotan (see Şah Mahmûd Ğurăs, Ta’rikh, ed. by O.F. Akimughiñ, Moscow 1976, text 30, 52, 64 et passim). The ruler of the last independent Muslim state in Eastern Turkestan, Ya’kûb Bek [q.v.], styled himself Atalık Ghażl; apparently he received the title of atalık on being sent from Khotkand to Kâşghâr as a counsellor and guardian of Buzurg Khâdja.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see V.V. Bartol’d, SovinÈrnyi, ii/2, 390, 394; A.A. Semenov, in Materiali po istorii tadzik i uzbek Sredney Azii, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 61; H. Howorth, The History of the Mongols, ii, 869-70; G. Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen, ii, 69-71 (No. 490); M.F. Köprülü, IA, art. Ata, at the end.

(Yu. Bregel)

ATAY, FaÈhli Rıfkı, Turkish writer, journalist and politician (1894-1971). He was born in Istanbul, the son of Khalîl Hîlîm, an uncompromising traditionalist and imâm of a mosque at Dîbâlî on the Golden Horn. He was educated at Merîdan high school, where his teacher, the poet Dîjelî Sâhir, encouraged him to publish his early poems, and at the Faculty of Letters. His elder brother, a progressive officer, provided him with all the advanced literature from Nâîmik Kemal to Tewfîk Fikret [q.v.]. FaÈhil Rıfkı began his career as a journalist in 1912 in Husayn Djâhid’s [q.v.] Tâmis, the organ of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), where he wrote once a week his personal essays and articles published until his death in Istanbul on 20 March 1971.

Essentially a journalist and always concerned with the “topical”, Atay had literary talents far beyond those of a routine journalist. He excelled in the essay, sketches, travel notes and autobiographical writing. An anti-traditionalist and a dedicated Kemalist, he devoted all his writing career to defend and support the reforms achieved by the Republican régime. He fought relentlessly and uncompromisingly for the survival of a modern, progressive and secular Turkey. No matter what he wrote about, the lesson which he drew remained the same: No going back.

A great master of modern Turkish prose, he used, like R.Kh. Karay and ‘Omer Seyf el-Dîn [q.v.], the spoken Turkish of ordinary people and wrote in a concise, but vivid, colourful and very personal style, carefully avoiding all artificialities of the earlier generations of writers. Except for certain doubts towards the end of his life, Atay was a great supporter of the language reform movement, revived by government support in the 1930s, and his handling of the reformed language became the model for young writers until the appearance of Nûr Allâh Ataç [q.v. above], the linguistic and literary “guru” of the generations between the 1940s and late 50s. It is perhaps because of this fascinating style that his readers are seldom worried about the lack of depth in some of his writings, which brilliantly observe, describe and report, but do this without such sophistication. Atay is the author of more than thirty works, but the great bulk of his writings, his travel notes, his daily and semi-official reports in newspapers and periodicals have not yet been published in book form. His major works are: (1) Ateç we günêsh (1918) and Zevintâdî (1932), the two published in one volume as Zevintâdî (1970), impressions of the First World War in Palestine and Syria which are powerful sketches of the end of the Ottoman Empire; Denizyan (1931), Teyr Rusya (1931), Têrîm kiyîlînî (1934), Tûna kiyîlînî (1934), Hind (1944) are evocative travel notes on respectively Brazil, Soviet Russia, England, the Balkans and India; Gujar dîvaddîrm (1970), selections from travel notes; Çakaya (in two vols., 1961, revised one volume edition, 1969) is the most important and comprehensive of Atay’s many books on Atatürk and his achievements. It has powerful sketches of Atatürk and interesting character-studies of the many people of his time. The second edition has been substantially altered in places and anti-Inönü passages have been bor-removed by Y.K. Karaosmanoğlu’s political memoirs (Politîkada 45 ml, 1968) and introduced here to discredit the former Commander of the Western Front during the War of Liberation, both writers having broken with İsmet Inönü, for political reasons, towards the end of their lives; Başyoren inkeâfîsî (1954), a monograph on ‘All Su‘âvî (1839-78), the controversial writer and revolutionary.
ATHĀTH (a.), furniture. The Arabic language lacks terms adequate to express the concept of furniture. Taking into account the mutual overlapping of the notions of “furniture”, “table-ware”, “carpets”, "household objects" and "utensils", Arabic frequently has recourse to approximative terms and to broader categories (combinations of two expressions, for example /farṣ = carpets, bedding and furniture; /āla = crockery and household objects; /farṣ and /āla may be used in combination; /adīd = utensils etc.; /alāk = literally, belongings, various household objects and (especially in modern Arabic) furniture; /farṣ and /alāk may be used in combination; /matā = personal property, domestic items, etc.).

In the mediaeval Muslim home, life was conducted relatively close to the ground. Meals were served to the diners in a kind of “serving-dish” with or without legs (the receptacle being separable from its support or not, as the case might be) which was laid on a carpet on the floor. The diners did not have individual plates but served themselves directly from the dish placed on a low table (ḥunūs, mlūda, dāghak, /fāṭūr, mudawwara, muhaqal, mīšamsāt, simāt), the majority of these terms indicating a very small round table; some, like /simāt, a low oblong table) each of them sitting on a “seat” adapted to the appropriate height (a cushion /wīṣāda, misfaka, tuk’a, mīṣurata, murnuk, and even /mikkadā which was originally a pillow), a pair of cushions super-imposed, a couch folded in two, the carpet itself, etc.). The table was removed from the room as soon as the meal was completed.

It is understandable that such scenes should have misled western travellers and even some orientalists who described the interior of the Muslim household as being “empty”, “uninhabitable”, etc., without considering that the dimensions of furniture are frequently adapted to the way of life, to the manner of sitting, and to taste. However it would be incorrect to suppose that all mediaeval Arabic furniture was low. Carpenters and other craftsmen constructed trestles and benches of a fair height for various purposes outside the private house; they also made chairs with legs of wood or metal [see /kurš] and throne-like seats (sart, takht), but such seating arrangements were not used at meal-times. A high stool was somewhat exceptional in the Middle Ages and it focussed attention on the person seated there (a prince, the head of the family, sometimes an ordinary individual) in relation to the others present.

The hierarchy of heights in sitting (on a throne, on a high stool, on a cushion, on a single ordinary cushion, on the carpet itself, on the ground, this last position indicating humiliation, humility or mourning) only reflects the categories and class-distinctions of etiquette. Another aspect of the stratification of classes is reflected in the range of materials and qualities: beds with legs, a sign of luxury, beds without frames, and lower down the scale the mortaka, a good-quality mattress stuffed with down, simple mattresses laid on the ground and serving as a bed at night, simple mattresses, mats and carpets for sleeping on, piles of rugs and scraps of clothing for the same purpose (only the poorest slept on the ground); cushions and pillows stuffed and covered with choice materials, silk for example, and at the other end of the scale, rags or simply a stone serving as pillow for a poor man.

The very high “western style” thrones such as those appearing in Umayyad iconography, seem to have been copied from Byzantine models and do not reflect the true conditions in the court (see V. Strika, in AIUON xiv/2 (1964), 729-59; but cf. O. Grabar, in Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet, Jerusalem 1977, especially 53-6, who puts into perspective the remarkable development of etiquette already taking place in the Umayyad court). According to mediaeval texts, another kind of throne, a long sofa for reclining, was quite widely known in the courts of the Umayyads, of the ‘Abbasids and of local princes (such as the ‘Ikhshīdids). The sovereign could invite a friend to sit beside him, on the same sart (hence quite a long seat); he could alternatively recline on it. The overlapping of the concepts mattress-seat-throne-bed (for example, from the Persian; /takhît can mean any of the following: board, seat, throne, sofa, bed, calculating tablet, chest or box) did not prevent the evolution of ceremonial and the differentiation of functions (a seat or a throne for public or solemn audience, or for private audience, feasts etc.) from establishing or re-establishing the real status (of Persian manufacture, for example) and long and more elaborate thrones. Towards the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th centuries, the use of the bed with frame (for reclining and sleeping) became fashionable in high society and among the bourgeoisie. The belief of certain orientalists that the bed did not exist in the mediaeval Muslim world is only partially correct: unsprung mattresses were more common (even in documents from the Cairo Geniza, many mattresses are to be found serving as relatively inexpensive beds; among the dowries of young brides there is mention of a very small number of beds with frames, extremely expensive, and between these two categories is the /martaba, which would correspond in function with the divan-bed of the present day).

To return to the subject of tables: mlūda, ḥunūs and /ṣufrāt are synonymous: they refer to the small eastern “table”, the first two to a solid “table” (the attempts on the part of mediaeval philologists to differentiate between them were quite arbitrary) while the third (and sometimes also /naf, as well as mlūda, exclusively in the context of the Kurān and its commentaries and in certain passages in the literature of ḥadīth) was applied to a skin stretched out on the ground and serving, not only among the early Bedouins, but also in circles of sedentary Arabic civilisation, various functions in the home and in the country (in dialect, /ṣufrāt is an ordinary table and /ṣufrāt is a waiter in a restaurant or a cafe). This is one of the characteristic cases which raises the question whether the continuity of sedentary habits (from the Persians, Byzantines, from the ancient Syrian and Egyptian stocks, etc.) was an exclusive characteristic of daily life in the mediaeval Muslim world, in the sense that it is reflected in the use of furniture, and if there was not here a minimal contribution on the part of the Bedouin element, betrayed in the spread of ancestral customs through the disappearance of the high furniture of the Byzantine metropolis in favour of the low furniture which existed in Iranian civilisation and in certain local Aramaico-Syrian and ‘Irākī centres, as is revealed by the mediaeval lexicographers and commentators (jufṣāwān and /fāḏār, for example). Nevertheless, specimens of wooden furniture from
the Middle Ages are available to us and we have ceramic objects designed to imitate them (supports sometimes containing cavities to accommodate jugs, resembling the supports-plus-shelves attested by the texts; some of these still exist today: nīfā' or karšā-
plus-shynge, in various Muslim lands living far apart from one another); iconography also shows a certain standardisation, in spite of regional styles, of way of life and of taste throughout the whole of the Muslim world (household objects, such as tables, being exported from one country to another).

The mediaeval Muslims made use of a whole range of chests, cases and boxes (sundlik, tahkt, kamfara, mukadimah, sūfah), as well as recesses and racks (nīfā'), but they had no cupboards as such.

The Mongols introduced the use of a higher type of square table, but the essential nature of the "ori-
tental style" way of life has been preserved up to the very threshold of the modern age (Turkish and Persian
mirfa or texts; some of these still exist today: the British Museum, when an important statue of
ported from one country to another).


ATHĀR, modern KAL'AT SHARPAN, a large ancient mound on the west bank of the River Tigris in the vilayet of Mawṣil, about 250 km. north of Baghdād and about 100 km. south of Mawṣil, in 35° 30' N and 45° 15' E. It is strategically placed on a spur of the Djabal Hamrīn and is identified with Ashur, one of the capital cities of ancient Assyria. In the middle of the 3rd millennium, it was occupied by migratory tribes coming either from the west or the south, and was venerated as the religious and sometimes political centre of Assyria until it was captured by the Babylonians in 614 B.C. This battle devastated the city and it was not reoccupied as a city again. Ashur is the name not only of the place but also of the local deity, and it occurs in Akka-
dian, Aramaic and Greek sources. The site was known by the Turks under the name Toprak Kâl'ê, "Earth Citadel". The meaning of the element ġakāt in the Arabic name is not known, but it is probably to be explained as an independent proper name. It is not mentioned by Arab geographers; the earliest reference to it is in the 18th century, and it is the name used by later Western travellers.

The site was described by C.J. Rich, who visited it in March 1821, and it was subsequently investiga-
ted by J. Ross (1836), W. Ainsworth with E.L. Mitford, A.H. Layard and H. Rassam (1840), and again by Layard and Rassam (1847) on behalf of the British Museum, when an important statue of Shalmanesar III (858-825 B.C.) was found. In 1849, after excavations by J. Talbot, J. Oppert, E. Hincks and H.C. Rawlinson, an inscribed historical prism recording the history of the reign of Tiglath Pileser III (744-727 B.C.) was found, and two duplicate copies of this inscription were discovered by Rassam in 1853 in further British Museum excavations under the general supervision of Rawlinson. Several inscrip-
tions from the reign of Adad Nīrari III (810-783 B.C.) were discovered by G. Smith in 1873. The most rigorous excavation of the site was conducted between 1903-15 by the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft, first by R. Koldewey and then by W. Andrae and others, which followed the presentation of the site to Kaiser Wilhelm II by Sultan 'Abd al-Hamīd II.

To the north and east the site is naturally protected by the river and the escarpment, and the only necessary fortifications were buttressed walls. Sen-
ackerib (704-681 B.C.) records the building of a semicircular sallyport tower of rusticated masonry which is probably the earliest of its kind. To the south and west it was more heavily fortified. After an early period of dependency upon the south during the Third Dynasty of Ur (2112-2004 B.C.), it begins a separate history. Evidence about life in Ashur for the earliest period comes from the documents of an Assyrian group of traders working in Anatolia at the ancient city of Kanēs, modern Kūltepe, in Turkey, but the earliest palace is that of Shamshi Adad I (1813-1781 B.C.), and spacious private houses with family vaults beneath the floors have been found in the north-western area. Much of the histo-
ry of this period has to be reconstructed from an archive of the period of Ashurbanīpāl Adad which was discovered at Mari (modern Tell Harīrī) in eastern Syria. He controlled Ashur after it had been subject to Naram Sin of Eshunna (modern Tell Asmar). Although he did not use Ashur as his capital city, preferring Shubat Enil (modern Chagar Bazār), he did build there a temple to Enil, the local god of Nippur (modern Nīfār), and the one who traditionally named the king and entrusted to him the symbols of royal power.

During the period of Cassite domination in Mesoopotamia, Puzur Ashur III (ca. 1490 B.C.), made a treaty with Burnaburias I of Babylon, and in Ashur he records rebuilding part of the Ishtar temple and a section of the southern city wall. Building opera-
tions of this kind are often recorded on clay cones which were inserted between the courses of the new brickwork. Ashur Nadin Akhe II (1402-1393 B.C.) secured Egyptian support for his country and received gifts of gold from the Pharaoh of Egypt.

Official lists of the Assyrian kings have been found and these are an essential source for establishing a framework of the classical history of the site. They often contain more than fifty names and record the length of each reign. Other lists record the names of the temples there, but only a few of the 34 mentioned have actually been identified. The archi-
tectural features of these early buildings are similar to those of Old Babylonian buildings, but the length-
ening of the sanctuary on its main axis and the posi-
tioning of an altar in a deep recess are distinctly Assyrian features.

The traditional founder of the Assyrian empire was Ashur Ubalîl (1365-1330). At the beginning of his reign he was subject to Tushratta of Mitanni, but in 1350, with the help of Supililliumas, the Hittite king, he was able to attack and annexe the Mitanni areas in northeast Mesopotamia. Ashur Ubalîl called himself *šarru nube*, the great king, equal in status to the Pharaoh, and was a severe threat to the Babylonians. Two of his letters to Akkāten have been preserved in the famous archive from Tell al-Amarna, Egypt (see Knudtzon [1915], nos. 15-16). He called his country *mat Ašur*, the Land of Ashur, while the older name of Subartu was used by the Babylonians, possibly in a deprecatory'sense. Even so, Assyrian royal inscriptions
are composed in the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian because, presumably, such language had a traditional air of refinement. His son Enil Nnirani (1293-1280 B.C.) fought against Babylon, and Arik Din Il (1319-1308 B.C.) harassed the Akkadian, the Semitic tribes to the west. Addad Nnirani I (1307-1275 B.C.), by his battles with the Gutians and the Mitanni, was eventually able to unite Mesopotamia into an empire, but the territory he gained was later eroded because of the rise of the Hittites and the unsatisfactory defenses against the tribes to the east.

Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 B.C.) records building a new royal city in the north at Kalkhu (modern Kalkhu), which was later assimilated into Assyrian versions of religious texts. Despite these alternative capitals, Ashur was still used as a political centre from time to time, yet it gradually became primarily a religious centre. By the 10th century B.C. it was overshadowed by Kalkhu and Nineveh, and the later kings chose these northern sites as capitals from which to administer their empire.

The city was attacked and devastated by the Babylonian ruler Nabopolassar (625-605 B.C.) in 614 B.C. two years before he destroyed Nineveh and brought the Assyrian empire to an end. Afterwards, there is only scanty documentation from which to reconstruct the history of this important site. Under the Babylonians, it was probably only sparsely inhabited, for Cyrus the Great, when he conquered Babylon in 539 B.C., claims: "To the sacred cities on the other side of the Tigris as far as Ashur . . ., the sanctuaries of which have been ruined for a long time, I returned the images which used to live therein and established for them permanent sanctuaries" (from the Cyrus Cylinder, the basic historical source for the Persian conquest of Babylon). The name occurs again in the Old Persian text of the Behistun Inscription but the only other inscriptional evidence comes from Aramaic documents from the site; these used to be dated to the Parthian period, and taken as evidence that the names of the old Assyrian gods survived in the community until the 3rd century A.D., but they are now said to come from the 7th century B.C. As a geographical name Athur (sometimes written Akur); it is, however, defined by them not as modern Kalat Sharqat but as an earlier name for Mawsil, and also as the name of the province which was later called al-Djazira (q.v.). The ruin associated with the name is described as near to al-Salmiyya, 4 km. N.W. of Nineveh. They also make the observation that al-Djazira, which practically coincides in area with Assyria, is a name derived from Athur. Although it is clear that a ruin was still known at this site, the name Athur has been transferred erroneously to the ruin near al-Salmiyya; this transposition was influenced by the fact that there were two famous capitals of Assyria in the north and is similar to the case of Baghdad, which travellers of the Middle Ages until Pietro della Valle (1616-17) considered to be the site of ancient Babylon. According to Layard (1853), 165, the hill in the corner of the ruins of Nineveh was still called "Tell Athur".

It is surprising that there appears to be no mention of the name Sharqat before the 10th century, yet the chiefcopy of pottery and inscribed bricks discovered after a careful search amongst the rubbish which had accumulated around the base of the great mound, served to prove that it owed its construction to the people who had founded the city of which Nineveh is the remains (loc. cit.). But later, during the river trip from Mawsil to Baghdad, he was told of a connection between the two names, based on the ancient site on the Tigris about fifty miles below its junction with the Zab”. He did not identify it with Ashur; all he could say was, “A few fragments of pottery and inscribed bricks discovered after a careful search amongst the rubbish which had accumulated around the base of the great mound, served to prove that it owed its construction to the people who had founded the city of which Nineveh is the remains” (loc. cit.).


The official reports of the excavations are given by W. Andrae, with others as indicated, in the following volumes of Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft, xx (1903, R. Kolodzey); xxii, xxiii, xxiv (1904); xxvi-xxix (1905); xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv (with J. Jordan) (1908); xl, xli (1909, with J. Jordan); xlii-xliii (1910); xlv, xlvii (1911); xlviii-xl (1912, with J. Jordan); li (1913, with P. Maresch); lv (1914,
with H. Luhrs and H. Lucke; ibi (1921); ibii (1924); bxxi (1932; H. J. Lenzen); bxxii (1933) and bxxvi (1938). A series of monographs by Andrae and others have been published in the following volumes of *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (x (1909); xxii (1913); xxiv (1913); xxviii (1922); bxi (with H. J. Lenzen, 1933); bxxii (1933); bxxv (1924); lii (1924).

In the same series, editions of the cuneiform texts discovered at the site have been published as follows: xvi (1911) and xxxvii (1922) by E. Ebeling; xxxvi (1920) by Schroeder; biv (1954) and bxxi (1955) by C. Preusser; bxv (1954) and bxxii (1955) by A. Haller; bxxi (1956) by F. Wetzell and others. The Aramaic ostraca and tablets were published originally by M.M. Litzbarsky, also in the same series, xxxviii (1921), but the more recent edition by H. Donner and W. Rollig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1969, Texts 233 and 234-6, should now be used.

The Arab geographers referring to the site are as follows: Ibn Rustah, 104, tr. Wiet, 115, equating Aššur with Mawsil; and Yākūt, i, 119, 16; 346, 5; 428, 2; 772, 12-13; 231, 9, which coincides with the Ilkım Aššūr/Aššur, “the region of Ashur”, mentioned only by al-Mukaddasi, 20, 3 (see also 27, 10, and 28, 7). For [Djazfar] Aṭīṣ as an older name for the Dżazira, see also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 86.


**Aṭīṣ, Khajwa Ḥaydar ‘Allī (d. 1263/1847), Urdu poet, was born in Faizabad (Fayyābd [q.v.] probably around 1191/1778, according to A.L. Siddikī (see *Bibli.,* below). His ancestors are said to have originated in Baghdad, whence they came to Dihlī. His father moved from there to Fayyābd and died during the poet’s youth. As a result, Aṭīṣ’s formal education was curtailed, though he supplemented it by avid reading. In early manhood, he led the life of a fop and a roué, and carried a sword. But his aptitude for poetry was noticed, and he was taken to Lucknow. There he was trained by the poet Ṣayḥkh Ḥulāmā Ḥamādānī Ṣuhḥāt, and was soon recognised as a leading ghazal poet, along with his chief rival, Ṣayḥkh Imām Bakhsh Nāṣīkh. Such poetical rivalries were a familiar feature of Lucknow cultural and social life, but—as we see in the case of Aṭīṣ—they did not always involve personal animosity. Indeed, he ceased to write poetry after the death of his rival.

Modern critics regard Aṭīṣ as the greatest poet of the two. Urdu ghazal, as he found it, tended to be rich in vocabulary and ornate in style, with similes, metaphors, and other rhetorical devices which were at times far-fetched and exaggerated. Ideas were largely stereotyped, with much concentration on the physical features of the beloved such as tresses (zul) and face (nakhsh) as in Persian models. Aṭīṣ seems to have been an independent-minded eccentric in his private life, and this is reflected in his poetry to some extent. He would not write poetry for patronage, though he accepted a small pension from the King of Oudh (Awadh [q.v.]). He spurred wealth, living like a dervish in a broken-down house. He was humble to the poor but haughty to the wealthy. In his verse, for a man of a great innovator, but neither was he a slavish imitator of time-honoured poetical techniques. Thus while he did not radically change the form and style of ghazal, he frequently appears less artificial than his predecessors and contemporaries, writing in a more natural language nearer to everyday speech as used by the educated of Lucknow; perhaps his lack of formal education encouraged this tendency. He was criticised for using non-literary turns of phrase, and misspelling Arabic words—the latter perhaps deliberately, in the interests of rules of prosody, or to reflect actual pronunciation of these words in Urdu. In short, we at times sense spontaneity and even sincerity in his verse, and his literary language became accepted as a model. His poetic output of over 8,000 verses is practically entirely composed of ghazals.


For further bibliographical material, see Khādja al-Rahmān Aṭy’ī and Murtūdā Ḥusayn Fāḍil, art. Aṭīṣ, in *Urdu Encyclopedia of Islam*, Lahore 1962 ff., i, 10-14. (J.A. Haywood)

**Atlantic** [see *AL-BAHR AL-MUHIT*]

**Avarice** [see *Bukhār*]

**Avaram Camondo** [see *Camondo*]

**Awraba**, a Berber tribe of Morocco. Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 286, provides all the information which we have on the early history of this tribe, which formed part of the sedentary Berānīs [q.v.]. The first appearance of these people appears to have been Christians. At the time of the Muslim conquest, they held the premier place among the North African Berber tribes because of their forcefulness and the bravery of their warriors. Ibn Khaldūn also gives us the names of the tribe’s main branches and those
of the most outstanding chiefs whom they had before the Arabs' arrival. The celebrated Kusayla [g.e.], who was probably a Christian, is said to have been their amir, as of all the Barānī. He rebelled, and was defeated and killed in 62/682, and it was after his death that the Awraba (or Awriba?) no longer directed the resistance of the Muslims against the invader.

The tribe makes its real appearance in the history of Morocco by making Shi‘ī doctrines triumphant there, even though these were contrary to the Khārijī ones embraced by the Berbers in the preceding century. It was indeed under the protection of the Awraba chief, Abū Laylā Išāk b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hamīd, that the 'A'id fugitive Idrīs 1 [g.e.] established himself in 172/788 at Wālīf, the ancient Roman town (the present Volūhâ), situated in the little mountain massif of Zahrūn, north of Meknès.

These mountain folk called themselves descendants of the Awraba of the Aurès, driven out of the central Maghrib after Kusayla's death, as also were those elements of the Awraba to be found in the regions of the Zāb [g.e.] and the Ouarsenis [g.e.].

Like several of the northern Moroccan tribes, the Awraba professed Mu'tazilī doctrines; they were accordingly favourable to the 'Alīds and regarded the nomination of an imām as a necessary obligation for the community. This is why Abū Laylā could without difficulty have himself proclaimed sovereign imām of his own tribe and of the neighbouring tribes (4 Ramadan 172/5 February 789) a few months after Idrīs's arrival in the Zahrūn. The Awraba then successfully took part in Idrīs I's work of Islamisation. Idrīs II showed his gratitude badly towards his father's benefactor, since he had him executed 20 years later, on the accusation of having relations with the Agilabid ruler of al-Kayrawān, who recognised the authority of the hated 'Abbāsids, but this action was doubtless also from reasons of local politics.

At Idrīs Ii's death (213/828) and after the disastrous division of Morocco between his sons, troubles broke out within the principalities thereby established. The Awraba and the Berber coalition put an end to the Zarhūn. At Idns IPs death (213/828) and after the disastrous division of Morocco between his sons, troubles broke out within the principalities thereby established. The Awraba and the Berber coalition put an end to the Zarhūn. At Idle's death (213/828) and after the disastrous division of Morocco between his sons, troubles broke out within the principalities thereby established. The Awraba and the Berber coalition put an end to the Zarhūn. At Idns IPs death (213/828) and after the disastrous division of Morocco between his sons, troubles broke out within the principalities thereby established. The Awraba and the Berber coalition put an end to the Zarhūn. At Idle's death (213/828) and after the disastrous division of Morocco between his sons, troubles broke out within the principalities thereby established. The Awraba and the Berber coalition put an end to the Zarhūn. At Idle's death (213/828) and after the disastrous division of Morocco between his sons, troubles broke out within the principalities thereby established. The Awraba and the Berber coalition put an end to the Zarhūn.

Awraba — Ayatullah


[See G. Deverdun]

A'Yâs, a component group of the Meccan clan of Umayya or 'Abd Shams, the term being a plural of the founder's name, a son of Umayya b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manâh b. Kusayy called al-'Iṣ or Abū l-'Iṣ or al-'Asīt or Abū l-'Asīt or 'Uways, these being given in the genealogical works as separate individuals, but doubtless in fact one person (on the two orthographies al-'Aṣ and al-'Aṣî, the former explicable as an apocopated ḥḏĮẓ form, see K. Volland, Volkstracht und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien, Strassburg 1906, 139-40). The group formed a branch of the clan parallel to that of Ḥarb b. Umayya, from whom descended Abū Sufyān, Mu‘awīya [g.e.] and the Sufyānīs. Amongst the sons of al-‘Aṣ, etc., were ‘Alīn, father of the caliph ‘Uthmān [g.e.]; al-Hakam, father of the caliph Marwān I [g.e.] and progenitor of the subsequent Marwānīs; Sa‘īd [g.e.], governor of Kufa under ‘Uthmān and of Medina under Mu‘awīya b. Abī Sufyān, and al-Mughīra, whose son Mu‘awāya was the Muhammad b. al-Mutjalīb and the father of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān’s mother ‘Āṣīgā.

Because of the strenuous hostility shown to the Prophet by al-‘Aṣ the he was killed, a pagan, at Badr) and his son Mu‘awīya, and because of al-Hakam’s ambiguous role in the first years of Islam (as the “accursed one” banished by the Prophet, the family was often regarded by later Islamic sources with especial rancour; Sa‘īd b. al-‘Aṣ, however, found some contemporary favour with the Ḥāshimī clan and the supporters of ‘Ali, see Lammens, Mo‘awīya F., in MFoB, i (1906), 27-8.

Bibliography: see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskell, Gamhurat an-nasab, i, Tab. 8, 9, ii, Register, 202; Zabîyâ, Nasab Kusaylī, ed. Levi-Procvenal, 98-9; Ibn Durayd, Ishtikâk, ed. Wuistenfeld, 45 ff., 103, ed. Cairo 1378/1958, 73 ff., 166; See also ‘UmAYY A. ‘AbD ShAmS.

[See C.E. Bosworth]

AYATULLAH (Ayat Allah, current orthography Ayatollah), a title with an hierarchical significance used by the Imāmī, Twelver Shi‘īs, and meaning literally “Miraculous sign [g.e.] of God”. In order to understand its sense and its implications, one has to consider the recent evolution of certain institutions worked out by the Imāmī ‘ulamā’.

Since the dominating attitude of Imāmīsm has been dictated by the doctrine that all political power—even if exercised by a Shi‘ī—is illegitimate during the occultation of the Hidden Imām, it has only been comparatively late, from the 12th/18th century onwards, that political theories have taken shape and an hierarchy within the top ranks of the muṣjīhidīs [g.e.] has been formed. After their long disputes against the Aḥkāmīs [see AKBARĪYYA in Suppl.] and Shī‘īs, the Shī‘īs [g.e.] in the course of the 19th century elaborated the theory according to which at every given moment there could only be one unique manṣūr-i taḥlīl [g.e.] “source of imitation” (see Algar [1905], 3-11, 34-6, 162-5, etc.; Binder, 124 ff.). This title of manṣūr-i taḥlīl [g.e.] was subsequently applied retrospectively to numerous muṣjīhidīs (for lists of the naḫb-i ‘ulamā’ of the Hidden Imām going back to Muhammad Kūlny, d. 397/990, see Bagley [1972], 31; Fisher, 34-5; Hārī, 62-3. During the 1960s, several discussions took place
concerning the manner of selection and the functions of the marja‘-i taklīf, at the very time when the Aytullah Burūjirdī (d. 1961), recognised as the sole marja‘-i taklīf by the mass of ‘Imām Shī‘īs, disappeared (Algar [1972], 242; for some reserves about this recognition, see Binder, 132). Drawn up by religious leaders and laymen, a collective work called Bahāt dar bās-yi marja‘-īyyat va ‘īrāhāniyyat, dealing in particular with ‘Imāmī institutions and on links with the political authority, appeared at Teheran in December 1962 (a brief analysis by Lambton, 121-33). After the disappearance of Burūjirdī—whose attitude to politics had been one of quietism—the institution of the marja‘-ī tāklīf seems to have spread out widely (in 1976, there were six marja‘-ī taklīfs of first rank, including the Aytullah Khumaynī; Fisher, 32). However, from 1963 onwards, a certain consensus seems to have grown up around the Aytullah Khumaynī, the main religious opponent of the Pahlavī régime (Algar [1972], 243); but it also seems that the consensus over the marja‘-īyyat-i kuł of the Aytullah Muhīn Khākm Tābatabā’ī of Nadjd (d. 1970) was at least partially realised in ca. 1966 (Bagley [1970], 78, n. 7; this āyatullāh enjoyed the favour of the Shah; see Algar [1972], 242-3).

In the time of protest against the Tobacco Concession (1891-2), the marja‘-i taklīf—who at that period resided in the holy places of ‘Īrāk, the ‘Atābāt [q.v. in Suppl.—]—often took the lead in the fight of opposition against Kādgār autocracy and to foreign domination. This association of the muqtaṭ̄ahids with political opposition seems to have been clearer with the grant of the title āyatullāh. In practice, this takāb seems first of all to have designated the two great leaders of the constitutional revolution, the sāyṣīd ʿAbd Allāh Bihbahanī and Mūḥammad Tābatabā’ī (Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā, s.v. Āyatullāh). It has since been used to numerous great muqtaṭ̄ahids (sometimes retrospectively), independently, it appears, of their political attitudes. It tends to replace in current usage (but not in the actual hierarchy) certain titles such as that of muqtaṭ̄ah al-Islām which nowadays can mean any and every dīkhund (this latter term tending, despite its pejorative character, to supplant that of muṣla‘ī).

As with that of marja‘-i taklīf, attribution of the title is above all a question of opinion. In effect, above the title of muqtaṭ̄ah the level of respect accorded and the religious chief’s charisma depend on the consensus of the mass of faithful. The āyatullāh is placed at the top of the hierarchy, amongst the elite of the great muqtaṭ̄ahids. At the summit of all is to be found the āyatullāh al-‘uzmā (the “greatest miraculous sign of God”), the supreme marja‘-i taklīf or muqtaṭ̄ahid. This rank seems to have been first of all accorded to Burūjirdī (Binder, 132). There seems also to be at Kum a limited sort of college which makes decisions about the title (ibid., 134). This clearly reinforces the position of Kum, which has become the “symbolic capital” of Iran since the Āyatullāh Khumaynī’s return (the title ‘Imām sometimes applied to him seems to be taken from ‘Īrākī usage).

Although they are sometimes of modest origin, the great majority of āyatullāhs are now sāyṣīds (where-as the great ‘īlamā of the past were not always from this class). Marriages and alliances traditionally reinforce the strength of religious leadership (see Fischer, genealogical tables, 33-4). Whether he be marja‘-i taklīf or not, the āyatullāh exercises a double role of manager within his sphere of activity. On the administrative level, he controls the levying of various religious taxes, the direction of pious gifts and property in mortmain (waqf [q.v.], controlled by the state under the Pahlavī régime), the distribution of various grants and alms, the administration of centres of learning, etc.; on the intellectual and spiritual level, he is responsible for education. His influence on the social level is limited by his faithful followers: the students and those who bring their financial support to him (Fisher, 41).

The role and influence of the Iranian āyatullāhs are now very diverse. Their prerogatives have increased through the progressive installation of an Islamic Republic since the events of winter 1978-9. But, despite the abolition of the monarchy, they are inevitably subject to all the hazards of political power and to the pressures of antagonistic forces (secularism, communism, the growth of nationalisms, religious particularisms, etc.). There is at least one āyatullāh in each province and several in each main centre of religious teaching (haorda-yi ‘ilmī). Thus there are 14 traditional mādāras at Kum directed by āyatullāhs, of whom some have attained the rank of marja‘-i taklīf (Fisher, table, 23).


ʿAYN AL-KUḌĀT AL-HAMADHĀNĪ, ʿABD ALLĀH b. ĀBI BĀRĪ AL-MĪVĀNĀDI, Shāfl jurist and Sufi martyr, born at Hamadhān in 492/1098. Born of a line of scholars, he studied Arabic grammar, theology, philosophy and law, and as an already precocious scholar, began writing his books at the age of 14. Also, at the approach of puberty, he became a convert to Sunnism. In 517/1123, at the age of 25, he seems to have met Ahmad al-Ghazālī, brother of the great theologian Muhammad al-Ghazālī, who initiated him into Sufi meditation and dancing, thus completing his spiritual conversion. Other masters of his were Muhammad b. Hamūṭiya and a certain Baraka.

His spiritual reputation soon gained him many disciples, and he spent all his time in oral and written teaching, sometimes going beyond the limits of his physical strength for this and having then to recuperate for two or three months for recuperation. His activities soon provoked the hostility of the orthodox theologians. Provoked by his teachings on the nature of sainthood and prophethood and on submission to the Sūfī shaikh, and objecting to his
usage of Sufi terminology which gave the impression that he himself laid claim to prophetic powers, they brought an accusation of heresy against him before the Seljuk vizier in Trak, who imprisoned him in Baghdad. It was there that he wrote his apologue, Pers. ms. 'L-res. Some months later he was set free and returned to Hamadhān, but shortly afterwards, at the time of the Seljuk sultan Mahmūd's arrival (reigned 511-25/1118-31), he was executed in a barbarous manner during the night of 6-7 Dūmādā II 526/6-7 May 1131 at the age of 33. His premature death seems to have prevented Hamadhān from founding a Sufi monastery, setting up a Sufi group and designating a successor; nev- ertheless, his numerous works, written in a fine style, have always found an audience.


His actual name and early career are not known. Contemporary writers mention him by his honorific title, 'Ayn al-Mulḵ, with the nisba Multānī because he hailed from Multān; the 9th/15th century chronicler Yābūyā Sīrāhī calls him 'Ayn al-Mulḵ-Shāhīb signifying that his father's name was Shāhīb. However, 'Ayn al-Mulḵ Multānī started his career in the reign of Sultan 'Alāʾ al-Dīn Khādğī (655-715/1259-1316), and soon attained to an important position in the official hierarchy, showing excellence in both penmanship and military generalship. Amir Khursaw showered praises on him in his works, depicting him as a learned statesman in peace time and a veteran general on the battlefield. Divā'-e Dīm Barānī speaks of him as one who was wise in counsel, widely travelled, ripe in experience and much distinguished for his sagacity and successful tackling of complicated problems.

His first important assignment was his posting in Mālāvā as the mākthā or governor of Dīlī and Urdādāyān in 704/1305. In Mālāvā, he not only consolidated the sultan's rule, but also subdued the recalcitrant zamindārs of Central India. In 716/1316, he held the territory of Dīlī; in modern Maharashtra, when he was recalled to Dīlī by Malik Nābir, after Sultan 'Alāʾ al-Dīn had died. On route he received another order from Dīlī directing him to proceed to Gudjarāt, where rebels had captured the province. In compliance to Malik Nābir's order, 'Ayn al-Mulḵ turned aside, but had to halt in Čīrāt as many fellow-nobles in the royal army refused to march after Malik Nābir had been killed and the policy of the new ruler, Sultan Kubl ā al-Dīn Muhbārāt Shāh, was not known. After a few days, the new Sultan sent him and other nobles famīns ordering them all to go to Gudjarāt and establish peace and order there.

On arrival, 'Ayn al-Mulḵ tried to solve the problem diplomatically. He wrote to the leaders of the rebellion that the murder of their leader Alp Khan had already been avenged, as the culprit (Malik Nābir) was now dead, and for this reason they should not persist in rebellion. He also warned them of the serious consequences if they did not submit to the central authority. In response to his letter, many rebels joined his camp. Only Haydar and Zīrāftr fought against the royal army and they were easily routed. Having settled the affairs of Gudjarāt, he then returned to Dīlī.

In 718/1318, he was sent to Deogīrī when Malik Yak Lakhī, the local mākṭa, rose in rebellion. This time he was appointed as wazīr, with Malik Tādj al- Dīn, son of Khādīja 'Atīa as Muhbīf and Mūdīr al-Dīn Aburdā as military commandant. In 720/1320, he was present in Dīlī when Sultan Kubl ā al-Dīn Muhbārāt Shāh was killed by the allies of Khursaw Khān. Though 'Ayn al-Mulḵ was not in alliance with Khursaw Khān, the latter provided him with the title of Alam Khān in order to win him over to his side. Soon afterwards, Ghāżī Malik, the mākṭa of Depālpūr, organised a movement against Khursaw Khān aiming at revenge for the murder of Kubl ā al-Dīn Muhbārāt Shāh, persuading all the important nobles, including 'Ayn al-Mulḵ, to help him against the regicide. 'Ayn al-Mulḵ, afraid of Khursaw Khān's agents, showed Malik Ghāżī's letter to the usurper, and thus assured him of his own loyalty. Ghāżī Malik, anxious to win him over, again wrote a letter to this time. 'Ayn al-Mulḵ expressed his sympathy with Ghāżī Malik's undertaking and promised not to participate in the battle against any partner because he was in Dīlī, surrounded by the allies of Khursaw, and could not take up arms against him. On achieving the throne, Ghāżī Malik, who assumed the title of Sultan Ghīyāth al-Alm, and apparently retained 'Ayn al-Mulḵ Multānī in his service.

According to 'Isāmī, 'Ayn al-Mulḵ joined Ulugh Khān (later Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlūk) on the Warangal expedition of 722/1322. Since the siege of Warangal became prolonged and Ulugh Khān insisted on capturing the citadel, the officers got tired and many of them mutinied, although 'Ayn al-Mulḵ remained loyal. This was the last expedition that he had joined, for we do not hear of him afterwards.

Certain mediaeval as well as modern scholars have confused 'Ayn al-Mulḵ Multānī with 'Ayn al-Mulḵ Māhārū, who is the author of the famous work, Inḍāl-e Māhārū. Māhārū was a noble of Muhammad b. Tughlūk's and Fīrūz Shāh's entourage. 'Isāmī distinguishes 'Ayn al-Mulḵ Multānī from Māhārū by calling the latter 'Ayn al-Dīn. Divā'-e Dīlī Barānī differentiates between them by making different statements about their qualities, stating that 'Ayn al- Mulḵ Multānī could not only wield the sword successfully but was also adept in diplomacy and penmanship, while Māhārū had no experience of military generalship, since he belonged to the class of scribes and clerks. Shams al-Dīn Sirājī 'Affī presents Māhārū as the creature of Muhammad b. Tughlūk. Further, most of the letters and documents contained in the Inḍāl-e Māhārū were drafted in Fīrūz Shāh's reign, and only a few belong to the time of Muhammad b. Tughlūk; there is no letter written by Māhārū during
Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād continued and extended the work begun by Shibli with the object of encouraging the 'ulāmā' to participate in the most modern developments of civilisation. As a theologian experienced in the disciplines of the most traditional religious thought, he provoked the 'ulāmā' into an increasingly sharp awareness of the vital experience, in the course of which each article must be disencumbered of all artificial comment in the fort of Ahmadnagar between 9 August 1942 and 15 June 1945. Finally, the work which he held until his death in 1958.

Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād revived the pan-Islamic proposals of the great reformist Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and exhorted the Muslims of India not to remain passive observers of the upheavals which were transforming the world, but to associate themselves with the struggle whose primary object was to free them from the foreign yoke, so that they could subsequently participate actively in the complex and fruitful changes which, in the modern era, contributed to the prosperous life of nations. But was there not in this attitude a contradiction between pan-Islamism, ideally asserted, and nationalism as constantly practised in a context where, in the event, India, once independent, could not be other than a nation dominated by the Hindu community?

In the more strictly theological sphere, Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād expressed his opposition to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān (1817-1890 [g.v.]) and of the movement which the latter launched in founding the university of Aligarh, Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād was professor of religious philosophy at Aligarh University until 1958. Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād continued and extended the work begun by Shibli with the object of encouraging the 'ulāmā' to participate in the most modern developments of civilisation. As a theologian experienced in the disciplines of the most traditional religious thought, he provoked the 'ulāmā' into an increasingly sharp awareness of the vital experience, in the course of which each article must be disencumbered of all artificial comment in the fort of Ahmadnagar between 9 August 1942 and 15 June 1945. Finally, the work which he held until his death in 1958.

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Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād revived the pan-Islamic proposals of the great reformist Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and exhorted the Muslims of India not to remain passive observers of the upheavals which were transforming the world, but to associate themselves with the struggle whose primary object was to free them from the foreign yoke, so that they could subsequently participate actively in the complex and fruitful changes which, in the modern era, contributed to the prosperous life of nations. But was there not in this attitude a contradiction between pan-Islamism, ideally asserted, and nationalism as constantly practised in a context where, in the event, India, once independent, could not be other than a nation dominated by the Hindu community?
AZAD — AZADI


AZÂD, MUHAMMAD HUSAYN (1830-1910), Urdu writer, was a leading exponent of "new" Urdu prose, and a pioneer of the reaction against the Persian tradition in Urdu poetry, with its emphasis on ghalâz and its preoccupation with ornate, stylized language.

Born in Dihli, he was the son of one of the first leading journalists of north India. He was educated at Delhi College, and acquired a mastery of both Arabic and Persian. By 1854, he was a friend of his father's newspaper, the Dihli Urdu Akbâr. A love of poetry was fostered in him by the poet Dhwâk (1789-1854), who was a friend of his father's. However, the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and its aftermath completely changed his life, and its effect probably never left him. His father was executed for treason by the British authorities, and he himself fled and became a wanderer. In 1864 he arrived in Lahore, where he was to reside for the remainder of his life. He obtained a minor post in the Punjab Ministry of Public Instruction. He twice visited Persia, and in 1865 he accompanied an Indian Government secret mission to Bûlghârâ, aimed at investigating Russian penetration of that region.

In his early years in Lahore, he quickly won the confidence of local British dignitaries, including Colonel Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction. He wrote several educational works, including a Persian course in English of Samuel Johnson, Addison and their contemporaries. After 1870, he turned mainly to Persian language and literature, dates from 1872, but was not published until 1907. However, his fame rests chiefly on his long critical account of Urdu poetry, Abî-i-hayât (1881). His last major work, Darbâr-i-akkårî (1898), is a dazzling account of the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar [q.v.], but, despite its rich style, it is often described as a failure. Azâd's prose is imaginative and colourful, far removed from the straightforward style of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khân and Hâfi. Muhammad Sadiq (History of Urdu literature, 300) says that it "recalls old patterns in its syntactical peculiarities and word-arrangement", and adds, perhaps with a little exaggeration, that its syntax seems Persian. Azâd was not directly involved in the Aligarh Movement, but was highly respected by its leaders. Hâfi wrote complimentary reviews of Nasîr-i-khayâl and Abî-i-hayât.

The last twenty years of Azâd's life were marred by periods of mental illness bordering on insanity. Personal tragedies, and overwork—including his edition of Dhwâk's Dwaânc—have been blamed for this. He died in Lahore in 1910.

Bibliography: In addition to information given above, some of the many reprints of Azâd's works may be mentioned; thus for Abî-i-hayât, Lahore 1950, Faizabad 1966. As for Darbâr-i-akkårî, Muhammad Ibrâhîm, editor of the Lahore edition of 1910, claims in his preface that his text is more complete and more in keeping with Azâd's intentions than the original (1898) edition of Mir Mumtâz 'Alî. There is aLucknow edition n.d., but ca. 1905. For Nasyr-i-khayâl, there is a Karachi edition of 1961. Abû-Sâîd Bâkîr has edited selected articles by Azâd (Maqâlât Mawûlânâ M.H. Azâd, Lahore 1966), Kîsâr-i-Hind was reprinted in Lahore (1961) and Karachi (1962). Selected letters have been published: Maktûbât-i-Azâd, Lahore 1907, and Maktûbât-i-Âzâd, Lahore 1966. The collected poetry was published as Nâzîm-i-Âzâd, Lahore 1910.

Among critical biographies, Muhammad Sadiq's Muhammad Husayn Azâd—his life and work, Lahore 1963, is of prime importance. The same author's shorter account in his History of Urdu literature, London 1964, 288-302, includes a conveniently brief analysis of Azâd's prose style (297-301), with extracts. In Urdu, there is Dâhân Bânû Begum's Muhammad Husayn Azâd, Hyderabad Deccan, 1940. Among detailed studies of Abî-i-hayât, mention must be made of Ridâwall Mas'mîd Hasan's Abî-i-hayât kâ tankid mutâlîa, Lucknow 1953. Hâfi's reviews of Nasîr-i-khayâl and Abî-i-hayât, originally published in the Aligarh University Gazette, are available in Khâliq-i-mâzar-i-Hâfi, Lahore 1968, ii, 176-83 and 184-94. (J.A. Haywood)

AZâDî (f.), freedom, synonymous with Arabic barsiya [q.v.]. Deriving from the Avestan word azâta and the Pahlavi word âzât (noble), the word
azadi has as long a history as Persian literature itself. It was employed by Persian writers and poets such as Firdawsi, Farrukhi, Sistani, Gurgani, Rumli, Khakani, Nasiri Khurasan, and Zahiri Faryab in a variety of meanings including, for instance, choice, separation, happiness, relaxation, thanksgiving, praise, deliverance, non-slavery, and so on (see Dihkhudad, att. Azadi, Lughat-nama, 6/1, B6-7). In modern times, the idea of social and political liberty has also been expressed by the term azadi (and sometimes by the term ibhayar), the latter sense of which will be dealt with below in reference to the Iranian world.

From its very nature, the modern connotation of azadi has been associated with the process of Western impact on Persian culture and therefore its history. Considering the fact that the activities of the British East India Company (from 1600) coincided with the mass migration of Persian writers and poets to India, plus the information brought to India by travellers such as Ptsam al-Din, who recorded his impression of Europe in 1767, it would be logical to conclude that the Persian emigrants to India were among the first eastern people to have been exposed to European new ideas. It seems, however, that no noticeable Western influence can be observed in the Persian writings of the 17th century. The earliest favourable, but brief, account known to us of Europe is that of Muhammad 'Ali Hazin (d. 1766), who wrote in 1732 that some of the European countries enjoyed laws, a better way of life, and more stable systems of government, and regretted not to have taken a trip to Europe, as was suggested to him by an English captain (Hazin, Ta'rikh-i Hazin, Tehran, 1953, 92-3, 110-1).

One of the earliest, and relatively detailed, accounts in the Persian language of European social and political institutions belongs to a Shushtar-born emigre of India, 'Abd al-Latif Musawi Dzjarziri, who learnt about the new ideas which had developed among the newly-born middle class of Europe and had been imported to India. Writing in 1801, 'Abd al-Latif dealt with modern topics such as freemasonry, equality, liberty and the function of the administration of justice in England. He also made reference to the British system of mixed government, i.e. the division of power among the king, the lords, and the subjects (vadi). It is on the contrary, called England with admiration and even with envy, based on the opinion of the author that the latter was being considered as the propertied men who were entitled to elect and be elected. For more detailed descriptions of modern ideas, including that of azadi, one may look into the eyewitness accounts, the most widely quoted of which are those of Mirza Abu Talib (Ishafan, son of another emigre to India, and Mirza Salihi Shariat of Iran. Both Abu Talib, who travelled and lived in Europe from 1798 till 1803, and Mirza Salihi, who studied in England from 1815 till 1819, wrote in detail about the type of liberty which then existed in England. Some differences, however, may be observed in their accounts: Abu Talib seems more critical of the British system; he found, for instance, freedom of the press somewhat harmful, and refused to accept membership of freemasonry (cf. his Hazin-i Talibi, Tehran 1974, 152, 195-6). Mirza Salihi, on the contrary, called England with admiration velayati azadi (land of freedom), and joined freemasonry with great interest (Szafar-nama-yi Mirza Salihi Shariat, Tehran 1968, 189, 207, 374). As a matter of fact, most, if not all, of the Persians who went to Europe throughout the 19th century became freemasons, and learnt there to propagate the type of freedom which was understood by the masons and included in their famous slogan of libert, egalite, fraternite (Ism'i R'ain, Farangiyyeh va Faramsi'at dar Iran, i-iii, Tehran 1968; Mahmud Kaitari, Farangsi'i dan Iran, Tehran 1968).

In Europe, such ideas as liberty, equality, laissez-faire and so on, were developed in the course of the struggles between the old feudal system and the newly-born capitalism, so that for the "Third Estate", liberty meant freedom from the yoke of feudalism and the freedom for private enterprise. Accordingly, this concept of liberty expressed could have had little meaning for the Persian audiences who were still experiencing their own type of "feudalism" at that time, and it must have appeared as an entertaining fiction.

One of the consequences of the development of capitalism in the West was the latter's need, among other things, of raw materials, cheap labour and profitable investments in other parts of the world. At the turn of the 19th century, Iran appeared to the then great powers, i.e. England, France and Russia, as important both strategically and economically. Since Iran found itself too weak to survive Western encroachments, the Persian government saw it as indispensable to take certain measures for strengthening of the country through modernisation, so that students such as Mirza Salihi were dispatched to Europe to acquire modern sciences. Although the internal and external forces supporting the old regime of Iran were still strong, the process of modernisation did not come to a standstill. In addition to sending students abroad, there were several diplomatic missions to Europe during the reigns both of Fath 'Ali Shah (1797-1834) and Muhammad Shah (1834-48). Missions such as those of Mirza Abu 'l-Hasan Il' (England, 1814), Khurasan Mirza (Russia, 1829), and Ajudanbafi (Austria, France, and England, 1834) helped the Iranian ruling circles to obtain more information about the European ideas and institutions. A number of memoirs, such as Khurasan Mirza's, do indicate a misunderstanding by some of the Iranian diplomats of the idea of liberty. However, there appeared also intelligent accounts of parliamentary systems in European countries.

In the outset of Naqir al-Din Shah's reign (1848-96), a wide range of modernising measures were initiated by the Amir Kabir. In 1858 Mirza Dzjar Kahan Musavi al-Dawla formed his government, modelled roughly on European cabinet systems. Believing in Dzjar Kahan's progressive thought, Mirza Malkam, another modernist, wrote to him a long letter urging him to reform the system of government and to separate the powers. He declared the opinions of the Iranian people to be free, azadi. Shortly after the appearance of Malikam's letter, an anonymous author touched upon the necessity for free elections and freedom of the press (MS. Maglis library, Tehran No. 3185/4147, Dzjar-i Tanjim, in Magasih-yi agha-i Mirza Malikam Kahan, Tehran 1948, 24-6). In the same year (1858), when an Italian nationalist, Orsini, attempted the life of Napoleon III, Farrukh Kahan Amrin al-Dawla was on a diplomatic mission to Paris. He wrote not only of the French parliament, but also described with admiration the remarks made in a letter to the Emperor by Orsini on patriotism, liberty, and the freedom of Italy, for whose sake he had taken that action; Farrukh included a Persian translation of that letter in his memoirs (Husayn b. 'Abd Allah Sarabi, Makzan al-vos'ayf: Shohri ma'ani-yi va mas'afari-yi Farrukh Kahan Amrin al-Dawla, Tehran 1965, 354-86).
In 1866 an anonymous author wrote a treatise on social and political affairs, and paid special attention to the ideas of freedom and equality and their applicability to Islamic teachings. He classified “commodable freedom” (khârîj-i mamduh) into six types which included freedom of property, assembly and press, and the prohibition (Ms. Magdî Libray 137; for an account of this exceptionally interesting work, see Abdol Hossein Haeri, Fihrist-i kâkhibgâna-yi Ma'mûl-i shârs-yi millî, xxi, Tehran 1974, 135-8).

The last few decades of the 19th century witnessed a number of important changes from within and from without; constitutional movements took place in many European and some Asian countries; more efforts were made by powerful and industrially advanced nations to colonise other countries; and Anglo-Russian rivalries in Iran were intensified. These developments, together with other factors, exposed Iran to new ideas and predisposed towards the establishment of a new order involving a degree of political freedom for the subjects. The modernising measures undertaken by Mirzâ Husayn Khan Sipahsâlîr (d. 1881), and the appearance of newspapers such as Irmâ, Wâsâyâ-yi 'adâlîya, Watan, Nijâmî, Ilhâm, and Mîrîshî in the 1870s, and the emergence of writers and social critics such as Mirzâ Fath 'Ali Âghûnd-zâdâ (d. 1878), Yûsuf Khân Mustâshâr al-Dawla Tabrîzî (d. 1895) and Malkâm Khân (d. 1908), may be studied against the background of those developments. The critics fought earnestly for the establishment of a free enterprise system and the destruction of the old system of election, freedom of speech, etc. Some of the modernists like Malkâm and Sipahsâlîr went as far as not only to advocate foreign investment in Iran, but also played an active role in encouraging it. They seem to have understood the concept of liberty as defined in Europe. Âghûnd-zâdâ, for instance, pronounced the view that no reconciliation is possible between liberty and Islam. He also saw freedom as preserved through freemasonry activities (Farîdîn Adâmîyyat, Âstâd-dîd-yi Mirzâ Fath 'Ali Âghûnd-zâdâ, Tehran 1970, 146-9). Out of expediency, however, most of the writers gave their definition of liberty some Islamic colouring; they likened, for instance, freedom of speech with the Islamic concept of al-umr bi 'l-mâlîf wa 'l-ahây 'an al-mu'âshir (Abdul-Hadi Hairî, The idea of constitutionalism in Persian literature prior to the 1906 Revolution, in Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft, Göttingen, 1974, Göttingen 1976, 189-207).

At the same time, there appeared two more groups of intellectuals who also wrote about freedom. Writers such as Mumtâhîn al-Dawla (d. 1921), an experienced diplomat, and Mirzâ Husayn Khân Farâhânî, who visited Russia, Turkey, and the Hidjâz from 1884-5, found âdâlî to be quite harmful. In 1870, while sitting at the place reserved for the diplomatic corps in the British parliament, Mumtâhîn al-Dawla witnessed a serious attack waged by one of the members on the Queen and the institution of monarchy in Britain. At this point, Mumtâhîn envied the British members of parliament their freedom of speech, but did not believe that the Persians could learn the same privilege in the near future; according-ly, he flatly discredited the Iranians' struggles for freedom during the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 (Mahdî Khân Mumtâhîn al-Dawla Shâkîshî, Khârîjî-yi Mumtâhîn al-Dawla, Tehran 1974, 188-9, 210-11). To Farâhânî, freedom appeared to be a destructive element in history; he held that no system could survive unless it was based on one-man rule (Sifar-nâmâ-yi Mirzâ Husayn Khân Farâhânî, Tehran 1963, 139-46).

A third group of intellectuals, which also included some men from the first group, emerged in reaction to the introduction of foreign rivalries, the spread of governmental corruption and tyranny, and above all the concessions made to foreigners. The works of Hâdjîyâ Sayî'î (d. 1925), Zayn al-'Ābîdîn Marâghâ'î (d. 1911), Mirzâ 'Abîl-ar-Rahîm Tabrîzî Talîbîv (d. 1911), Mirzâ Âkâ Khân Kirmânî (d. 1896), and some of the writings of Malkâm and Âfghânî (d. 1896), are the best representative expressions of the people's response to the existing political and economic situation in Iran. To Âfghânî, freedom meant the replacement of the existing tyrannical regime by a benevolent government. Other writers especially Talîbîv, however, attached more meanings to the idea of freedom. The latter defined it in full details as involving the franchise and freedom of the press, assembly, and opinion. All of the men in this group opposed the existing “feudally” based social system and advocated a free enterprise system not dependent on foreign concessions, foreign goods, or foreign interventions. It was during the same period that a number of reformist intellectuals, headed by Ahmad Ğânî (d. 1897), also began to emerge in Bûkhârân. Dânîg̲h's most important political and philosophical work Nâvâdir al-wâlîkârî (written 1875-82), was devoted to the necessity of social reforms and freedom of the people from the tyranny of the then Bûkhârân Ğamîr. His disciples such as Shâhîn, Sawdâ, Ğârî, and many others followed his steps (Jîrî Becka, Tajiki literature from the 18th century to the present, in J. Rybka et alii, History of Iranian literature, Dordrecht 1968, 495-605). In a later period we also see revolutionary pieces of poetry such as “Surâ'î-Î âzâdî” by 'Ayînî and “Bi šâra'î-Î inâlîâbî-Î Bûkhdârî” by ‘Akkâbâshî (Ṣâdîr al-Îdn ‘Ayînî, Nâmâna-yi abâb-i yâdîgârâ-yi Tajîk 300-1200 hâgîrî, Moscow 1926).

This period also coincided with some measures of modernisation in Afghanistan. To the Afghans, because of the Anglo-Russian rivalries throughout the 19th century, political âdâlî simply came to mean the independence of their country from foreign encroachments, in connection with which a number of short-lived periodical papers such as Khâbîl (1867) and Shâms al-nâhâr (1875) came into being. The Afghans' approach to the idea of freedom was best represented in their first important weekly paper, Sinâdî al-akbârî-Î Âfghânîya (1911), where problems of modernisation and national independence were dealt with in a highly sophisticated manner. Its chief editor, Mahmûd Ğârîz, argued that "genuine national development and progress were possible only when a society enjoyed complete independence, sovereignty, and freedom" (Vartan Gregorian, The emergence of modern Afghanistan, Stanford 1969, 178). This type of argument about liberty was pursued by later papers such as Ânâdî-Î Âfghânî, Ilhâdî-yi maqârî and many others (Sâdîr Qassîm Rîshîh, Journalism in Afghanistan, in Afghanistan, ii (1948), 72-7).

In the course of the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11, the idea of freedom was approached by the factions involved in the Revolution in three different ways. One of the groups, influenced principally by Islamic teachings, was in favour of freedom, but a type of freedom consonant with Islam. Mirzâ Muhammadd Husayn Nâînî (d. 1936), for instance, defined freedom as an opposite to slavery,
but like Montesquieu (De l'esprit des lois, i, 1, iii, ch. viii) held that living under despotism was itself equal to slavery; therefore, freedom may be achieved only by the replacement of the existing tyrannical regime of Iran (Haiiri, Shi'ism and constitutionalism in Iran [see Bibl.], 173-80, 216-19). The second group, to which the last-mentioned party belongs, derived a better insight into European ideas, together with a close association with the Russian revolutionaries, so that they interpreted freedom in a more western sense. In their approach both groups emphasised particularly the downfall of despotic rule in Persia and the ending of foreign intervention as being integral parts of freedom. The third group, i.e. the supporters of the old regime, under the leadership of Shaykh Fadl Allâh Nûrî (d. 1909), opposed any principles of democracy, and especially the concepts of liberty and equality, which appeared to the Shaykh as detrimental to Islam (Abdul-Hadi Haiiri, Shaykh Fadl Allâh Nûrî's Refutation of the Idea of Constitutionalism, to appear in Middle East Studies). The latter group even organised many mob demonstrations in which the people chanted: "We want no liberty; we want the Prophet's religion".

The Anglo-Russian agreements of 1907 and 1915, and the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1919, led to a number of nationalist movements, such as those led by Kutây Khan [g.g.], Khayyabâñî [g.g.], and Muhammad Ta'â Khan Pîsûn. After the 1917 Russian Revolution, the Soviets withdrew the claims of the Tsars against Iran, so that freedom meant exclusively the abolition of the 1919 treaty and the freedom of Iran from any foreign intervention which could limit its independence. The newly-established Communist Party of Iran (1920), which co-operated with some of these movements, added a socialist colouring to the idea of freedom by propagating the idea of freedom of the peasants from the landowners through dividing up the latter's lands among the former.

Towards the end of the Kâdîr dynasty, a number of poets and writers, such as Mirzâ 'Îljî, Muhammad Farrukhî Yazdî, Muhammad Ta'â Khan and Abu l-Kâsîm Lûhût, wrote very critically about the freedom of the Persian people both from inter- national tyranny and from external influences; some of them met an untoward fate. Under Rida Shâh's reign (1925-41) the term azâdî was used only in rare cases; for instance, the newspaper Itîlîyat used azâdî in the sense of the freedom from the Kâdîr dynasty or from the movements and rebellions which had existed in Iran. In 1932 Rida Shâh outlawed the Communist Party, but the activities of some of the communists led by Dr. Ta'â Khan (d. 1939) continued. In their literature, e.g. in Dângâ, social and political concepts, including liberty, were defined from the socialist point of view. Some other intellectuals such as the woman poet, Parwûn Itisâmî (d. 1941), wrote about freedom in a symbolic and subtle way, but their general message was the freedom from the existing situation.

The period following Rida Shâh's abdication (1941-53) witnessed a campaign for the nationalisation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The new Communist party, now calling itself hîch-i tâdûrî-ye Iran [founded in September 1941] held freedom to be the nationalisation of the oil. However, it also saw freedom in the establishment of better relations with the Soviet Union so that Iran might evolve a Communist government. To the nationalists, on the other hand, freedom depended not only on the nationalisation of the oil but also on the extinguishing of Russian and all other foreign influences in Iran. These ideological conflicts culminated under Dr. Muhammad Musaddik's 28-month rule, a period referred to by his supporters as dawra-yi azâdî ("the epoch of freedom"), during which for the first time popular involvement in politics was allowed to a certain extent and the activities of opposing political parties plus the campaigns of the press belonging to different political wings were somewhat tolerated. This period came to an end in August 1953 when Musaddik's government was overthrown by the army.

Abu 'l-'Abbās was born on 17 Ramaḍān 557/5 August 1162 and died on 1 Ramaḍān 633/July 1236. From all accounts he was a man of profound piety, and, throughout his adult life, he taught ḥadīth and fiqh in the Great Mosque of Cuet, a monastery of the Prophet’s nativity (muḥālīd, mulūd) he initiated that in later times inspired his son Abu 'l-Kasim to adopt the custom of celebrating the muḥālīd and putting an end to the idea of celebrating the Prophet's nativity (muḥālīd, mulūd) which was the purpose of which was to promote his idea of celebrating the muḥālīd and putting an end to the idea of celebrating the Prophet's nativity (muḥālīd, mulūd).

Abu 'l-'Abbās was also the author of a completed work. Abu 'l-'Abbās was also the author of a completed work, which was the purpose of which was to promote his idea of celebrating the muḥālīd and putting an end to the idea of celebrating the Prophet's nativity (muḥālīd, mulūd) which was the purpose of which was to promote his idea of celebrating the muḥālīd and putting an end to the idea of celebrating the Prophet's nativity (muḥālīd, mulūd).
This was the signal for action. As the most widely respected notable, Abu 'l-Kāsim al-'Azafī was approached by Ceuta's kā'id al-bahr, Abu 'l-Abbas Ḥağıbîn al-Randâlî, and persuaded to consent to the overthrow of the regime and, in the event of success, to assume leadership of the community. The plan, as executed by al-Randâlî, but not quite as envisaged by Abu 'l-Kāsim, resulted in the decapitation of Shakkâf and Ibn Abī Khâlid. Ibn Shâhid was deported, and the 'Azafî, after assuming control, declared Ceuta's allegiance to the Almohad Caliph al-Murtada (reg. 646-65/1248-66), who duly appointed a governor. The Almohad governor's stay was short: after only a few months in Ceuta, Abu 'l-Kāsim expelled him and sent the caliph a letter of explanation what he accepted.

What arrangement followed is unclear. We are only told that in 654/1256-7 the 'Azafids became absolute ruler of Ceuta, which he took over and administered with great application and total devotion to the interests of its inhabitants. What is certain is that, despite his de facto autonomy, he remained loyal to the tottering throne of al-Murtada and even defended his interests when the occasion demanded.

Considering that Abu 'l-Kāsim was, in his day, a king, it is not surprising that the precise form of his authority on life and rule is so sparse that most of what can be said of him must be deduced from his ascertainable policies. Born between 606/1209-10 and 607/1210-11, he was around forty when he came to power and seems to have had a maturity of judgment to match his years and such as to mitigate against rash ventures. His primary aim was to create and maintain a strong and prosperous Ceuta at a time when it was fast becoming not only a prime military objective for Castile, but also a target for ambitious Marinids seeking control of Morocco. He therefore set about strengthening Ceuta's defences and evidently profited from a truce with Castile against handsomely some tribute over two consecutive two-year periods (7 1251-5). At the same time he aimed at stabilising, conserving and developing Ceuta's already extensive trans-Mediterranean trade, notably with Barcelona, Genoa and Marseille. Within about ten years, Ceuta seems to have gained real naval and economic strength. In 599/1261 her first real test came when the prospect of a Nasrid Ceuta lured Ibn al-Ahmar of Granada, whose territory was 'Azafid ships that formed the backbone of the Marinid fleet which utterly routed the Castilians. But gradually the certain rewards of peaceful trade, notably with the Crown of Aragon and potentially dangerous to Islam. In practice he sacrificed little: a yearly "gift" to the Marmid emir, who bore him a personal grudge, was a yearly tribute, which he paid to Fez and then, in 1304, to rebel against the sultan Abū Ya' ḥâb, who, without Aragonese naval assistance, was powerless to impose his will. But 'Azafid independence was short-lived: in May 1305 Nasrid forces were enabled by a disaffected garnison commander to seize Ceuta. All members of the 'Azafid family were taken to Granada, where they remained, royally treated by Muhammad III until his deposition in March 1309.

The Second Daula. In July 1309 Nasrid Ceuta, following an internal rising, capitulated to the Marinid Abu 'l-Rabî', who then allowed the 'Azafids to return from Spain and settle in Fez. There Yahyâ, a son of Abū 'l-Kāsim, met and found favour with Abū Sa'id 'Uṭmân, the very prince who was to gain the throne on Abu 'l-Rabî's death (November 1310). In 710/1310-11 Yahyâ was made governor of Ceuta and returned with the family to his native city. His brothers Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Rahmān and Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali were appointed, respectively, kā'id al-bahr and superintendant of the naval shipyard. However, the temporary success of the sultan's rebel son Abū 'Ali resulted in their recall to Fez late in 1314, and during their stay there the ageing Abū 'l-Rabî died. In 713/1313-14 Yahyâ returned to Ceuta as Abū Sa'id's governor, leaving his son Muhammad as a guarantee of his continuing allegiance to Fez, but accompanied by the rest of the family. Soon after, Abū Hātim died and was survived by at least one son, Ibrâhîm.

Once back in Ceuta, Yahyâ soon put himself at the head of a council of notables (gārî) and, with the aid of a Marinid pretender, succeeded both in retrieving his son and in proclaiming and maintaining Ceuta's autonomy. In 719/1319, however, he chose to effect a reconciliation with Abū Sa'id and to remit taxes in exchange for recognition as Marinid governor. His motive in so doing was probably growing apprehension at the popularity, in Ceuta, of an ambitious Husaynid gārî who bore him a personal grudge and was, at the same time, respected by Abū Sa'id. When Yahyâ died at some date in or after 722/1322-3, he was succeeded by his apparently ineffectual son, Abu 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad, who governed under the tutelage of his cousin Muḥammad b. 'Ali, admiral of the fleet (kā'id al-asafīl). Details of the situation that in due course culminated in the 'Azafids' downfall are unclear; we know only that their authority collapsed, that Abū Sa'id marched on Ceuta in 728/1327-8, and that disaffected notables surrendered the 'Azafids to him. The reasons for the 'Azafids' downfall are complex, but, as their enemy, the Husaynid gārî Abū 'l-Abbas Ahmad,
soon emerged as president of Ceuta's şirâ, it is hard not to see in him one major cause of their undoing.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that the 'Azafids were employed—under surveillance—in the administration. The choice of a Suufi as kadi and indeed Muhammad b. All reappears as admiral of Abu 'Hasan's fleet which in 1340 almost annihilated the Castilian fleet off Algeciras. Ten years later he was still admiral of the fleet when he fell in action fighting the 'Abd al-Wârids [q.v.] in the Chelîf plain.


J.D. LATHAM

'AZAMIYYA [jarîqû] [see arc 'l-'AZAM]M.

'AL-azzi, nâsha formed from the tribal name of Azz, and borne by a family of Malikî kâtîd of Baghñid, who will be treated under Ibn Dâhilân, the name of their ancestor.

'AL-azzi, ISMÁ'îL b. ISMÁ'îL b. HâMMâd b. ZAYD, ARB ISMÁ'îL AL-KâDI (199-282/814-95), Malikî jâkîth, originally from Bayra, who in 246/860 suc-ceeded Sawâr b. 'Abd Allah as kâtîd of Baghñid East. After having been removed from office in 255- 6/869-70, he was restored to office, transferred to Baghñid West in 258/871-2 and then given charge of both halves of the city from 262/876 till his death he was then supreme kâtîd without having the official title, although currently described as kâtîd 'l-kâdî. He was also sent as an envoy to the Saffârîd who had invaded the province of Ahwáz in 262/875-6.

This kâtîd was equally a specialist in the Kurân, hadîth, fikh and kalâm and knowledgeable about gram- mar and odâb. He was very opposed to all innova-tion, refuting al-Shâfi'î and Abu Hanîfa and spreading the hadîth, fikh, marî and 'ulamd and then left it after getting an authorisation to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca. See al-Badîsi, al-Maksad, and 'ulamd of Bougie. In 674/1274, under the Mannîds, one of the natural uncles of sultan Ya'kîb rebelled against him and entrenched himself in the Azrû mountain; the ruler besieged him there, reduced him to sub-mission and pardoned him. In 1074/1663-4 Mawlay al-Shârîf came to encamp at Azrû. The 'ulamâ' and gnûqîf of Fâs came to him there and proclaimed him ruler; but the prince prudently remained at Azrû for that summer. In 1093/1684 Mawlay Ismâmî journeyed in force into the Fazaz mountains in order to subjugate the Ayt Idrâsen tribe who had been committing all sorts of depredations in the plain of the Sâ'îs. On his approach, the tribe fled towards the upper part of the valley of the Wâdî Muluya, and the sultan profited by their absence to build at Azrû a kasaba garrisoned by 1,000 cavalrymen. Pushed back into the highlands, and cut off from their agricultural lands, the Ayt Idrâsen, and deprived the sultan of all his prestige; he never recovered, and died soon after.

The 'kasaba of Mawlay Ismâmî is more or less in ruins today, but the modern town is developing rap-idly, and is famous for its woolen carpets woven by a prosperous workers' co-operative. Thanks to the beauty of its location and to the magnificent cedar forests in the vicinity, Azrû has also become a flourishing tourist centre.

One should be careful not to confuse the above Azrû—as do the authors and interpolators of the Kitâb and the Dâhilân—with the place of the same name which dominates Tafarît, in the country of the Banû Tâzin in northern Morocco; it was here that, under the Marinîds, Talha b. Yâhîya took refuge and then left it after getting an authorisation to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca. See al-Bâdîsi, al-Maâdîn, al-Musnads, K. al-Shuf
Fr. tr. G.S. Colin, *Vie des saints du Rif*, in *AM*, xxvi (1926), 209 n. 4.


(G. Deverdun)

Bâ ḤMÂD, Moroccan grand vizier whose real name was Ahmad b. Musâ b. Ahmad al-Bukhârî. His grandfather was a black slave belonging to the sultan Mâwlây Sulaymân (1206-38/1792-1823), whose bâbîqîh he had become (see *Tâhâjîn* in Suppl.). His father likewise became bâbîqîh to Sayyîd Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Râhîmân (1276-90/1859-73), and then became grand vizier during the reign of Mâwlây al-Hasân (1290-1311/1873-94); he enjoyed a miserable reputation, but his immense fortune allowed him to connect his name with the Bâhiyya palace in Marrâkûsh, whose building he undertook to Mâwlây Ismaîl b. al-Hasân, he favoured the practices of the Hindu Sadhus and Rîshîs than by those of Lâllâ Ded, who took nothing except water, dying at the age of 63 in 842/1438. He is the patron saint of the Valley, and is greatly revered by its people. His sayings and mystical verses, like those of Lâllâ Ded, are sung and recited all over Kâghmîr. His tomb in Crâr, 20 miles south-west of Srinagar, attracts thousands of people, both Muslims and Hindus, every year.

The tendency to asceticism became more pronounced among the followers of Nûr al-Dîn Râshî, called Râshî after him. They did not marry; they abstained from meat and subsisted on dry bread and wild fruits; and they lived away from human habitations, leading a life of piety, self-denial and simplicity. They moved from place to place, planting shady and fruit-bearing trees for the benefit of the people. According to Abu ʿl-Fadl, the Râshîs “were looked upon as the most respectable class in the Valley.” But in recent years, owing to their worldliness and greed, respect for them has declined, except among the very ignorant.


Bâbînîdî (Babûnâk), from Persian bâbînî, is the common camomile, primarily *Anthemis nobilis* L. (Compositae), also called Roman camomile, but also *Matricaria chamomilla* L. (Compositae) and other varieties. The nomenclature is rather confused; it can indeed hardly be expected that the various kinds of the camomile were kept apart with precision. The term is derived from *thamum* ("apple of the earth") and was known to the Arabs partly in a transcribed form (*thâmûn*, and variants), partly as borrowed translation (ṭuffîḥ al-ard). The relatively closest determination is perhaps offered by an anonymous pharmacobotanist of Spanish-Arabic origin (very probably Abu ʿAbd al-Nabâtî b. al-Rûmîyya, 561-637/1166-1240): “There are three kinds of bâbûnîdî, the stalks, leaves and general form of which are similar to each other. The distinction between them is to be found in the colour of the blossom-leaves which enclose the yellow, situated in the middle of the blossom, for the blossoms of these three kinds are yellow in the middle. In the white kind they are enclosed by small leaves which are white inside and outside, in the purple-coloured kind by small leaves which are blue inside and outside, and in the yellow kind by small leaves which are yellow inside and outside. The distinction between the white and the chrysanthemum (al-ukhuwdîn) lies in the scent, for the chrysanthemum assumes [extraneous] scents, and all these kinds have a pleasant scent” (Nurusunmayie 3389, fols. 108b, 23-109a, 4). In general, bâbûnîdî corresponds to the ṣâlimîc of Dioscorides (*Materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 145-7 = lib. iii, 137), and appears therefore also transcribed as *aṭâmîn* (and variants). Ubkânîn just mentioned, which is uncommonly often equated with bâbûnîdî, is otherwise used by the Arabs to render the *neptûnîv* (hârînâyân, and variants) of Dioscorides (*op. cit.*, lib. iii, 130), by which we should probably understand the medical *Matricaria chamomilla*, still in use today. Ibn al-Baytrî, on the other hand, says that the "white" kind of camomile described by Dioscorides and called ubkânîn by the Arabs, has been replaced by bâbûnîdî (*Dâmî*), i, 73, 11-13 = Leclerc no. 220, at the beginning.

The blossoms of the camomile, which contain an
oil that checks inflammations, were used as a medicine for loosening spasms and for stimulating the peristaltic motion; infusions made from the blossoms ("camomile tea") were utilized externally for baths, compresses and rinses at inflammations of skin and mucous membranes, in both antiquity and in Islam in a manner similar to present practice.


(B. R. GRIMSHAW)

BADGIR [P.], literally "wind-catcher", the term used in Persia for the towers containing ventilation shafts and projecting high above the roofs of domestic houses. They are also erected over water-storage cisterns and over the mouths of mineshafts in order to create ventilation through the tunnels below. In domestic houses, cooler air is forced down either to rooms at ground level or to cellars (the zir-i zamun), and it provides an early form of air conditioning. The towers are usually substantial, square-sectioned structures with rows of apertures in all four walls, and are divided internally by thin mud-brick or timber and mud-brick partitions and baffles; but not enough of the surviving badgírs (which are mainly situated on the central plateau of Persia, e.g. around Yazd, or in the south near the Gulf coasts), and are now often falling into disrepair with the advent of modern methods for cooling air and water; have been examined scientifically and ascertain exactly how the difference in air pressure required to create a downdraft is achieved. See H. E. Wulff, The traditional crafts of Persia, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 15, 106, and E. Beazley, Some vernacular buildings of the Iranian plateau, in Iran, Jnl. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies, xv (1977), 100-1 (both with illustrations).

M. Polo mentions the badgírs of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf coast as the only things which make life bearable there in summer, and other travellers, such as Pietro della Valle and Figueroa, have left good descriptions of them (see H. Yule, The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian, London 1871, ii, 383-4).

The wind-shaft or wind-catcher was equally known in the mediaeval Arab world and has continued in use to the present day. Indeed, it seems that such contrivances were known in the buildings of the Ancient Near East, such as those of Pharaonic Egypt and Babylon. In mediaeval Arabic, the device was known by the term bádham or bádhand, derived from the alternative Persian term to badgír, bádhand (see illustration i, 47). Bada'hand was the early 'Abbásid palace of Ukhaydir in 'Irák [see ARCHITECTURE, i, 3. The 'Abbásid caliphate] we find square-sectioned ventilation shafts in the walls, and the word bádghír appears in 'Irák as bádghír. It seems probable that 'Irák formed the intermediate stage of the contrivance's spread westwards, in its new phase of life during Islamic times, to Syria and Egypt. The bádhand was already a feature of the landscape in early Fatimid times, for the astronomer Ibn Yúnus (d. 399/1008-9) [q.v.] discusses the correct orientation of what was normally a single aperture at the top of the shaft, since the prevailing cooler wind in Egypt is from the north or north-west. 'Abd al-Latíf al-Bádhádd (d. 629/1231-2) [q.v.] states that the large and ornate wind-shafts of his time cost up to 500 dinars to construct. The earliest surviving example from Cairo seems to be the shaft in the kiblah wall of the mosque of Sa'id ibn al-Murzik (558/1163) at al-alf, in the Jewish quarter of the Muslim architecture of Egypt, Oxford 1952-9, i, 284-5. The bádhand is mentioned in the Thousand and one nights, and the litterateur 'Ala′ al-Dín al-Ghazalí (d. 815/1412-3) [q.v.] devotes a chapter of his anthol. to the bádhanj, in Jnl. of Arabic Literature, viii (1978), 1-19. In modern Egypt, the usual term for the contrivance became mašlaf ["wind catcher"], noted by Lane in his Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, ch. xxiv, and still in use (see S. Spiro, An Arabic-English dictionary of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt, Cairo 1895, 544: "ventilator, air-shaft, wind-sail"); in the houses, the air-shaft usually led down to the public rooms of the kā′na or mandara, or else to another chamber used for sleeping (see A. Lezine, La protection contre la chaleur dans l'architecture musulmane d'Égypte, in BEO, xxiv (1971), 12-15).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see A. Badayev, Architectural protection against heat in the Orient, in JNES, xvii (1958), 125, 127-8 and Figs. 4, 6, 8; and see also KHAYSH.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

BADHMÁN, BADHMÁN, Persian governor in the Yemen towards the end of the Prophet Muhammad's lifetime. A Persian presence had been established in the Yemen ca. 570 A.D. when there had taken place a Yemeni national reaction under the Himyarí prince Abí Murra Sayf b. Dhlí Yázan [see SAYF b. DHLÍ YAZAN] against the Ethiopian-buckled governor Maatr b. Abraha. The Persian Emperors Khusrav Anushírwán had sent troops to support Sayf b. Dhlí Yázan, and eventually, a Persian garrison, with a military governor at its head, was set up in Sa'nšt. It was the progeny of these Persian officials and soldiers, who intermarried with the local Arab population, who became known as the Abíní [q.v.].

The Arab sources recount the story of the Persian occupation of the Yemen and give the names of the succession of Persian governors, beginning with Wahriz and his descendants and closing effectively with Badhám, who seems himself to have been unconnected with Wahriz's family (see al-Tabarí, i, 945-51; al-Dinawarí, al-Šhíhrí al-tiwaíl, Cairo.
Yemen, under ḍab, called al-Aswād or Western scholars have, however, been suspicious of political suzerainty is uncertain. The sources record Abnāʾ Abnāl, Annali, ii/1, 358, 369). Ibn al-Athlr, ii, 304; Caetani, *Islam* (ibid., 222/837, together with that of other Abnāʾ leaders such as Frīzū Dūlamī and the Abnāʾī scholars Wahb b. Munabbih [q.v.]—al-Tabarl, i, 1763; Ibn al-Athlr, ii, 304; Caetani, Annali, ii/1, 358, 369). Western scholars have, however, been suspicious of this story of the conversion of Badḥām and the Abnāʾ, and Caetani described it as “a pious fiction of the Muslim traditionists, in order to give a flavour of orthodoxy to Badḥām's nominal submission to Islam. The first Mulki war in the Yemen, under 'Aḥyāla b. Ka'b, called al-Awsad or Dhu' l-Khāmīr [see al-Awsad], now supervised. Badḥām died at this point; his son Shahr succeeded temporarily to some of his power in the Yemen in 11/632-3 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1864), but was killed by al-Awsad. Muslim political authority was probably not imposed in the Yemen by Abu Bakr's generals till 12/633-4. In any case, these events marked the end of any degree of Persian control in the Yemen, though the Abnāʾ continued as a distinct social group well into the early Islamic period (cf. al-Samānī, Anab, fac. ff. 17b-18a, ed. Hydersabad, i, 100-2).


**BADHĀM, BADHĀN BADIYĀ**

Badḥām were still strong a century or more later, with Khurrāmī sympathisers in the area expecting the return of a Mahdi (Abū-Dulaf Muḥarrar ibn Mahālab's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950), ed. and tr. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, § 15, tr. 35-6, comm. 75). A later source mentioning al-Badḥān al-Abnāʾi, Beirut 1380/1960, 511, repeats Abū Dulaf's information; and Yākūṭ's entry, Badḥān, i, 529, is laconic and uninformative.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

**BADHL AL-KUBRĀ, songstress and tāṣeṣyt in early Abbadid times, died before 227/842, probably in 224/839. She was born as a mulatto (mawṣūlaṣṣa ṣafī) in Medina and brought up in Baṣra. Daʿf, a son of the caliph al-Ḥaḍī, acquired her and, after 193/809, she became a favoured gāʿīya of al-ʿAbīn and gave birth to a son of his. Being a pupil of Ibn Dāǧmī, Fulaḥy and Ibrāhīm al-Mawsīlī she preserved the “classical” hijāʿī style of Arab music, preferring verses by hijāʿī poets also for her own compositions. She was a good songstress and lutenist (ḏarīʿa), and was famous for having a repertoire of about 30,000 songs. For ‘Ali b. Ḥiṣāmī she compiled a Kūlī fi ṭagālānī which contained 12,000 song texts (without musical indications), and this became one of the sources of Abu ʿl-Farāḍī al-Ṭabāhání (22 quotations). ‘Ali b. Ḥiṣāmī rewarded her with 10,000 dinārs, and when she died, she left a fortune, which was inherited by the descendants of ‘Abī Ḍabī b. al-ʿĀthīn. Among her pupils were Dānnārīt and Mūṣayyam al-Ḥishmīyya.


**BADĪʾI [see MARRĀKŪṢI]**

**BADIYA [A.** meant, in the Umayyad period, a residence in the countryside (whence the verb tabāddūt), an estate in the environs of a settlement or a rural landed property in the Syro-Jordanian steppeland.

For Musīl, the bādīʿa was the successor to the summer encampment called by the old Syrian Bedouin name of al-tāṣeṣyt. At the opening of the 20th century, the sense was restricted by archaeologists to the desert castles. They went so far as to construct theories about the attraction of the Bedouin Way of life for the Umayyads and about the conservatory role of the desert in upholding certain very persistent traditions stronger than those of the nascent Islam. Since the Umayyads were of urban Meccan origin, it is hardly necessary to look for an atavistic Bedouinism in order to explain their preferences for the bādīʿāyān.

The new masters of Syria replaced, in the towns as in the countryside, the old landholders, whose territories, abandoned at the time of the Islamic conquest, were part of the plunder distributed to the great men. It was said that they sought outside Damascus, their official capital, purer air, the freshness of summer nights, protection against epidemics and vast, open spaces for hunting; in fact, the Umayyads had a keen sense of the value of the land and the possibilities of financial return from fertile agricultural properties.

The agricultural development of Syria goes back well into Roman times. Exploitation of the soil developed in regions where the water supply was difficult, necessitating an elaborate system of irri-
gation and water conservation which could only be undertaken with state aid or the injection of private capital and which was not to survive the down-fall of the Umayyads. One very often finds an adaptation of earlier Romano-Byzantine or Qassānīd installations as at Kārgatayn, the Byzantine Nazala, at Kūṣayfī, Ptolemy's Aitera, at the Roman station of Usays or at the classical and Byzantine centre of Bayt Rās [q.v.]. Alternatively, there were new buildings erected, as at the Taqṣ al-Ḥayrī [q.v.] or at Taqṣ al-Ḥallābāt. These were not "desert palaces" so much as "palace-towns", to be considered as essentially Umayyad and constructed on the plan of the small forts inherited from the "centre of the times", which had themselves been replaced by the rural foundations of the Qassānīd. There is virtually no Umayyad construction which does not utilise classical structures or earlier foundations. No residence is to be found in the deep desert, and they are all built in a zone within the "times" which had been cultivated and populated since Hellenistic times and had been protected against any possible occupation by Bedouins who might damage the crops. After harvest, the sheep-raising tribes were allowed to pasture their flocks on the cultivated lands, which then benefited from their dung.

The bādiya are generally to be found where there is a water supply, either on a line of transhumance, thus permitting contacts with the Bedouin tribes, or else near some great artery of communication like the routes from Damascus and Baṣra towards Taymā'a, the road from Damascus to Kaḥriṣiyā [q.v.], and the route which runs along the cultivable margin of the Ifamud from Ruṣāla of al-Nu'mān as far as Taymā'a, passing through Tadmur or Palmyra, Bakhrā [q.v.], Dīlīk [q.v.], Dhālīs [q.v. below] and Kūṣayfī [see Būrka below]. Their construction along the communication routes permits one to attribute a function of khaṣān [q.v.] or caravanserais to them, in particular for certain constructions in the Wadī 'Arabā listed by J. Sauvaget.

The Umayyads liked to stay to the south of Damascus, on the Qassānīd sites of Diṣbāiya and Dīlīk [q.v.], and often spent the winter in the Jordan valley at al-Sinnabra or in the palaces built at Kūṣayfī or Kharībat al-Maḏgar [q.v.]. Their movements around were often dictated by the need to visit agriculturally productive centres. They had a special liking for the region of the Bakkā [q.v.], where their residences among the mild oases are numerous around Mḥattā [q.v.], an unfinished work of the caliph al-Walīd II [q.v.], which marks the end of the architectural evolution of the bādiya.

Bādiya can be a synonym of kasr [q.v.], when it is a question of a residence erected within a four-sided enclosure with dimensions recalling those of Roman small forts. The walls are provided with round towers, unknown in Roman and Byzantine fortifications. There is a central courtyard within on to which open rooms grouped in separate units and forming bays and backed by blind external walls which keep the environment cool and increase the building's defensive potential. The disposition of internal arrangements is on the axes, and opposite the entrance gate flanked by monumental towers is an audience chamber usually basilical in plan with apse at the end of greater or lesser importance. On the floors above are lodging suites of rooms divided according to the same plan as those on the ground floor. These last are decorated with marble slabs, stucco work, frescoes and mosaics. In the immediate vicinity of the princely residence there may well be a mosque and a bath. As at Djabal Saws. Certain bādiya were used as centres for hunting (muṣayyad), like Abā'ir or Kūṣayfī 'Amra. A good picture of the architectural activities of the Umayyads in the bādiya is given by Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in his K. al-


[N. ELISSÉEFF]

BADR-I ČAČI, fully BADR AL-DIN MUHAMMAD ČAČI, poet of the 8th/14th century Dīhlī Sultanate. A native of Čač (Ṣayḥ, Taṣkaṇ), he migrated to India and rose to favour at the court of Sultan Muhammad b. Tūghlāk [q.v.], who conferred on him the style of Faḫr al-Żamān. His khaṣān, which contain references to a number of contemporary events, with the dates often expressed in chronograms, constitute an important source for a period which is notoriously obscure and controversial. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that his Shīhānāma, an epic chronicle of Muhammad’s reign completed in 745/1344-5, has not survived: it was still extant in the late 19th/16th century, when the Mogul historian Bediʿūnī (Mtaṣḥah al-tawdīnkh, ed. M. Ahmad Ḥāʾī, Calcutta 1894-9, 3 vols., Bibl. Indica, i, 241) describes it as a "treasure".


BADR AL-MUFADDAL, Abu ‘l-Naqī, commander-in-chief of the armies of the caliph al-Muṭaffid (279-89/892-902). He was the son of one of al-Muṭawakkil’s nāwawīl, whose name cannot be established with certainty (Khurr or Khayr?), and was first in service as an equerry to al-Muwaffak, gaining from him the style of Fakhr al-ʿAmr. He migrated to India and rose to favour at the court of Sultan Muhammad b. Tūghlāk [q.v.], who conferred on him the style of Faḫr al-Żamān. His khaṣān, which contain references to a number of contemporary events, with the dates often expressed in chronograms, constitute an important source for a period which is notoriously obscure and controversial. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that his Shīhānāma, an epic chronicle of Muhammad’s reign completed in 745/1344-5, has not survived: it was still extant in the late 19th/16th century, when the Mogul historian Bediʿūnī (Mtaṣḥah al-tawdīnkh, ed. M. Ahmad Ḥāʾī, Calcutta 1894-9, 3 vols., Bibl. Indica, i, 241) describes it as a "treasure".


P. JACKSON

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one of his daughters in marriage to al-Mu'tadid's son, the future al-Muktadir, increasing his influence still further. He had the right to be addressed by his kunya, the poets, and Abū Bakra al-Sūrī in particular, did not fail to include him in their eulogies of the caliph. It was because of his exceptional position that he acquired the name of “al-Mu'tadid,” distinguishing him moreover from several homonyms.

In 288/901 he pleaded in favour of al-Kāsim b. Ubayd Allāh [see SULAYMĀN b. WĀHIB] who was made vizier thanks to his intervention, but who failed to take part in his machinations against the sons of the caliph. It was because of his exceptional position that he acquired the name of “al-Mu'tadid,” distinguishing him moreover from several homonyms.

In 288/901 he pleaded in favour of al-Kāsim b. Ubayd Allāh [see SULAYMĀN b. WĀHIB], who was made vizier thanks to his intervention, but who failed to show him much gratitude for it. In fact, Badr refused to take part in his machinations against the sons of al-Mu'tadid, so that al-Kāsim, fearing denunciation, took care immediately on the accession of al-Muktāfī (289-935/1402-48) to blacken Badr's name in the eyes of the new caliph and probably to profit also by the hostility towards Badr of certain other commanders. Badr fled to Wāṣiṭ, but was invited to return to Baghdād under a guarantee of amān; in the course of his trip up the Tigris, he was attacked on the heights of al-Madāʾīn by al-Kāsim's agents, who cut off his head whilst he was at prayer and sent it to al-Muktāfī (6 Ramdān 289/14 August 902). His body was left on the spot and was later carried away by his family for burial at Mecca. This murder was denounced by the poets and imputed to the caliph, who might have hoped to find more tractable; this proved in fact the case, and the new caliph agreed subsequently in 393/994 to become betrothed to Bahā al-Dawla's own daughter, though she died before the marriage could take place. The amīr also secured from the caliph at this time a fresh grant of titles; and it is from this year that the ancient Iranian title šahānshāh, used unofficially by his father, appears on his coins (cf. W. Madelung, The assumption of the title šahānshāh by the Buyids and “The reign of the Daylam (Dawlat al-Daylam)”, in JNES, xxviii [1969], 174-5). Bahā al-Dawla now had to face the ambitions of Fakhr al-Dawla (who, urged on by his vizier the Sābīb Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād [see IBN 'ABBĀD], had on Aţūd al-Dawla's death himself assumed the title of šahānshāh and the implied headship of the Buyid family), and northern Irāq against various local Arab and Kurdish chiefs. Šamsām al-Dawla, after his escape, took advantage of unrest in Irāq and of Bahā al-Dawla's preoccupation with internal strife in Baghdād—the divisions of the Sunnī and Shi'ī populations and of the Turkish and Daylam elements in the Buyid army—and seized Ahwāz and Baṣra. Bahā al-Dawla secured the alliance of the ruler of the Baṭṭaḵa, Muḥādhdhib al-Dawla 'Alī b. Naṣr, and of the Kurdish prince Badr b. Ḵaṣānīya [see ḴAṢĀNĪYAH]. Even so, his vizier and general Abū 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Muwaṭṭāk could make little headway against Šamsām al-Dawla's skilful commander Abū 'Alī al-Ḫasan b. Ustādī-Harmūz. After several oscillations in the fortunes of war, Šamsām al-Dawla was in 388/998 assassinated near Isfahān by Abū Naṣr Ṣāḥī-Frūz, a son of Aţūd al-Dawla's cousin and former rival Izz al-Dawla Baktīyār, Abū 'Alī b. Ustādī-Harmūz now came over to Bahā al-Dawla's side with the remnant of Šamsām al-Dawla's Daylamī troops. Once Abū Naṣr Ṣāḥī-Frūz had been killed in Kirmān, Bahā al-Dawla was sole master of the southern provinces of Persia, Fars and Kirmān, and of their dependency Ummān. Two years later, his implacable enemy Fakhr al-Dawla died, and his successor in Ray and Hamadān, the young and inexperienced Madjīd al-Dawla Rustam and Šams al-Dawla Abū Tāhir respectively, acknowledged Bahā al-Dawla's supreme overlordship, as coins minted at Ray from 400/1009-10 and at Hamadān from 401/1010-11 attest.

Bahā al-Dawla now moved his capital from Irāq to Šīrāz, captured from the temporary control of the sons of Izz al-Dawla, and never returned to it in Baghdād. The move eastwards showed that he regarded southern Persia as the heartland of the Buyid dominions, and except for the brief occupation in 399-1/1000-1 of Kirmān by the Saffārīd Tāhir b. Ḵalaf, the Persian lands remained generally peaceful. But the relinquishing of Baghdād as capital meant a distinct relaxation...
of control in Ḣirāq, which was henceforth entrusted to governors (for much of this period, until his death in 401/1010-11, to the ‘Āmil al-Dhiyūyah Abū ‘All b. Uṣūl-Ḥurmuz) at a time when powerful ene-
cies were rearing their heads there. Bahā’ al-Dawla’s departure for ‘Irāq allowed the caliph al-Kadr to enjoy more freedom of action and tentatively to assert his authority, especially over the protection of Sunni interests against Shi‘i policies of the Buyūd amīr [see al-Kādir Bīlāh for details]. Above all, the confused situation in Ḣirāq after ‘Abd al-Dawla’s death and the squabbling of his sons in Fars over control of the empire had allowed local Arab potentates in Ḣirāq to extend their power at Buyūd expense, so that direct Buyūd authority was to be for much of Bahā’ al-Dawla’s reign confined to Baghdād and Wāsīt and their immediate vicinities. In northern Ḣirāq there were the ‘Ukaylids [q.v.] of Mawsīl; Bahā’ al-Dawla’s sent against the amīr Abū ‘1-Dhawwad al-Dawla. In 396/1006 a coalition of Badr b. ‘Alī b. Wasil’s Kurds and Ibn Wasil’s forces were able to besiege Baghdād, but the capital was saved by Ibn Wāsīl’s being captured and then executed (397/1006). An attempt was made to conciliate the Arab amīrs of Ḣirāq, so that the ‘Ukaylīd, Khwāzī b. al-Mukallad was in 397/1006-7 awarded the rule of Mawsīl; Bahā’ al-Dawla sent against the Khafadja and man-
ed the ‘Ukaylīds, drove off the Khafadja and man-
ed thus from the “al-Karkhi” frequently found in western sources, the latter dedicating to the governor for Bahā’ al-Dawla in Baghdād and distant pres-
tation of outstanding poets in his circle at Shālīz (al-Tarā‘ībi in his Tatmatt al-Tatima, ed. Eghbal, i, 16-
18, 26-30, mentions only two poets of note, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Husayn al-Mughallīs and Abū Sa‘īd al-
Hamadhanī), there is reason to suppose that Bahā’ al-Dawla continued the tradition of patronage of Arabic learning established by ‘Abd al-Dawla before him. Certainly, Samsām al-Dawla had as his vizier for two years Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Husayn b. Ahmad, Ibn Sa‘īd [q.v.], whose circle of scholars is known to us through the works of Abū Ḥayyān al-
Tawḥīdī, and Ṣalār al-Dawla was the patron of the distinguished astronomer Abū Sa‘īd al-Kūfī [q.v.]. Abū Nasr Ṣalāʾīr b. Ardašīr (d. 416/1025 [see Sā‘ūr b. Ardašīr in EI]), who served Bahā’ al-Dawla as vizier on several brief occasions during the first part of his amīrīme, seems to have been a scholar of outstanding calibre, considered by Ṣalārī as worthy of a separate section in his anthology because of the quality of the poetry dedicated to him by such figures as Abū ‘1-Farajī al-Babḡaḥī, Ibn Lu’lu’ and Abū ‘1-Allāh al-Ma‘arrī (Ṭattimat al-dahr, ed. Damascus, ii, 290-7, ed. Cairo 1575-1956-8, iii, 119-36; whilst the governor for Bahā’ al-Dawla in Baghdād and subsequently for his successor Sulṭān al-Dawla Ḥafṣ b. Ṣa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-Mulk was the patron of the poet Muṣājr al-Da‘lamī [q.v.]; and of the mathematician of Baghdād Abū Bakr Muhammad al-Karaḍjī [q.v.; the nisba to be corrected thus from the “al-Karštī” frequently found in western sources], the latter dedicating to the govern-
or his treatise on algebra al-Kišāb al-Fāgīrī fi ț-ţabar wa 1-makāhāla.

Bibliography: Miskawayh’s chronicle stops short of Bahā’ al-Dawla’s reign, but much detailed histori-
tical material is to be found in the Dā’īr wa ‘l-Shidīrī of ‘Alī b. Rūhīwarrī (up to 389/999) and in the surviving fragment of Hīlāl al-Sā‘īdī’s Tawḥīdī covering 389-93/999-1003 (both sources forming vol. iii of Margoliouth and Amedroz’s Eclipse of the ‘Abbasid caliphate, tr. vol. vi, the latter source being utilised by H.F. Amedroz for his study Three years of Buwaihid rule in Baghdad, A.H. 389-393, in JRAÉ [1901], 501-36, 749-86). These specifically Buwaihid sources can be filled out and supplemented by the general chronicles of Ibn al-Aṯīr, ix, Ibn al-
Djawātī, vii, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Dawāzī, the latter two especially important for events in Baghdād and ‘Irāq.

2 Of secondary literature, there are connected accounts of Bahā’ al-Dawla’s amīrīme and of the cultural life of the period in Maḥzūlāh Kabīr, The Buwaihid dynasty of Baghdad (334/946-447/1055), Calcutta 1964, 77-91, 179 ff; in H. Busse, Chalīf und Grosskönig, die Buwaihiden im Iran (945-1055), Beirut-
Wiesbaden 1969, 67 ff. and index; and in idem, ch. ‘Irāq under the Buwaihids, in Camb. hist. of Iran, iv, ed. R.N. Frye, Cambridge 1975, 289-96. The extensive bibliography in Busse’s book expands and brings up-to-date that of the article BUWAYHIDS [q.v.].

C.E. Bosworth

BAHIYYA I. The navy of the Arabs up to 1250. Although Near Eastern writers in mediaeval
times did not address themselves specifically to the subject of bahriyya, references to seafaring activities made by Arab, Byzantine, southern and western European chroniclers, geographers and travellers, as well as pertinent details found in the Arabic papyri and the Geniza documents, provide a considerable body of information concerning the rise and fall of the Arab navy.

The naval requirements of the Arabs were dictated by the necessity of defending their Mediterranean territories—stretching from Cilicia and Syria in the East to the Spanish Levante seaboard in the West—and of protecting their shipping, as well as by their offensive operations against Christian enemies in the Mediterranean. Until the appearance of aggressive Italian fleets and the coming of the Crusaders, Muslim sea power, along with that of the Byzantines, constituted the dominant factor in mediaeval Mediterranean naval history.

The organisation and command structure of the bahriyya were affected by the policy and strategy of the caliphate. In the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, the naval organisation involved several naval districts and distinct, self-controlled fleets. The naval districts, with their strategic ports (thughr, pl. thughār [q.v.]) and warships, remained under the jurisdiction of commanders appointed by the caliph and responsible for the supervision of the construction and equipment of the ships; for their safety in the winter bases; for the selection of the entire naval personnel; for gathering and analysing naval intelligence; and for giving operational orders. With the decline of the caliphal, the organisational, logistic, and operational responsibility for the bahriyya rested with those dynamic regimes whose power was based on the coastal provinces, whether they enjoyed a sovereign status, as was the case of the Fatimids, or that of local dynasties, like the Aghlabids, the Ṭūnūnids, the Ikhshīdīds and the Ayyūbīds [q.v.].

An essential feature of the bahriyya were the dār al-jinʿa (sing. dār al-jinʿa [q.v.]). These naval installations served not only as operational bases, but also as shipyards, naval arsenals and as the manpower centres supplying sailors and combat personnel. The number and activity of these installations depended on the degree of concern for naval matters of individual regimes. The latter ensured the operations of the installations by raising taxes specifically earmarked for naval expenditure; by procuring raw materials needed for the construction and fitting of warships; and by conscripting the necessary manpower. The Muslim naval inventory involved a great diversity of combat and support vessels. In fact “the Muslim navy not only had a variety of names for a single type, but a single name for a variety of types” (A.M. Fahmy, *Muslim naval organization, 137*).

A fleet (al-nutil [q.v.]) was commanded by the nāʿī (al-nutil [commander of the fleet]) selected among the top naval officers (al-karmadīd); but the care of weapons and direction of naval action were discharged by the chief sailor (kāʿī al-naʿāṭīfā); The crews of the warships were made up of sailors (nāṭī, pl. naʿāṭī); oarsmen (kadhīḥatā); craftsmen and workmen (dhawu ṭ-sināʾa wa ʿṭ-mubāh); as well as of the fighting men, such as the naphtha throwers (al-nafūṣītān) and the marines. The actual fighting involved both the bombardment with combustible projectiles, and the sub-sea operations, boarding and hand-to-hand combat of the marines. The latter were employed also for landing raids.

The early history of the bahriyya was highlighted by the raids against Cyprus in 28/649 and 33/655; by the victory over a Byzantine armada in the Battle of the Masts (Dhār al-Šawār [q.v. in Suppl.] in 34/655; and by the two sieges of Constantinople in 54-59/765-9 and 98-9/717-18), during which the Muslim fleets attempted to blockade maritime access to the imperial capital, and supported logistically the Arab land forces. In that period Muslim squadrons sailed Sicily in 32-3/652 and 46/666-7, temporarily occupied Rhodes in 52/672 or 53/673 and Arwād (Cyzicus) in 54/673, and raided Crete in 55/674. In the first half of the 3rd/9th century, the position of the bahriyya was enhanced by the reassertion of Muslim influence over Cyprus [see KURRUS] and the conquest of Crete [see KILTIN]; both these strategic islands facilitated offensive operations against Byzantine possessions. Regular Muslim fleets were stationed at Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, Ṭāqūq, Tyre, Sidon and Ṭarsūs. In the Western Mediterranean, the navy of the Aghlabids engaged in relentless attacks against Sicily [see SIKILLIYYA] and the southern and western shores of Italy from the naval base of Tunis.

The pursuit of ambitious political goals in Egypt and Syria by Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn (254-70/868-84) entailed both an expansion of naval installations, especially those of ‘Akkā, and the strengthening of naval squadrons. His example was emulated by Muhammad b. Ṭugghūd al-Ikhshīd (323-34/935-46); but neither the fleet of the Ṭūnūnids nor that of the Ikhshīdīds proved to be very effective. The former was annihilated in 293/905 by a small ‘Abbāsid fleet, the latter was unable to support Crete and Cyprus against the resurgent Byzantine navy. On the other hand, in 291/902 the Muslim bahriyya achieved a great success when Aghlabid naval forces conquered Sicily.

Following the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete (350/961) and Cyprus (352/963), the difficult task of upholding the prestige of the bahriyya was taken over by the Fāṭimids. Having inherited strong naval traditions from the Aghlabids, the Fāṭimids undertook a major expansion of the fleet. Their powerful naval squadrons proved instrumental in contesting supremacy in the western Mediterranean. Malta, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic and other islands were attacked. In 324-5/935 a Fāṭimid fleet harried the southern coast of France, took Genoa, and coasted along Calabria, carrying off slaves and other booty. In 344/955 another Fāṭimid fleet raided the coasts of Umarrad Spain. In 358/969 a powerful Fāṭimid armada participated in the conquest of Egypt. Concerned with the offensive operations of the Byzantines, as well as with the need for preserving the unity of their realm, which stretched from North Africa to Syria, the Fāṭimids attached great importance to the status of their navy. They founded a “Department of the Holy War or of Maritime Constructions” (*Diwan al-Qabd aw Diwan al-ʿAmrī*). Ships were built in Alexandria, Damietta, at the island of Rawda, in Mīr, and in the new dockyards of al-Maṣṣ, which alone is credited with producing 600 vessels. Availability of the services of the Syrian thughr, such as Ṭyr and Tripoli, extended the operational capacity of the Fāṭimid fleet in the eastern Mediterranean.

In the 5th/11th century the power of the bahriyya began to decline. The North African provinces slipped away from the Fāṭimids. The fleets of the Italian mercantile republics asserted their preponderance in the western Mediterranean and began
to raid with virtual impunity the Algerian and Tunisian shores. The dynamic Normans conquered Sicily and Southern Italy, and then began preparations for expansionist moves in Eastern Mediterranean. In the first half of the 6th/12th century, the victory of the Crusaders at 292/1875 marked the decisive end to Fatimid naval forces, and resulted in the loss of all Islamic coastal towns with the exception of Askalan. After the surrender of that fortress in 548/1153, the coast of Egypt became an easy target for Norman, Italian and Byzantine squadrons. An attempt to challenge the Christian naval power was made by Salah al-Din (567-89/1171-93), the supplanter of the Fatimids. He increased the salaries of the sailors, re-forced Egyptian naval bases, and created a special office of the fleet (dībān al-ustūl), to which several branches of Egyptian revenue contributed. In 574-5/1179 his fleet counted 80 vessels, of which 60 were galleys and 20 transports. Although the revived naval power achieved some success during Salah al-Din’s struggle against the Crusaders (including an effective counter-attack in Dhu ‘l-Hijja 578/February 1183 against a daring Frankish penetration of the lighthouse immune Red Sea waters), it proved impotent to prevent the movement of Christian fleets bringing new hosts of European warriors eager to fight against the Muslim conquerors of Jerusalem. The Third Crusade (585-7/1189-91) did not recover the Holy City, but it delivered a mortal blow to the Egyptian navy, whose squadrons tried suicidally to support the garrison of Akkā blocked by a tremendous concentration of European fleets. According to al-Makrizi (766-806/1364-1422), "After the death of Salah al-Din the affairs of the fleet were given little attention. Service in the navy was considered to be a disgrace to such an extent that to call at an Egyptian ‘You sailor!’ was treated as an insult. What a change from the days when the names of the sailors were invoked in the prayers of the people, and from the times when these very sailors had been called the called soldiers of God, waging the Holy War against the foes of Allah!"


(A.S. Ehrenkreutz)

II, III [See Vol. I, 945 ff.]

BAKHIT AL-MUTTI AL-HANAFI, MUHAMMAD, mufti of Egypt from 1914 until 1921. He was born in the village of al-Muṭṭa‘a in the province of Asyut on 10 Muharram 1327/24 September 1854. After completion of his studies at al-Azhār in 1275/1859, he remained attached to that institution as a teacher until 1297/1880, when he was appointed kādi of al-Kalā‘īyya province. This was the beginning of his career in the judiciary, in which he served as provincial judge in various resorts, as kādi of Alexandria, as kādi of Cairo, and in a number of other high positions such as the office of Inspector and the office of mufti in the Ministry of Justice, prior to his appointment as mufti of Egypt on 21 December 1914. In the course of his career he was involved, either directly or indirectly, in notable events of the day, such as the intrigues against reform in al-Azhār, as sponsored by Muhammad ‘Abduh (cf. Ahmad Shafik, Mudhakkārtī fi nisf qarn, Cairo 1936, ii, part 2, 35), the complications surrounding the marriage of ‘Alī Yūsuf (ibid., 61), and the events of 1921, preceding Egyptian independence (cf. Shafik, iii, 275 ff.). He was a member of al-Rābi‘a al-Shārīkhīyya [q.v.], but resigned from this association in 1925 in protest to the efforts of some of its members to intervene in the affairs of the intended trial of ‘Alī al-Rāzik (cf. Ahmad Shafik, ‘Ammāl bi mdhdakkarūtī, Cairo 1941, 183 ff.). The latter’s Islam wa-nṣūl al-bahrūn was severely criticised by Muhammad Bakhīt in his Ḥakīkat al-Islām wa-nṣūl al-bahrūn, Cairo 1344/1925-6. This book, as well as publications with suggestive titles such as al-Murahhīfīyya ‘l-‘ilmīyya ‘l-muṣarrūt ‘an ‘l-muṭṣarrūt al-bahrūn (al-bahrūn ‘alā ‘l-‘ālī ‘l-tarmīṣ), Cairo 1944/1925-6; Ḥṣādir ‘al-kārin ‘a‘l-wa’s ‘alā ‘l-salāt, ilā ‘l-ta‘lāk ughā tam ‘alāmar ghar khar, Cairo 1348/1929-30; Haddīt ‘Alā‘ al-‘ālī ‘alā ‘l-bahrūn, Cairo 1954, 189 ff.; and al-Ḥāṣi ‘alā ‘l-bahrūn ‘l-fakhrīs ‘l-fa‘ṣīlīs, Cairo 1945, 189 ff., contributed to the emphasis placed on the role of women, and the campaign for abolition of the ṣawq aḥlī. Other publications such as his Thānī al-bahrūn al-isldmiyya, Cairo 1923, 3; and Thānī al-bahrūn al-isldmiyya, Cairo 1925, 3, show his concern with problems surrounding the marriage of Ali Yusuf (cf. Ahmad Shafik, ‘Ammāl bi-mdhdakkarūtī, Cairo 1941, 183 ff.). The latter’s Islam wa-nṣūl al-bahrūn was severely criticised by Muhammad Bakhīt in his Ḥakīkat al-Islām wa-nṣūl al-bahrūn, Cairo 1344/1925-6. This book, as well as publications with suggestive titles such as al-Murahhīfīyya ‘l-‘ilmīyya ‘l-muṣarrūt ‘an ‘l-muṭṣarrūt al-bahrūn (al-bahrūn ‘alā ‘l-‘ālī ‘l-tarmīṣ), Cairo 1944/1925-6; Ḥṣādir ‘al-kārin ‘a‘l-wa’s ‘alā ‘l-salāt, ilā ‘l-ta‘lāk ughā tam ‘alāmar ghar khar, Cairo 1348/1929-30; Haddīt ‘Alā‘ al-‘ālī ‘alā ‘l-bahrūn, Cairo 1954, 189 ff.; and al-Ḥāṣi ‘alā ‘l-bahrūn ‘l-fakhrīs ‘l-fa‘ṣīlīs, Cairo 1945, 189 ff., show his concern with problems arising out of the confrontation of Islam with the results of Western science and technology. Muhammad Bakhīt died on 20 Radjab 1354/18 October 1935.


F. de Jong}

BAKĪ BULLĀH, KHĀRAṢA, Sūfi saint of Muslim India, born in Kābul in 971/1563-4. His father, Kādi ‘Abd al-Salam Khalīdi Samarkandī, was a scholarly Sūfi, and his mother a descendant of Shaykh ‘Ubayd Allah Ahrār (d. 896/1491), the distinguished saint of the Nakshbandī order. [see AHRĀR, KHĀRAṢA, above]. He completed his early
education and then studied the religious sciences under the guidance of Mawlānā Sādīk Ḥalwā’ī, who had stayed in Kābul at the persuasion of Mīrzā Ḥakīm in 978/1570-1 on his way back from the Hidjaz to Samarkhind. After some time, he accompanied Ḥalwā’ī to Transoxiana, and there he outshone other students of his in Islamic theology. As he was inclined towards piety and Sufism, he visited exercises, to the point that his health was adversely affected. Hence he turned to India and the famous Sufis and developed a desire for spiritual perfection.

In 978/1570-1 on his way back from the Hidjaz, ʻAbd al-Dulāf, the brother of Ma‘dīl b. ‘Īsā, interceded on his behalf for the prince to pardon Ibn al-ʻAttār’s indiscretions, which led to similar eulogies on Ma‘dīl and an elegy on his death. Ibn al-ʻAttār also mourned the death of Mālik b. ‘Alī al-ʻKhūzā‘ī, at whose side he had fought in campaigns against the ʻKhāridjīs of the district of Ḥulwān. He is also found in Kirmān, where he received a regular stipend, and at the side of Mālik b. Tawq [see AL-RAHBA], to whom he dedicated some panegyrics. However, the chronology of all these events is far from certain, and it is most unlikely that he could have praised the latter person (who died in 260/874), at least if he himself died in 192/808, which an allusion to his loss in the Dīwān of Abu ʻl-ʻAttābiyya (ed. Beitrü 1964, 105, rhyme ʻātī, metre san’sī) seems to support.

The critics recognised that he handled with talent the various poetical genres, though at the same time criticising him for certain exaggerations on occasion. His eulogies and elegies remain within the Bedouin tradition, but several poems in which he hymns a Ḍiyā‘a called Durrā have a more modernist form; it was because these were set to music that Bakr b. al-ʻAttār merited a notice in the Aḥṣā‘ī. Out of his total poetic production, which ran to a hundred or so leaves (Ferāīa, 292), Ahmad b. Abī Tāhir Tayfūr made a selection (Hikāyāt šīr Bakr b. al-ʻAttār) which Yakūt cites (Udbā‘, ii, 92).

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Dāhīz, Hayawan, iii, 196, iv, 232; Ibn Kūtayba, ʻUyūn, index; Mubarrad, Kamil, 561-2, 708-9, 853; Ibn al-ʻAttār, Tahātā, 99-103; Abū Tāmmār, Hamīs, ii, 88-9; Kāfī, Amālī, i, 227; Bakrī, Simīt al-ʻalārī, 520; Maʻṣūdī, Marījī, vi, 140 = § 2824; Aḥṣā‘ī, xix, 36-52; Ibn ʻAbī Rabīb, ed. Cairo 1940, 275; Tawhīdī, Ḥubb, iii, 50; Marzūbānī, Muṣawwīk, 298; ʻAskarī, ʻSā’ātāgīn, index; Ibn Khallikān, Wafatūs, in the notice no. 511; Ibn ʻAlīk, Fāsūd, no. 62; Ibn Ṭabākī, ʻUmda, ii, 55, 145; ʻKhātīf Ḥulwānī, ʻTārīkh, vii, 90; Ḥusrī, Ḥār al-ʻaddāb, 596, 966-7, 1017; Nuwayrī, Nīyāh, ii, 18; J. E. Benckes, Le voies d’une création, Sorbonne thesis 1971 (unpublished), index; Wahhābī, Marījī, iii, 114-5; Bostānī, DM, iv, 105-6; Zirklī, ʻĀlam, ii, 46.

**BAKRI, MUHAMMAD TAWFIK B. AL-BAKRI,** Egyptian religious dignitary. He was born in Cairo on 27 Djamāda II 1287/24 August 1870, and was appointed ḥakīm al-ʻaqrāfī [q.v.], ʻānīkh maṣīḥiyyāt al-turk al-ṣūfīyya (head of the tarbīāh [q.v.]), and head of al-Bakriyya [q.v.] in January 1892 in succession to his deceased brother Abū al-Bakr, obtaining life-membership of the maṣīḥiyya al-ṣūfīyya (Legislative Council) and of the ʻajamīyya al-ṣīmāmīyya (General Assembly) in that very same year. During the period in which he held the office of ʻānīkh maṣīḥiyyāt al-turk al-ṣūfīyya, various regulations for the Shī‘ī orders in Egypt were introduced. These regulations, which were in force until 1976, allowed him to re-establish the authority over the orders to which the head of al-Bakriyya had been legally entitled since 1812, and
January 1895 by the Khedive Abbas Hilmi, who must have aimed at curbing al-Bakri’s aspirations to political significance, as was suggested by Mahir Mustafa in his effort to achieve freedom from British tutelage, relating to the Egyptian nationalists in his efforts aimed at the deposition of the khedive and put, and gives further references. An autobiographical work was published by Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakri, Cairo 1967, referred to in this article. It contains amongst others a lengthy discussion of his publishing activities and of his literary output, and puts further references. An autobiography is to be found in his Bayt al-Sidid, Cairo 1923/1905, 11 ff. For a discussion of the nature and of the impact of the regulations introduced under his auspices and of his political activities, see F. de Jong, Al-Muhammed al-Bakriyya and the transformation of their authority in 19th century Egypt, in A. Dietrich (ed.), Akten des vii. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft, Götttingen 1976, 224 ff.; and idem: The urban institutions in 19th century Egypt, Leiden 1978, where additional references may be found. (F. DE JONG) BALANCE [see MITJEKT AL-BERKSEH, MIZAN].

Abu ‘l-Fath Uthman b. Isā b. Mансūr b. Muhammad, Tā’ī al-Dīn, grammarian, poet and adīb, originally from the town of Balad on the Tigris, which also had the name of Balat (see Yākūt, i, 721), whence his nāma of al-Balatī, sometimes given in short as Balatī. From 1905 Abu ‘l-Fath went first of all to teach in Syria, and then, when Saladin assumed power in Egypt (567/1171), he migrated to Cairo where the new sultan allotted to him a fixed stipend and appointed him to teach grammar and the Kur’an in one of the mosques of the town. He remained there till his death on 19 Safar 599/7 November 1202; his corpse was not discovered till three days after his death because the people of Cairo were preoccupied with the famine then raging and were unconcerned with each other.

Thanks to ‘Imād al-Dīn al-‘Isāhānī (519/1125-1201 [A.H.]), who knew him personally, and to a şarī‘ī called Abu Dī‘ār al-Ibrāhīm (apparently not to be confused with the famous geographer) who had been his pupil and who was in contact with Yākūt (d. 626/1129), we possess a very detailed physical description of this scholar and information on his habits. He was tall, corpulent, with a lofty forehead, a long beard and a ruddy complexion; he was very susceptible to cold, always wrapped himself up, took a thousand precautions when he went to the hammān and hardly went outside in winter. He had the reputation of being extremely learned in all the literary fields, but his personal conduct left something to be desired; he apparently sought the company of dissolute persons and sometimes got drunk.

The examples which have been preserved from his poetry show that it was of traditional type, and some poems show a special aptitude for verbal pyrotechnics in the vein of his time (all through one kasida, a differing word in each verse which could be read equally well in the three grammatical cases; a rhyme in -ānī which exhausts the lexicon’s possibilities; a schema ma‘ṣulara arbitrarily constructed; etc.). Nevertheless, he also wrote a long poem in
praise of al-Kaḍi al-Faḍlī [q.v.], in which Saladin's secretary is placed above al-Džāhīz, Ibn 'Abbād and Ibn al-'Azmī, as well as a muwashshahā whose khāridjī is not however in accordance with the rules, since it is in literary Arabic.

Al-Balāṭī is, in addition to his poetry, the author of various works: a Kāf al-Arḍūl al-kabīr, a K. al-Arḍūl al-sagḥīr, a K. al-Faṭḥūl al-muṣsidījī, a K. al-Naṣīrījī, a K. ʿAkbārī al-Mutanabbi, a K. al-Mustaṣďījī al-muṣsidījī min faʿalat al-adīfījī, a K. ʿIjm aḍḥākī al-ḥuttaṭī, a K. al-Ṭaṣḥīh wa ʿl-tawbrīh and a K. Taṭīl al-ḥudūṭī.


(Ch. Pellat)

BALBAN, GHĪYĀTH AL-DĪN ULUGH KHĀN, the most prominent of the slave Sultans of Dihlī, was originally a Turkish slave of the Ilbarl clan. A member of the famous corps of Forty Slaves or Chiḥlūgdlī raised by Sultan Iltutmīsh, Balbān rose, by dint of sheer merit and ability, to be the minister and deputy (naʿdī-ī-mamālīk) of the ascetic king Nasir al-Dīn Iltutmīsh, and a master of the ascetic kind of the Mongol Bihām Shāhī (644-664/1246-65), to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. As ʿImād al-Dīn Bughra Khan, to whom he had designated his heir, was killed early in 665/1266 in a fierce engagement with the Mongols. This bereavement eventually brought about his own death a year later in 686/1287; this sounded the death-knell of the Slave-King dynasty, for the Khālidīs took over the reins of the Dihlī sultanate only three years later.

Bibliography: Diāy al-Dīn Barānī, Taṭīl al-Faṭḥī ʿAbd al-Salām, Calcutta 1860-6; ʿArab-I, Sirāḍī ʿAffī, Taṭīl al-Faṭḥī ʿAbd al-Salām, Calcutta 1888-9; Elliott and Dowson, History of India, iii.; Sir Wobseley Haig, Cambridge history of India, iii, Cambridge 1928; A.B.M. Habibullah, Foundation of Muslim rule in India, Lahore 1945; A.L. Srivastava, The sultanate of Delhi, Agra 1953; P. Hardy, Historians of medieval India, London 1960, index; G. Hambly, Who were the Chiḥlūgdlī, the forty slaves of Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmīsh of Delhi?, in Iran, Jnl. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies, x (1972), 57-62; Muhammad ʿAzīz Ahmad, Political history and institutions of the early Turkish empire of Delhi (1206-1290), Indian edition, Delhi 1972.

SIDĪ BALLĀ, ABū MUḤAMMAḍ ʿARḍ ALLĀH IBN ʿAZZOZ AL-KURĀSHĪ AL-SHADHĪL AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, a cobbler of Marrakesh to whom thaumaturgic gifts were attributed and who died in an odour of sanctity in 1204/1789. His tomb, situated in his own residence at Bāb Ayyān, has been continuously visited because of its reputation of curing the sick. Although he had not received a very advanced education, Ibn ʿAzīzān nevertheless succeeded in leaving behind an abundant body of works, dealing mainly with mysticism and the occult sciences, but also with medicine. However, his works display hardly any originality, and none of them has interested a publisher despite the success in Morocco of his Ḥīdāhā al-kurjūs wa-nafy al-zalumātī fī ʿilm al-tibb wa ʿl-tabbātī wa ʿl-hikmā, a popular collection of therapeutic formulae (see L. Leclerc, La chirurgie d'Aboulcasis, Paris 1861, ii, 307-8; H.P.J. Renaud, in D'Abulcasis, ii, 390, a popular collection of ther- aućuies, of which at least one manuscript is karya 8 km. W.N.W. of Ceuta, beneath the Spanish Romance of Leo Africanus Vignones, in Marmol Valdevitones, Portuguese Bulhões, Spanish Bullones, site of a once- important karya 8 km. W.N.W. of Ceuta, beneath Sierra Bullones (Djabal Musa). Its name is from the Spanish Romance fanyol ar vineyards", not Bū or Bent Vānūs-


(Ed.)

BALYŪNAS, also B.NYŪNS.H (in Leo Africanus Vignones, in Marmol Valdevitones, Portuguese Bulhões, Spanish Bullones, site of a once-important karya 8 km. W.N.W. of Ceuta, beneath Sierra Bullones (Djabal Musā), its name is from the Spanish Romance fanyol-ar vineyards", not Bū or Bent Vānūs-ah, etc. Surrounded on land by mountains. Bālyūnas lies in a small valley dropping sharply in a bay set in a narrow part
of the Straits of Gibraltar. Béard thought it the home of the Homeric Calypso's cave. Its Roman precursor has been named as Exilissa.

In Islam the area's history may well have begun with Musa b. Nuṣayr [q.v.], who is said to have crossed the Algeciras to Algeciras in 93/712 from what became a desertion. In 1418 Balyunash was briefly the estate directly to Ceuta as indeed it is today. Ruins still rich source of fresh food and above all flowing water, a resort for princes and the rich, who had fortified villas there, the latter was certainly a rich source of fresh food and above all flowing water, which, in Marinid times at least, must have been fed directly to Ceuta as indeed it is today. Ruins still to be seen there bear marks of Andalusian architectural and artistic influence.

**Bibliography:** L. Torres Balbás, Las ruinas de Belyounech, in Tamuda, v (1957), 275-96 (contains translation of al-Anṣārī's description, for Arabic text of which see Hesperis, xii (1931), Tétuan (1959), and ed. A. Ben Mansour, Rabat 1969; see also J. Vellvé's tr. in Al-Andalus, xxvi (1962); B. Pavon Maldonado, Arte hispanomusulmán en Ceuta, in Cuadernos de la Alhambra, vi (1970), 69-107 plus plates; G. Ayache, Belenches et le des- tin de Ceuta, in Hesperis-Tamuda, xiii (1972), 5-36; R. Ricard, Études sur l'histoire des Portugais au Maroc, passim; G. S. Colin, Étymologies maghrébines, in Hesperis (1926), 59 ff. (on the name).
and was interred outside Bāb Gīsā (al-Dījās) on the left, or Karawīyīn, bank of the Wādī Fās.

Mainly because of its non-Arabic origin, "Bardalla" is vocalised differently in the Arabic sources, and, in some, one encounters corrupt forms such as Bin Dalla. Understandably, we find inconsistencies in European spellings (Bordolla, Bordala, Berdella, etc.). This last form most nearly represents the pronunciation of the family name as found in 20th century European spellings (Bordola, Bordala, Berdella, etc.). Understandably, we find inconsistencies in European spellings (Bordola, Bordala, Berdella, etc.). Understandably, we find inconsistencies in European spellings (Bordola, Bordala, Berdella, etc.).

After the establishment of the Ilkhānid Mongol kingdom in Persia and Irāk in ca. 656/1258, many Sayyidī families migrated to India and obtained grants of villages in the area extending from the Pandājīb to Bihār. Some of them were endowed with qualities of leadership and not only exercised effective control over their own villages, but rallied the support of the neighbouring village leaders, generally Hindus. The authenticity of their claims to be Sayyids was always suspect, but their chivalry and heroic achievements made them indispensable to the Dīlīh sultāns. The ancestor of the Bārā Sayyids, Abu 'l-Farah, left his original home in Wāsīt [q.v.], in Irāk, with his twelve sons at the end of the 7th/13th or in the 8th/14th century, and migrated to India, where he obtained four villages in Sirhind [q.v.]. By the 10th/16th century some of Abu 'l-Fara's descendants had taken over the Bārā village in Muzaffarnagar. In the reign of Akhbar, the Bārā Sayyids occupied a place of distinction, and nine of them held mansūbs [q.v.] ranging from 2,000 to 250, the total family mansūb being 8,550, a very high position in the Mughal hierarchy. Naturally, with the Bārā villages as a nucleus, the Sayyids owned extensive dīgārs [q.v.] in the region. Their pride in their Indian birth greatly appealed to the local Hindu leaders, who helped them to raise the strong contingents they needed for the Mughal imperial wars. Occupying a distinguished place in the vanguard, like many Rājāpūt warriors, they preferred to fight as footsoldiers.

By the reign of Awrangzib, although ostensibly they maintained their traditional loyalty, they were impelled by ambition to join in the scramble for political power. For example, Sayyid Hassan 'Alī (afterwards 'Abd Allah Kūṭ al-Mulk) and his younger brother Husayn 'Alī, known as the Sayyid brothers, by helping Farrūqī-Sayyid [q.v.] succeed to the throne in 1124/1712, obtained for themselves the highest civil and military positions in the government of their puppet emperor. They abolished the dīgār and tried to conciliate the Rājāpūts; but by giving too much administrative power to their favourite, Lāla Ratan Čand, a Vaishya, they dislocated the entire administrative machinery. Finally, in 9 Dhūlqada 1131/29 April 1719, they deposed and strangled Farrukh-Siyar. They then raised four puppet rulers to the throne, one after the other. However, early in the reign of the fourth puppet emperor, Nashir al-Dīn Muhammad Šāh [q.v.], their and their supporters were defeated by an opposition party under the leadership of Niẓām al-Mulk [q.v.]. On 6 Dhū 'l-Hijja 1132/9 October 1720, Husayn 'Alī was assassinated, and, on 14 Muharram 1133/15 November 1720, 'Abd Allah was defeated near Agra, taken captive and killed in his Dīlīh prison on 1 Muharram 1135/12 October 1722.

The Bārā Sayyids were Shī'īs, and many Sunni Sayyid families, such as that of Shāh Wālī Allah Dīlawī [q.v.], who lived in their neighbourhood, exerted themselves to ensure that the Bārā Sayyids did not recover their political power.

BARIZ, Djabal, a moutainous and, in early Islamic times, apparently wooded region of the Kirmān province in Iran, described by the medi-

ieval historians and geographers as the haunt of predatory peoples like the Kuficfs or Kufs and the Kirman province in Iran, described by the medi-

taeasts as the haunt of (sc. the massif which culminates in such peaks as the Kuh-i Hāzār and the Kuh-i Lālāzār), to the south of the towns of Bām [q.v.] and Fāhrādji; the geographers count it as amongst the garmsirdt regions [see KISHLAK] of Kirman province. The Djabal Bariz rises to 12,450 feet, and the Hudūd al-

ʿālam states that it possessed mines of lead, copper and lodestone.

The actual name appears variously in the sources as Bariz, Bārīdān, etc., the modern form being Kuh-i Bārīčī, and appears to be old. Herodotus mentions Πεισέποιοι who paid tribute to Darius and supplied infantry for Xerxes' army (cf. Marquart, Erōnēstār, 31, and Tābari, i, 894, says that Khusrav Anūhgrnwān re-established Sāsānid control over the people of al-Bariz after the anarchy of Kubādī's last years. Until the early 'Abbasid period, the Djabal Bariz remained a stronghold of Zoroastrianism. The Kūfīčī or "mountaineers" of the region resisted the attempts of Yaʿqōb b. Layth to assert Sullārid control over Kirmān, and it was probably only after this time (sc. the later 3rd/9th century) that Islam began to penetrate there. The geographers of the following century describe the people of the moun-

tain as savage robbers and brigands, whom the punitive expeditions of Yaʿqōb b. Layth, the Buīyids Muʿizz al-Dawla and 'Adud al-Dawla, and the Sādāqī Kāwīrī b. Cāghrī Bēg quelled only tempo-

rarily (see C.E. Bosworth, The Kāfāhī or Qufī in Persian history, in Iran. Jnl. of the British Institute of Persian Studies, xiv (1976), 9-17). Only two villages, Kaftār and Dihaft, are mentioned as market centres for the mountain. The Djabal Bariz long remained an inaccessible place, and Sir Percy Sykes describes it as still being a haunt of thieves when he was British Consul in Kirmān (A fifth journey in Persia, in Geogr. Jnl., xxvi (1906), 433).

Biography. In addition to the references given in the article, see Muḥammad b. Ḳābirdīm, Thārīkā- i Sādāqīkhān-i Kirmān, ed. M. Bastānī-Pārizī, Tehran 1964, 6, n. 1; Ḩudūd al-ʿālam, tr. Mīnorsky, 65, 125; Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 316-17; Admiralty handbook, Persia, London 1945, 88, 95, 98, 106, 391; For European travellers in the region, see A. Gabrieli, Die Erforschung Persiens, Vienna 1952. (C.E. Bosworth)

AL-BARKI, nisba of a ʿShīʿa family of which one member, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (correcting Yākūt, ʿUḍābaʿ, loc. cit.), would appear to be the first mem-

ber of this family to participate in the transmission of ʿShīʿa tradition. A supporter of ʿAlī al-Rāḍī (d. 203/818 [q.v.]), and the father of his son Muhammad (d. 219/833) whom he certainly visited, he was the author, if we are to believe Ibn al-Nadīm, Fīrūz, Cairo ed. 309-10; cf. al-Tūsī, Fīrūz, 153) of a number of works, sc. the Kūṭāb al-Aʿsamī, K. al-Tābṣīrīn, K. al-Ruṣūlā (on transmitters of traditions ascribed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṣaffīlī and the K. al-Maḥāsīn, which poses an interesting problem of composition and attribution. If we are to judge by the details supplied by Ibn al-Nadīm this K. al-Maḥāsīn would be a collection of "books" (kutub), that is, of chapters constituting a sort of encyclopaedia of knowledge which a good ʿShīʿa would be obliged to possess in order to conform to tradition: Kurān, history, geog-

raphy, ethics, divination from dreams, etc. However, Ibn al-Nadīm, who probably did not have the opportu-

nity to examine all these kutub, numbers about eighty of them and adds that the son of Muḥammad, Abī Dāʿīr Abī Ahmad, composed three works of his own: the K. al-Ḥuḍūd (a subject already dealt with by the preceding), and the K. al-Bālūdīn, "more developed than that of his father." Now the author of the Fīrūzī is, curiously, the only one to attribute a first version of the K. al-

Maḥāsīn to Muḥammad b. Ḫālīḍ. Yākūt totally ignores this individual, whom he mentions neither in the Muṣjam al-buldān, nor in the section of the Muṣjam al-udabh (iv, 132-6) devoted exclusively to Abī Ahmad Muḥammad and probably incomplete; bas-

ing himself, without admitting it, on the Fīrūzī of al-Tūsī (20-2), he lists a total of ninety-six titles, not specifying that they constitute the K. al-Maḥāsīn men-

tioned above, but giving the impression all the same that the number of these kutub is variable and asserv-

ing that he has personal knowledge of those that he enumerates; he judges this Barkī "worthy of cre-

dence, reliable" (tāfa), although he reproaches him for relying on feeble transmitters (dafaʿ) and for taking as a basis hadīṯs transmitted directly by repre-

sentatives of the second generation (imāṭah).

The same reproach is directed at him—and in the same terms—by ʿShīʿa writers who describe how he was temporarily expelled from Kūrm because of the defects of his methods; these authors ignore too the father of Ahmad; they declare that this last was very wise and learned, composed verse and had many disciples (although the ones that they mention by name mostly belong to a later period); they make him an associate of Muḥammad al-Djawād (which he would seem hard to accept) or of ʿAlī al-Halīf (d. 254/868) and a contemporary of al-Muḥaṣṣīm (218-

27/833-42); they make no mention of his successors; and they suggest that he died in 274/887-8 or in 280/893-4.

The articles which the ʿShīʿa nāgābīyān devote to him are conveniently reproduced by Muḥāsj an Al-Muḥāsin in his Aʿīn al-Shīʿa (ix, 266) and most com-

pletely by al-Sayyid Muḥammad Sādīq Bahar al-ʿUlim, who was responsible for the second edition of the Kūṭāb al-Maḥāsīn (Nāṣīf 1304/1914, two volumes bound in one; the first edition, by Dāʿīl al-Dīn al-

Huṣaynī, Tehran 1370 [?]) remained inaccessible to the author of the present article.

It must in fact be said that this celebrated K. al-

Maḥāsīn, which appears to have enjoyed great influ-

ence over a long period, has not survived in an

Bārīz — Al-Barkī
integral form, although it has not totally disappeared, and eleven of its "books" have been preserved: (1) al-Aghānī wa 'l-kāna'ín (11 books); (2) Thāhāb al-umāl (123 books); (3) Bāb al-umāl (70 books); (4) al-Sufās wa 'l-nūr wa 'l-'abasa (47 books); (5) Ma'rūthāb al-zulam (49 books); (6) al-Nabūd (33 books); (7) al-Mā'āf (136 books); (9) al-Mâ' (20 books); (10) al-Manāfi' (6 books); (11) al-Marrāfik (16 books). These titles almost all appear, in the same form, in the ancient lists, where there is also reference to kīthāb derived from bāb in the published chapters. So we possess one-sixth or one-seventh of the original work, which is essentially a collection of hadiths attributed to the Prophet and to the Ahl al-Bayt, in particular to al-Husayn b. 'Abd b. Abi Talib, simply classified and reduced without any interference upon the part of the compiler. To judge by what has survived, the collection consisted of a sort of mezaanof of a particular type grouping together all the traditional elements that the Imam considered to be essential, both in matters relating to the faith and in questions of posterity. It is probable that the author did not neglect literary formation, poetry and other cultural fields, which makes the more regrettable the loss of so many chapters, no doubt considered less indispensable by posterity. It is probable that the kīthāb formed independent fascicules, which would explain both how they could be so easily lost and why authors cannot agree either on their number or their order.

A comparison between Ibn al-Nadīm's list and all the others might perhaps allow an insight into the respective roles of the father and of the son in the compilation of the Kīthāb al-Mahdsin, but this would be a hazardous enterprise and ultimately of doubtful benefit. In other respects, the presentation of these lists is such that it is impossible to see clearly whether Muhammad or his son wrote works that were not included in the composition of the Kīthāb al-Mahdsin; it is however possible that one or the other left biographies of 'Abd Rabbih, a descendant of Hasan b. Masum, who died in 177 AH. Asma'ī as an expert in poetry, al-Kīsāfī in grammar, Maṣūf b. Mājahī in j疑ir, and Ibn Māshāhī in poetry.


BASBÁS is the fennel (Foeniculum vulgare), belonging to the family of umbelliferous plants. The term bīsbas, used in the Maghrib for fennel, indicates in the Eastern countries the red seed-shed of the nutmeg (Myristica fragrans), known as Macis, while the term bāsba, not to be confused with the two other terms, indicates only nutmeg in the entire Arab world. The most often synonym of bāsba is reżāyānūd, borrowed from the Persian. The complete nomenclature, also taken from other oriental languages, has been brought together by J. Low, Die Flora der Juden, iii, 460-5. The Greek term μακανόν is found as μάκανα (μάκανα) in (and variants) in the Arabic medical inventories. Like in Dioscorides, this term indicates the garden fennel (bāsba būsūtān), Anethum foeniculum, while μακανόν (μακανονίθ) and variants, strictly speaking "horse fennel", which is mostly mentioned in connection with the garden fennel, apparently stands for the wild fennel. The term bāsba qānūnī, likewise used for the latter, is confusing for the "mountain fennel" (Seesi) does not belong to the genus Foeniculum. Other kinds mentioned cannot as yet be determined.

The volatile oil extracted from the fruits of the fennel has a strongly fragrant scent and a bitter, camphor-like smell. It loosens phlegm and was, in the form of fennel-tea or fennel-honey, used, as it is now, against coughs and flatulence. A decoction of the flower stalk was considered to be a diuretic and to further menstruators, mixed with wine it was used as a medicinal against snake bites, while the pressed juice is praised as an ophthalmic remedy. The leaves and fruits were added to food as a spice. Aṣma'ī counts them among the precious spices (Nabāt, ed. Qunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 13 ff.). Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dinawārī praises their aroma, remarks that the plant thrives on wild soil and proves both observations with verses (Nabāt, The Book of Plants, ed. B. Lewin, 59 f.). Fennel has been used as spice from Old Egyptian times until today. Ibn al-'Awāmī consecrates a special chapter to the cultivation of the fennel (Kīthāb al-Fīlāhā, tr. Clément-Mullet, ii, Paris 1866, 250 f.). Curious is the assertion of Nuwayyi'd (Nūhayn, xi, 82), that vipers and snakes, when leaving their holes in spring, rub their eyes at the fennel shrub in order to be able to see again; the same is mentioned repeatedly by Kazwīnī (see Wiedemann, Aufsätze zur arab. Wissenschaftsgeschichte, ii, 336, 386).

BASBAS — BARIYYA OR BUTRIYYA

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Bashkardia, a region of southeastern Iran, falling administratively today within the 8th utan or province of Kirmān and in the ghubārat or district of Dūrūf, of which it comprises one of the nine constituent rural areas (dīhistānā), see Farang-i dīghīfreh-yi Irān, viii, Tehran 1332/1953, 49. It is the mountainous hinterland of western Makrān, lying to the east of Mināb near the Straits of Hormuz and bounded on the north by the southern fringes of the Dājz-Muryān depression; the peaks of the Mārān range rise to just over 7,000 feet. The whole region has been, and still is, extremely remote and inaccessible, and only in recent decades has a measure of control from Tehran been extended over a people formerly much given to raiding and brigandage. The main settlement is at Angohran, but the population is everywhere sparse; the Admiralty handbook, Persia, London 1945, mentions 100 redoubts at Angohran, and a total population for Bashkardia of an estimated 8,000 families; the Farang, loc. cit., mentions 108 settlements (abādān), with a population of ca. 6,700.

The people of Bashkardia are ethnically Iranian and Shi'i in madhhab; at least until very recently, the social structure there included a slave element, both negroid and native Iranian. It was first speculated by Tomaschek that the modern Bashkardis could be the descendants of the mediaeval Islamic Kūfiks or Kufs, the predatory people of Kirman and Makrān provinces often linked in the sources with the Bālūc [see BALO-GISTĀN and KUPS]; for a discussion of this, see C.E. Bosworth, The Kūfiks or Kufs in Persian history, in Iran, jnl. of the British Institute of Persian Studies, xiv (1976), 9 ff. The actual name Bashkard (Bashkārād) is a form apparently exhibiting a pseudo-Arabic broken plural) is unattested till the mid-19th century, when the first Europeans, Col. M. Mockler and E.A. Floyer, visited the region; Dr. I. Gershévitch, who stayed in Bashkardia for some months in 1956, has nevertheless suggested that the name might derive from the dominant Persian tribe, to which the Aḥaemendins themselves belonged, of the Pasargadae, located by Proclacus in Carmania (= Kirmān). The Bashkārdī language is very aberrant from New Persian, and exists in two forms, a northern and a southern group of dialects. It contains certain old Iranian words not surviving elsewhere, e.g. the hardwood dāg or gādā, identifiable with the O. Pers. yak-wood used in the construction of Darius's palace at Susa, see Gershévitch, Sīsoo at Susa (O. Pers. yaka = Dalhgrega Sīsoo Rock.), in BSOS, xix (1957), 317-20, xx (1958), 174. Bibliography: The main items in the exiguous bibliography of Bashkardia are given by Bosworth in art. cit., 11, n. 13; of special note are the works of Floyer and A. Gabriel, and most recently, of Gershévitch, Travels in Bashkardia, in Jnl. of the Royal Central Asian Society, xlvii (1959), 213-24, and F. Balsam, Étrange Baloutchistan, Paris 1969; Linguistic material was collected by Gershévitch, but has not yet been published in toto; for sections of it so far accessible in print, see Bosworth, art. cit., 13, n. 20.

(C.E. Bosworth)

Bashkut, Qawad Feimi, modern Turkish Cevat Feimi Baṣṣūṭ, Turkish playwright and journalist (1905-71). He was born in Edirne and educated at an Istanbul high school, choosing journalism as his career when he was still a very young man. He began to write plays in the early 1940s and became very popular. Of his 23 plays, most of which were performed in the city theatre (Seher tiyatroos) of Istanbul, the best known are Küçük şehr ("Little Town") 1946; Paydos ("Break") 1949; Harput'ta bir Amerikc ("An American in Kharput") 1956; and Buçul şeridesi ("Before the thaw") 1964. His plays are sentimental and unsophisticated renderings of human dramas and comic situations, with an edifying approach. He writes in an easy style at times tending to be somewhat literary and pedantic.

Bibliography: Metin And, Eili yih Türk tiyatroos, Istanbul 1973, 438 and index; Behçet Nectağil, Edebiyetinizde tizimli sütçüsə, 1975, s.v.

(Fahir Iz)

Basques [see BASHKUNISH].

Batiyya or Butriyya, the pejorative designation for a group of moderate Shi'is in the time of Muhammad al-Bākīr (d. 1177/735) and for the moderate wing of the early Zaydiyya [p.s.] who did not repudiate the caliphates of Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Their position was opposed to the more radical Shi'i stand of the Djarudiyya [p.s.], who considered Ali as the only legitimate immediate successor of the Prophet. The name is most often derived in the sources from the nickname al-Abtar ("The Chief") of the only legitimate immediate successor of the Prophet, or of the recitation of the basma in the prayer which they performed only with a subdued voice, or of the caliphate of 'Uthmān, which they repudiated for the last six years of his reign. The first of these explanations is clearly the most plausible one and points to an origin of the name in internal Shi'i controversy.

Imāmi sources name the Kūfāns Katār al-Nawwāb, Sālim b. Abi Ḥafsā (d. 1377/754-5), al-Hakam b. 'Utaiba (d. 1177/735 or 1157/735), 'Alā al-Mukaddad Thābit al-Haddad as the chiefs of the Batiyya in the time of Muhammad al-Bākīr, and describe them as not recognising his full rank as imām and sole authority in religion and as criticising him for ambiguities in his teaching. 'Umar b. Riyyāh, who at first recognised the imāmat of al-Bākīr, later also renounced him and joined the Butriyya after he had found al-Bākīr contradicting a previous statement and proffering takfīya as an excuse.

Metin And, Eli yih Türk tiyatroos, Istanbul 1973, 438 and index; Behçet Nectağil, Edebiyetinizde tizimli sütçüsə, 1975, s.v.

(Fahir Iz)
Though only a few of the leaders of the Batriyya are expressly mentioned as participants in the rising of Zayd b. ‘Ali in 122/740, it may be assumed that the early Batriyya generally inclined towards supporting him, as his attitude toward the first caliph was close to their own. The Zaydiyya held that ‘Ali was the most excellent of men after the Prophet, but admitted the legitimacy of the imāmates of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, since ‘Ali had voluntarily pledged allegiance to them. Concerning ‘Uṯmān, they either abstained from judgment or renounced him for the last six years of his reign. Unlike the Djarūdīyya, they did not ascribe a superior knowledge in religious matters to the descen-
dants of ‘Ali, but accepted the hadīth transmitted in the Muslim community and admitted the use of indi-
vidual reasoning (īqāhād, nā’ī) in order to close gaps in the ‘Shāf‘ī. Thus they did not adopt the specifi-
cally Shī‘ī theses in various points of the ritual and law and belonged to the traditionalist school of Kūfā in their fiqh doctrine. A leader of the Batriyya in the revolts of Zayd and of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh (145/762-3) was the traditionist and fakih Abū ‘l-Abd Allah in the mountains of the Shan‘a. Though only a few of the leaders of the Batriyya are expressly mentioned as ... 1914, 83 f. (= lib. v, 113); La “Materia medica” de Dioscorides, ii (Arabic tr.) ed. Dubler and Teres, Tetuan 1952, ... 31-4; idem, Kātib al-Ẓādīn, Strassburg 1929-31, 68 f.; al-Kashshi, Kultus der Ṣaiditen, Strassburg 1929-31, 68 f.; Abu ‘l-Faradj al-Isfaham, al-Nashi‘ī, Masd’il al-imāma, Al-Nashi‘ī Gorgdm, In his cosmog-
yraphy, Dimashqī distinguishes between bawrak and tīkah; he says that both have a natural and an arti-
ficial kind and that both kinds of the latter were used in melting and purifying minerals (Wiedemann, Aufsätze zur arub. Wissenschaftsgeschichte, i, 713). The fact that there existed a class of borax-traders (bawrakan) indicates that trade in these various sodi-
um compounds required specialised knowledge. This trade was apparently lucrative: Ibn Ḥawkal (tr. Kramers-Wiet, ii, 339) mentions a borate (milh al-bawrak) which was delivered from Lake Van to the bakers in ‘Irāk and Mesopotamia (bawrak al-khābahāzīn, see above); this denomination comes from the bakers who used to coat the bread with borate dissolved in water before putting it into the furnace, in order to give it a prettier and more shiny appearance. The particularly valuable bawrak al-sāgā (see above) was exported with great profit from Kāshān to ‘Irāk and Syria.

The books on mineralogy mention the numerous find-spots and kinds of bawrak. Like salt it is found either as a liquid in water or as a solid on the surface of the soil. It is white, grey or red, and causes all kinds of solid substances to melt. Nātrān, a kind of bawrak, cleanses the body and beautifies the skin; it is also used in chemistry as a reagent against impuri-
ties (J. Ruska, Das Steinbuch der Arzteühält, Heidelberg 1912, 118, tr. 173).

In antiquity bawrak (nātrān) was known as vītpov, which is different from our saltpetre (Nitrān). At that time, as in Islamic times and nowadays, it was gained from lakes which have no discharge, in which it was left behind as a gleaming crust as a result of evapo-
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(BAY'AT AL-RIDWĀN, the name given to an oath exacted by the Prophet from some of his followers during the Medinan period. During the expedition to al-Hudaybiyya [q.v.] in Dhu 'l-Ka‘da of the year 6 (March 628), a report reached Muhammad that the Meccans had killed ‘Ugīmān b. ‘Affān, who had gone into Mecca to negotiate a truce. Muhammad realised that it was a pledge “not to flee” or “to the death” (mawt) and one man (Sinān) is said to have pledged ‘Ugīmān’s death. If the third version is correct, it indicates the purpose of the oath, which was to prevent the Meccans from avenging, and summoned the members of the expedition to take an oath of allegiance to himself. There are different versions of the content of the oath. Some held it was a pledge not to flee; others that it was a pledge “to the death” (‘ālā ma’ fī naṣība); to fight the Meccans would lose face unless ‘Ugīmān’s death was avenged, and summoned the members of the expedition to take an oath of allegiance to himself. There are different versions of the content of the oath. Some held it was a pledge not to flee; others that it was a pledge “to the death” (‘ālā ma’ fī naṣība); to fight the Meccans would lose face unless ‘Ugīmān’s death was avenged, and summoned the members of the expedition to take an oath of allegiance to himself. There are different versions of the content of the oath. Some held it was a pledge not to flee; others that it was a pledge “to the death” (‘ālā ma’ fī naṣība); to fight the Meccans would lose face unless ‘Ugīmān’s death was avenged, and summoned the members of the expedition to take an oath of allegiance to himself. There are different versions of the content of the oath. Some held it was a pledge not to flee; others that it was a pledge “to the death” (‘ālā ma’ fī naṣība); to fight the Meccans would lose face unless ‘Ugīmān’s death was avenged, and summoned the members of the expedition to take an oath of allegiance to himself. There are different versions of the content of the oath. Some held it was a pledge not to flee; others that it was a pledge “to the death” (‘ālā ma’ fī naṣība); to fight the Meccans would lose face unless ‘Ugīmān’s death was avenged, and summoned the members of the expedition to take an oath of allegiance to himself. There are different versions of the content of the oath. Some held it was a pledge not to flee; others that it was a pledge “to the death” (‘ālā ma’ fī naṣība); to fight the Meccans would lose face unless ‘Ugīmān’s death was avenged, and summoned the members of the expedition to take an oath of allegiance to himself.

The chronicles give such exaggerated accounts of the exploits of the Bayḥaki Sayyids in Kašmīr that it is difficult to disengage fact from fiction. The first Bayḥaki Sayyid, however, about whom any reliable evidence exists was Sayyid Muhammad, who gave his first daughter, Tādj Khatun, in marriage to Sultan Zayn al-ʿAbidīn (823-74/1420-70); and later his grandson, Sayyid Hasan, was married to the Sultan’s daughter. On the death of Zayn al-ʿAbidīn’s son and successor Haydar Dughlāt (948-58/1541-51), Sayyid Ibrahim, the son of Sayyid Muhammad, who were not in the fort at the time, carried on the struggle against the enemies of their father, but they were defeated and exiled from the country along with their followers. But after two years the Sayyids were received, and under the leadership of Sayyid Muhammad, they once again became active in the struggle for the throne between Muhammad Shāh and Fath Shāh, intriguing with and making alliances with different groups as suited their interests. In the end, Sayyid Muhammad succeeded in 898/1493 in becoming Wazīr of Muhammad Shāh, but in 910/1505 he was defeated and killed by his rivals. This, however, did not demoralise the Sayyids. Instead, when Mirzā Haydar Dughlāt established his power in Kašmīr (948-58/1541-51), Sayyid Ibrāhīm, the son of Sayyid Muhammad, joined the Kašmīr nobles in overthrowing him.

Under the ʿAlī Sultanān also, the Bayḥaki Sayyids continued to play an important part. ʿAlī Shāh, a son of ʿAlī Shah (978-86/1570-78) appointed Sayyid Mubārak the son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm as Wazīr, and took his advice on all important matters. But on ʿAlī Shāh’s death, Sayyid Mubārak set aside the latter’s son Yūsuf Shāh on grounds of incompetence and declared himself Sultan (986/1578). Yet, after a few months he was overthrown by the nobles, who were
denied by him any share in the government. In spite of this, he joined Ya'kub Shāh, Yusuf Shāh's son and successor, in the struggle against the Mughal armies sent by the Emperor Akbar to conquer Kasim. Finding resistance to the Mughals fruitless, he submitted to the Mughal commander Kāsim Khan Mīr Bārī on 27 Dhu 'l-Hijjah 994/9 December 1586, and was sent to Agra. Akbar wanted Sayyid Mubārak to accompany Yusuf Khan Ḳānī RIDWĪ, who was ordered by him to proceed to Ḳānī to relieve Kāsim. But Sayyid Mubārak refused; so he was imprisoned and sent to Bengal. His son, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, also fought side by side with Ya'kub Shāh against the Mughals, but was taken prisoner. This was the end of the significant role which the Bayhakī Sayyids had played for over 150 years of Kasim history.

Bibliography: G.M.D. Sūfī, Ḳāhir, i, Lahore 1948-9; Mohību'll Ḳānī, Kasim under the Ṣultāns, Calcutta 1959; Bahīristānī Shāhī, anonymous ms. I.O. 509. (MOHĪBU'L ḲĀNĪ)

BAYRAK [see 'ALAM].

AL-BADZAWĪ [see AL-NASAFF].

BEDOUINS [see BADW].

BEERSHEBA [see KIR AL-SAR].

BENZI [see BADZAWI].

BEKA [see BIRK].

BELOMANCY [see ISTIRĂM].

BELUCHISTAN. [see BULUCHISTAN].

BENĪ MELLĀL, formerly Ḳāsāba Benī Mella l from the name of the tribe living around it), or sometimes Ḳāsāba B. Kugh, a town of Morocco roughly equidistant from Casablanca, Marrakesh and Fās. It lies on one of the slopes of the Dīr (q.v. in Suppl.), at an altitude of 620 m./1,980 feet, in this piedmont region between the Middle Atlas and the wide, historic plain of the Tadla, of which it has recently become the official chef-lieu.

The town is built around the fortress or kasāba built towards 1099/1688 by Mawlāy Ṣamārī, restored in the 19th century by Mawlāy Sulaymān and since once again restored. The Vaubellian spring of Asardān to the south of the town leads one to think that Benī Mellāl, like all the other centres of the Dīr, e.g. Aghmāt, Damām (q.v.), etc., goes back to ancient times, but no traces of prehistoric life have as yet been discovered there. It is possible that Benī Mellāl is Ḳūsī Dāī, the little capital which Yahyā b. Idrīs inherited in the 3rd/9th century at the time of the division of his father's kingdom. It is mentioned by the Arab geographers as a fortress and an important market centre. In 354/1140 or 355/1141 it was occupied by the Almahdā.

The demographic explosion of the town has been remarkable. In 1918 it had an estimated 3,000 inhabitants; now it has 60,000, and the increase between the 1922 and 1960 censuses has been 81%. This undoubtedly stems from its administrative role today, one of the results of agricultural development of the great alluvial plain of the Tadla or else of the very important hydraulic reservoir works and irrigations improvements made over the last 30 years. Benī Mellāl's importance has grown still further from its role as a market centre for provisions of the Berber tribes in the Middle Aṭlā m valleys, and also those of the central Grand Atlas (especially the Wādī Tadghat). A very lively fair is held in the town centre every week, where curious covesets of thin rugs (kaḥāf) in gaudy and evanescent shades of colour are sold, and are much appreciated. Superb gardens, rich olive-groves and flourishing orchards of mulberry trees, oranges and pomegranates, extend as far as the gush six abundant and pure springs of water. In the midst of this oasis is the zāyfa of Sīdī Aḥmad b. Kāsim, whose minaret is attributed to the great Almoravid Yusuf b. Taghīf (it is more probable that it was the work of his grandson Taghīf, who passed through Benī Mellāl before going on to die in Oranita). The town has now become a centre for tourist excursions into the mountains, and has promise of a great future.


BESTIARY [see HAYWĀN].

THE BEYOND [see AKHIRA].

AL-BILĀWĪ, 'ALI b. MUHAMMAD, 26th shaykh of al-Azhār. He was born in the village of Biblāw near Dayūt in Upper Egypt in Radjab 1251/November 1835. After a period of study and teaching at al-Azhār (q.v.), he was appointed to the Khedivial Library and became its Director (nāzir) for a short period in 1881 and 1882. In the wake of the 'Urābī insurrection in 1882, he was removed from this office, to which he had been appointed thanks to the help of his friend Muḥammad Sāmī al-Bārūdī (q.v.), one of the insurrection's principal protagonists. Subsequently he held the office of šaykh, and from 2 Şafar 1311/14 August 1893 onwards the office of shaykh al-hadīm of the Husayn mosque in Cairo. In addition to the latter office he was appointed nāzir al-asghāf (q.v.) on 6 Shawwāl 1312/1 April 1895, following the abdication of the former nāzir, Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakī (q.v.). During his term of office, which was to last until the end of 1320/March 1902, a set of regulations was promulgated, the so-called šaykh nīkābāt al-asghāf (cf. al-Wakīf al-Misrīyya, 17 June 1895, no. 67), which made the incumbent to this office virtually an official within the Ministry of Wakf; and a subordinate to its nāzir. His appointment as šaykh of al-Azhār on 2 Dhu 'l-Hijjah 1320/1 March 1903 in succession to Salīm al-Bīghīr, who had been appointed because of his efforts to frustrate implementation of the reforms provided for in the law of 20 Muḥarram 1314/1 July 1896, was the result of a compromise between the Khedive and his ministers, who had originally favoured other candidates. Only two years later, on 9 Muḥarram 1323/15 March 1903, he found himself compelled to resign when his inability to deal with the obstruction of his efforts to implement reforms had reduced his authority to an unacceptably low level. He died shortly afterwards on 30 December 1905.

Bibliography: Biographies may be found in Aḥmad Tāymūr, Tābirāgam ʿayn al-ḵān al-ṭāhirī, 'aʃar wa-avvīl-ʿal-ṭāhī ʾaʃar, Cairo 1940, 81-5; and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Biblāwī, al-Taʿrīkh al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo 1324, 57 ff.; The biographies by Khayr-al-Dīn al-Zirīkī, al-Āfām, v, 171 f., and by Muḥammad al-Zāfīr, Muḥammad al-Ṣāmī al-dāhkī, Cairo 1950, ii, 140, are mainly based upon Tāymūr's. For additional data see ʿAbd al-Muṭlaṣ al-SA′dī, Taʿrīkh al-ʿlāmī fi ʾl-ʿāṣar wa-ṣalāḥāt min al-ʿāṣar ʿayn ʾl-ʿlāmī, Cairo n.d., 67 f.; and Aḥmad Ṣafīq, Muḥammadīrat fi nisf ḵān,
Cairo 1936, ii, part 1, 214; part 2, 65 f; A'mal Maqālis Īdārat al-Azhār min ibtīdā‘ ta’siṣṣa sana 1312 ālā ghadāt sana 1322, Cairo 1323/1905-6, 119 ff. gives an overview of the controversies and disturbances which occurred in al-Azhār during al-Bīblawī’s term of office and the way in which al-Fahd dealt with these. His al-Awādā‘ al-husaynīyya ʿalā nīkāḥ al-masdūl al-al-mātrīnya, Cairo 1305/1887-8, was a text studied at al-Azhār; cf. al-Azhār fi 12 ‘ām‘, Cairo n.d. (1965).

(F. DE JONG)

BIBLIOMANCY [see KUR‘A].

BĪGHĀ', the Kur‘ānic term (XXIV, 33) for prostitution. "Prostitutes" is rendered by baghiyy (pl. baghiyy), mumis -at, may amis/may amis, mawdmis, ‘ākha, (pl. ‘aakha), ‘aakha, (pl. ‘aakha), etc.; a more vulgar term, although we have here a euphemism, is kaḥba (pl. kibhā), which the lexicographers attach to the verb kaḥba "to cough", explaining that professional prostitutes used to cough in order to attract clients.

Although M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Mahomet, Paris 1969, 48) saw in the legend of Isaf and Na‘ila (ed. Hadjin, 112, tr. Houdas, iii, 642), a roundabout way of demonstrating the "reminiscence of sacred prostitution", no such custom seems to have existed amongst the pagan Arabs; T. Fahd considers moreover that the legend in question is edifying in its aim and "has the severity does not always seem to have been complete success. Although travellers and historians are sparing of details, there are pieces of information testifying to the existence of more or less freelance prostitutes as well as the existence of brothels in the various Islamic cities. Thus al-Mukaddasī (Aḥsan al-takāṣṣūm, 407) saw a brothel at Sūs, near the mosque, whilst Leo Africanus speaks of taverns at Fās with whores residing in them (tr. Epaulard, 191) and prostitution at Tunis (385). According to al-Kīfī (Hukamā‘, ed. Lippert, 298), the muḥtasib of Latakia put up for auction the favours of the public women and issued to the successful bidders a ring which they had to show if they were met at night with one of the women.

Indeed, at all times prostitution was not merely tolerated but even recognised officially and very often was subject to a tax payable to the public treasury. At Fās, where the headman of the quarter had the task of supervising the courtesans and of preventing...
women might be distinguished. At the bottom of
be corrected) or even
(Idem, Ibn
kharddjiyydt (or
Dhakhira,
kharddjiyydt
(Ibn
Dhakhira,
Ibn
Khitat,
Makrfzi,
Cairo
1955);
Bosworth
in his
Leiden
resort to show them-
due to the keeper of the caravanserais; but there were also procurers who brought them clients, who ful-
mitted a tax on the whores [q.v.]
cal-
practised on the permissibility of
Shia.
the authorities were thereby more
regional, it was the muhtasib
who fulfilled this function (see P. Chalmeta, "Se
or
kharddjiyydt
il-
egu
Il-
Al-
Makkrit,
[see
Khi-
non
Bihbihanf, and commonly regarded by
K. Nawddir and
K. Al-
Siyar
Khidari,
Muhakkik-i Bihbihanf, and
Bibliography.

As in many other lands, various categories of
women might be distinguished. At the bottom of the
scale were the somewhat wretched women who
hired rooms in caravanserais by the town gates or
near the centre, and in addition to the rent, paid
a due to the keeper of the caravanserais; but there were
also procurers who brought them clients, mainly
strangers visiting the town; peasants, seasonal
workers, soldiers, etc. Some of these women cer-
sarily sank to the level of the rogues and vagabonds
whose various activities have been described by C.E.
Bosworth in his Mediaeval Islamic underworld (Leiden
1976, 2 vols.). At a higher level, brothels proper
were for a more affluent clientele. As in pre-
Islamic al-T’if, special quarters were reserved for
prostitution, which the authorities were thereby
more easily able to control. This system has remained
down to our own time, and a visit to these locali-
ties, which are sometimes picturesque, may even be
recommended to tourists, male and female, by guides
and travel agents; this is especially the case in
regard to Bouzib (< Prosper) at Casablanca and the
street of "dancing girls" of the Ouled Nail at Bou Saada
(Algeria).

The practice of early marriage among the Muslims,
who can take four legitimate wives and as many
concubines as they can afford to keep, ought in
the natural course of things to have set bounds to
venal love-making. However, many young men from
the modest levels of society were unable to find their
sexual initiation otherwise than by recourse to
prostitutes, and legal marriage entailed financial bur-
dens which men from the masses of people were not
always in a position to undertake, especially if they
had to migrate away from their original home.
Furthermore, the Kur’anic prohibition could always
be easily circumvented by procurers and procurers
lured on by the prospect of gain, whilst the easy facili-
ties for husbands in regard to the repudiation of
their wives [see Tarâs] threw on to the streets women who
did not always have the possibility of returning to
their families.

Bibliography: There does not seem to have
been produced any monograph on prostitution in
mediaeval Islam. In the list of writings of Abu
'Abd al-Saymarî [q.v. above] a K. Naqâdān
al-kawwâd (?) and a K. al-Râba, wa-mumâfî
al-kîyâda, which may possibly have dealt with
pimps, are to be found, but these have not
survived. In addition to sources cited in the article,
see A. Mez, Renaissance, Eng. tr. 361-4; A. Maza-
heri, La vie quotidienne des musulmans au moyen âge,
Paris 1947, 64-5; R. Le Tourneau, Fès avant le
Protectorat, Casablanca 1949, 557-9 and index;
al-Markaz al-kawmd li 'l-buhuth al-idjitiyঀya
al-Bighâ' fi 'l-Khârîa, Cairo 1961; a fairly well-
developed study by a sociologist is that of A. Boudhiba,
La sexualité en Islam, Paris 1975,
228-39 and the bibl. cited there. On male
prostitution, see Liwât. (Ed.)

BIHBHÂNî, A.G. SAYYID MUHAMMAD BÂKR, Shi'i muqaddhab and proponent of the Usuli [q.v.]
mağhbûr, often entitled Waḥid-i Bihbihânî or Muḥakkiḳ-i Bihbihânî, was one of
his Shi'te contemporaries as the "renewer"
[mağhdûd] of the 12th Hijrî century. He was born in Isfahan
some time between the years 1116/1704-5 and
1118/1706-7. After a brief period spent in Bihbihân,
he was taken to Karbâla' by his father, Mullâ
Muhammad Akmal, whose principal student he
became, while studying also under Sayyid Ṣadr al-
Dîn Kumnî. Mullâ Muhammad Akmal had studied
under Mullâ Muhammad Bâkîr Mağlîsî, the great
divine who had dominated Islamic Shi'ism in the
late 11th/17th century, and had also married his
niece. The young Bihbihânî, who came to exercise
a similar dominant role at the end of the 12th/18th
century, was thus both spiritually and genealogically
related to Mağlîsî. It is related that after complet-
ing his studies in Karbâla', Bihbihânî intended to
leave the city, but was dissuaded from doing so by
the appearance of the Imam Ḥusayn to him in a
dream, instructing him to stay (Muhammad Bâkîr
Khânârî, Rawdât al-ghannâm fi abâl al-ulu'mâ wa l-
â'dîth, Tehran 1304/1887, 122). In obedience to the
dream, he stayed on, and engaged in fierce contro-
versy with adherents of the Akhbarî school of
fiqh, which at that time was predominant in Karbâla' as
well as the other 'atabat [see ʻAmârîyya above]. The
troversy between the Akhbarîs and the Uṣûlis,
centering on various questions of usûl al-fîqh and par-
ticularly on the permissibility of ʻiǧâhâd, was an ancient
one, but had become particularly acute in the Safawid
period and the middle part of the 12th/18th
century. Before the appearance of Bihbihânî, the
Akhbarîs were so assured in their dominance of the
ʻatabat that anyone carrying with him books of Uṣûl
al-fîqh was obliged to cover them up for fear of pro-
voking attack. By the end of his life, however,
Bihbihânî had been able almost completely to uproot
Akhbarî influence from the ʻatabat and to establish
the Uṣûlî position as normative for all of the Twelver
Shi'a. He accomplished this change partly by debate,
polemics and the composition of written refutations
of the Akhbarî school, the most important of which was
Kâlîb al-ʻiǧâhâd wa l-ʻakbâr. Hardly less effective
was the demonstration of the prerogatives of mağhâhid that
he provided. One of his pupils, Šaykh Ḍa'īn Naḍâjî
(d. 1227/1812), records that he was constantly
accompanied by a number of armed men who would imme-
diately execute any judgement that he passed. The
example that he thus gave was to be followed by
numerous Iranian ulâmî ʻulamâî of the Kâdîrî period.
Another pupil of Bihbihânî's was the Ni'mâtallah Sufi order; such was the enmity that he
furnished for them that he gained the title of ʻâlîbâgî
(ʻ öldîr). He died in 1206/1791-2 or 1208/1793-
4, and was buried near the tomb of the Imâm
Husayn in Karbâla'. Bihbihânî is credited with
being one of the twenty persons of them are list-
ed in Muhammad 'Ali Mudarris, Rayhânat al-adâb,
new ed., Tabriz n.d., i, 52, and a further fourteen
titles are preserved in autograph in the library of Bihbihani's descendants in Kirmanshah (see Muhsin al-Amm, *A'yan al-talib*, Beirut 1378/1959, xliv, 96). It is said that his writings on usul al-fikh were compiled into a single volume by one of his students, Sayyid Mahdi Ka'zawini. The number of his pupils was very large; among the most influential we may mention his sons, 'Ali Muhammad, who dominated the life of Isfahan in the first quarter of the 19th century—Hadjji Muhammad Ibrāhim Kābāsī, Sayyid Muhammad Bākī Shafī, and Sayyid Mahdi Bāhī al-Ulum. But his influence extended far beyond the generation of mu'ātahids he trained; through his theoretical vindication of the usul al-fikh position and his practical demonstration of the function of mu'ātahids, he was in effect the ancestor of all those mu'ātahids who have sought since his time to assert a guiding role in Iranian society.


**Bihrang**. **Samad, Persian prosewriter** (1939-68). Bihrang's birth in a lower-class Turkish-speaking family in Tabrīz and his eleven-years' employment as a primary schoolteacher in rural Ardharbāyjān are attested in the greater part of his fārsī writings. These, both fictional and non-fictional, largely deal with village life in his native province and with the specific problems of a cultural minority region. His concern for the plight of Ardharbāyjānī peasant youth prompted a series of educational essays, as well as some twenty children's stories, the chief foundation of his present fame. Notable for their "ideological" content rather than for strictly literary merits, Bihrang's children's stories no longer recommend the conventional virtues of obedience, cleanliness and modesty, but aim at imparting "a correct view of the dark, bitter realities of adult society"). Accordingly, his stories picture the needy, powerless village children, their search for freedom and their revolt against ignorant parents, local landlords or urban aristocracy. The political commitment of most of the above contributions to Bihrang's considerable popularity among the dissident intelligentsia; at the same time, it gave rise to an increasingly restrictive censorship among the Iranian authorities and to a vast wave of rumours at his sudden death in September 1968, reportedly a drowning accident. More explicit views on society and literature are present in Bihrang's essays, notably the insistence on straightforward, firmly committed writing and contempt for the "deformist pseudo-intellectualism" of westernized Tehran. The tenets of his educational criticism are roughly similar to those earlier voiced by the writer Aī-i Ahmad [q.v. above], both a schoolteacher and a writer like himself; rejecting the unquestioned adoption of American teaching methods and finding the current textbooks inapplicable in a classroom with Azeri Turkish-speaking pupils, Bihrang designed an alternative "textbook for village children": the completed but yet unpublished *Alībāyār-i kādārīn-i rūstā*.\footnote{Bihrang, Babak, etc. Thirteen of his children's stories were posthumously collected in *Madā'im-ī-yi kisā'ah*, Tabrīz 1348 sh., which also contains a chapter on *Adabī-yāt-i kādārī* (originally published as part of a review-article in *Rahomā- yī Kūdār* xi (1347-53 sh.), 48-5), outlining the author's conception of children's literature. Not included in this volume are his most successful stories, the internationally awarded *Mēhī-yī sīyāh hādīlū*, separately published in Tehran 1347 sh., and the collection *Tālkūn wa 'andāsī-i digar*, Tehran 1349 sh. A number of his educational essays appeared as *Kandā-yī-kisā' av ī-tarāğī yī 'Irān*, Tabrīz 1344 sh., while other articles on various subjects were posthumously edited as *Madā'im-ī-yi nokālahār*, Tabrīz 1348 sh.; this collection contains several chapters on *Adharbāyjānī culture and language*, including the four articles listed in Algar's *Iran and Islam*, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky, xi (1970), 411-8. Bihrang's political role as a "totally involved revolutionary artist" is stressed by Th. Ricks in *The little black fish and other modern stories*, Washington, D.C. 1976, 95-126; his folklore studies are passingly mentioned by L.P. Elwell-Sutton in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, Edinburgh 1971, 233-4; Of the children's stories, a German translation has appeared in B. Nirumand ed., *Feuer unterm Pfauenthron*, Berlin 1974, 19-35; English translations include two different renderings of *Mēhī-yī sīyāh* . . . in *The Literary Review*, xvii/i (1970), 41-8; and in *The little black fish* . . . *op. cit.*, 1-19. For other translated stories, cf. M.C. Hillmann, ed., *Major voices in contemporary Persian literature*, and M.A. Jazayeri, ed., *Literature East and West*.}

**Bihrang, a term of the Druze religion.** In this, the Binn were conceived of as one of a number of earlier races or sects whose names are also mentioned in the Druze writings, such as the Rimm and the Timm. The Binn were said to have been a group of inhabitants of Hadjar in the Yemen who believed in the message of Shāfi'ī, the incarnation of Hamza
in the Age of Adam. According to the Druzes, the city was originally called Surna (meaning "Miracle" according to Hamza), and Şamīl came there from India. He called on the people to renounce polytheism and worship al-Ḥakīm bi-Amr Allāh [q.a.] as their sole deity. Those who accepted his message be commanded to "be separate" (yabdūnu) from the polytheists; as a consequence they were known as al-Bīnī. This etymology is clearly unsatisfactory, and it is possible that a Persian origin should be sought for this term.

One of the Druze dīs, al-Ḥarīh b. Tīrmāl of Iblīs refused to obey Şamīl, and was expelled from the city of the dīs, being dubbed "Bīlī". He became the amīm of the polytheists in Surna (the dīm in the Druze account). When one of the Bīnī met another, he would say: "Flee from (abdū) Bīlī and his party!". As a result, Şamīl acquired the name of Ḫadjārī.


BISĀT (A.), pls. bast/bustut, abosta, which implies the general meaning of extensiveness (thus in Kur'ān, cf. Kur'ān, LXXXVIII, 16); if it is decorated with a relief design, a mahfūra; specifically, one of fairly large dimensions. Any kind of pile. In Turkey, the Caucasus and the regions of northwestern Persia inhabited by the Kurds, the Turkish or Gordes knot (so called after the Turkish town of Gordes [q.s.]), has been commonly used. But whilst the Persian or Gendeh-knot (so-called after the Persian town of Senneh, today called Sanandaj [q.s.]) is commonly associated with Persia, India and Turkestan, the Gordes knot is also found in Persian rugs and the commonly-accepted geographical demarcation must be treated with reserve (for diagrams of these two knots see IA, v/v, 137). Kilims, and Sumak, Verne and Silc rugs are flat woven, with no pile. Until aniline and chromate dyes were introduced in the eighties of the 19th century, only natural dyes were used (see C.E.C. Tattersall, Notes on carpet-knotting and weaving, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1961; A.N. Landreau and W.R. Pickering, From the Beysoros to Semarkand, flat-woven rugs, The Textile Museum, Washington 1969).

2. History
a. Early Stages

The oldest known knotted carpet was discovered in 1949 in the tomb of a local prince in Fazyrk, in the Altai Mountains. By means of other finds in the tomb, it may be dated to the 4th century B.C. There are as yet no indications as to the place of its manufacture, but the suggestion of its manufacture in Achaemenid Persia has been put forward. Its technique (3,000 Turkish knots to the square decimetre) and its design, in Achaemenid style, are of a remarkable perfection; it is one of, and the most important of, the three extant pieces of evidence for a highly-developed art of knotting of this early date. It shows in a developed form the composition of a central field surrounded by borders, which consist of a wide main border and several subsidiary or guard borders, characteristic of all oriental carpets.

Very small fragments of carpets, conjecturally dated between the 3rd and 6th centuries A.D., were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein during his Turfan expeditions (at Lop Nor). These, however, are not knotted carpets but matted fabrics, in which the pile is produced by the warps, introduced first as loops and later split (see A. Stein, Ruins of desert Cathay, London 1912, 380, plate 116, 4). The "Spanish knot," on the other hand, always tied around a single warp, is used in a fragment discovered by Le Coq in Kucha during the fourth Turfan expedition, the earliest possible date of which is the 5th-6th century (see F. Sarre, Ein frühes Knüpfteppich-Fragment aus chinesisch-Turkestan, in Berliner Musen (1920-1), 110). The piece is too small and the design too faint to permit any conclusions about the carpets of this period. The many small fragments of knotted carpets from Fustat can hardly be dated (see M.S. Dimand, An early cut-pile rug from Egypt, in Metropolitan Museum Studies, iv (1933), 151 ff.; S.Y. Rudenko, The world's oldest knotted carpets and fabrics, Moscow 1968 (in Russian); R.B. Serjeant, Material for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest, in Ars Islamica, ix (1942), 54 and xv-xvi (1951), 29).

b. Turkey

Konya carpets.

The development of oriental knotted carpets can be traced to a certain extent only from the 7th/13th century onwards. The oldest coherent group comes from Anatolia. In 1907 F.R. Martin discovered three large and several small fragments in the
The styles of Anatolian carpets of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries are attested by reproductions in Italian paintings of the period. They are characterised by a series of square or octagonal motifs filled with stylised animals. The best known fragment of such a carpet, which is in the Islamic Museum of Berlin, shows on a yellow ground two octagons, set in squares, in which are found a dragon and a phoenix, the pair borrowed from Chinese mythology (Kühnel, *Islamic art and architecture*, London 1966, 94 and Pl. 37b; and Pl. I).

Anatolian animal carpets.

On the portrait of the merchant Gisze, painted by Hans Holbein the Younger in 1532 and kept in the Picture Gallery of the Staatslichen Museen, Berlin, can be seen a carpet that serves as tabletop. It represents a further group of Anatolian carpets which appear frequently on paintings from the middle of the 15th century until the end of the 16th century; these are characterised as "small-patterned Holbein carpets", and a fair number of them have survived. Their design, too, is based on squares with inset octagons in vertical and horizontal rows. The octagons are formed by bands knotted several times and the corners of the squares are filled by stylised arabesque leaves, which, joined together, merge into diamond-shaped linking motifs. Variety of colours within the squares of some specimens produces a kind of chessboard effect. In the details, these carpets correspond with the so-called large partitioned Holbein-carpets, the pattern of which is limited to a few broad, clearly separated motifs which are arranged only lengthwise. The decoration of the borders is mostly based on Kučic characters. In the earlier designs the vertical strokes which have been directed to the edging of the carpet are clearly recognisable. Later on they develop into a twined band without definite orientation. Red, with brownish shades, blue, yellow, white and green are dominant. The large-partitioned Holbein-carpets are believed to have been made in Bergama, the small partitioned ones in Usjak. See Pls. III, IV.

The fourth type of early Ottoman carpets is also localised in Usjak. These are the so-called Lotto-carpets, because they appear among others, on the paintings by the Italian painter Lorenzo Lotto. They are also called "carpets with arabesque tendrils", since all specimens of this group show a red foundation covered with a yellow net of tendrils, arabesque leaves and palmettes. As is the case with the small patterned Holbein-carpets, their arrangement is basically determined by a system of octagons set in squares, while the fillings of the spandrels form also diamond-shaped figures. More often than the Kučic-borders, those of the Lotto-carpets are made up of undulating tendrils, multi folioed lozenges and later on, alternating cloud bands. See Pl. V.

Medallion and Star Usjaks.

In the 11th/17th century the early Ottoman patterns are replaced by Persian-influenced arrangements of motifs which characterise the Medallion and Star-Uṣaks. The centre of the Medallion-Uṣaks is usually marked by a pointed oval-shaped medallion with a flamboyant outline and a floral inner design. Lengthwise on both sides shield-shaped pendants are attached to the medallion. In the corners of the field quadrants of a differently shaped medallion appear. The composition can be understood as being a part of a system of staggered rows of medallions. Examples showing greater parts of the pattern prove this. The usually red ground colour between the medallions is traversed with entangled, angularly drawn tendrils. The Star-Uṣak, with staggered star-shaped medallions, connected by lozenges, is a variant of the Medallion-Uṣak. Both types occur frequently on Dutch 17th century paintings. Like the Lotto-carpets, the Uṣaks were manufactured in coarse, mis- constructed versions far into the 18th and 19th century (see K. Erdmann, *Weniger bekannte Uschak-Muster*, in *Kunst des Orients*, iv, 79 ff.; and Pis. VI, VII).

"Bird" and "Tschintamani" carpets.

Usjak-carpets with a white ground both in field and border are rare. Two simple patterns can here be distinguished: the "Tschintamani" and the "Bird" motifs. The first, in all-over repeat, consists of two parallel undulating lines and three balls arranged in a triangle over them. This motif is undoubtedly of Far Eastern origin. From the 15th century onwards it is known as a pattern for clothing in Persian and Turkish miniatures, and from the 16th century it was popular on Turkish textile fabrics. The "Bird"-motif consists of horizontal and vertical running stripes crossing each other, and is composed of rosettes and leaves, the form of which superficially looks like birds. Both patterns have often been copied in the 20th century.

Transylvanian carpets.

An important group of small-sized Anatolian carpets from the 17th to 19th centuries, showing analogy with the Usjak-carpets, are the Transylvanian carpets, so-called because they have survived in great number in the churches of Transylvania. Besides some smaller versions of the Lotto-, Bird- and Tschintamani-patterns, they are mainly prayer-
rugs, the inner-fields of which are arch-shaped to represent the mihrāb, often in connection with one or more pairs of columns. They form a link with the Turkish prayer rugs of the 18th and 19th centuries from Gördes, Ladik and Milas (see E. Schmutzler, Altorientalische Teppiche in Siebenbürgen, Leipzig 1933; J. de Vegh and Ch. Layer, Tapiss tissus provenant des églises et collèges de Turquie, Paris 1925; M. Mostafa, Turkish prayer rugs, Cairo 1953; Turkish Rugs, The Washington Hajji Baba, The Textile Museum, Washington 1968).

c. Egypt

Mamluk, Ottoman and Chess-board carpets.

Fifteenth-century Mamluk Egypt saw the origin of clearly recognisable carpets with a kaleidoscopic design, consisting of stars, rectangles and triangles, filled with small leaves, shrubs and cypresses. Their wool is soft and glossy, and the colours normally range between cherry-red, vivid green and bright blue. The many-sided star-like ornaments and the arrangement of the motifs towards the centre show a stylistic connection with the inlaid metal-work, the wood and the leather fabrics and the book-illuminations of the Mamluk period. Only a few large-sized Mamluk carpets have survived, among which one with a silk pile counts as one of the most beautiful carpets in the world (Vien. Museum für Angewandte Kunst). More numerous are small specimens with a medallion that takes up the entire width of the carpet, to the upper side and bottom of which a tightly patterned rectangular field is attached. An essential distinction between the Mamluk and the Anatolian carpets lies in the fact that the former are characterised by groups of patterns and not by regular repeat patterns from which, within a constant internal relation as far as size is concerned, variable formats can be chosen. In the borders rosettes usually alternate with oblong cartouches. European and Oriental sources mention Cairo as an important centre of the knotting industry at least from 1474 onwards.

After Egypt was conquered by the Ottomans in 1517, the Mamluk carpets were replaced by carpets manufactured in the Ottoman court-style. Their luxurious floral decoration presents a sharp contrast to the geometrical patterns of the Mamluk carpets. The palmettes and rosettes, the feathered lanceolate leaves and the naturally treated tulips, pinks and hyacinths are also to be found on the contemporary textiles and on pottery and tiles of Iznik. It would therefore seem obvious to deduce that the carpets also were manufactured in Turkey. However, in their fineness, technique and colour-scheme, they differ completely from the rest of the Anatolian carpets, but match to a considerable extent the Mamluk carpets. It is therefore plausible that they were manufactured in the Cairoine workshops after models made by Ottoman artists. This theory is supported by some hybrid types, i.e. Mamluk carpets with elements of Ottoman carpets, and vice versa. The products of the Cairoine workshops were of a special quality, as may be seen from the fact that Murād III in 1358 summoned eleven master carpet-makers together with their materials from Cairo to Istanbul. It is as yet unknown whether they carried out there a special order or established a local weaving-industry. Among the Ottoman carpets are some prayer rugs. Ewliya Čelebi mentions the use of Egyptian prayer rugs in Anatolia in the middle of the 17th century. See PIs. VIII, IX.

The chess-board carpets hold an intermediate position between the Mamluk and the Anatolian carpets. Their basic motifs are clearly Mamluk in character: a star with eight rays on which small cypress, blossoms and rosettes are radially directed, stands in a hexagon or octagon which is itself placed in a square. The way in which this motif is dealt with, the use of various-sized sections of the pattern, the coarse wool, and the knot (which is always red) point however to Anatolia. The colours are most often bright blue, vivid green and red, and thus come near to the Mamluk carpets. Moreover, these chessboard carpets have the Persian knot in common with the Mamluk and Ottoman carpets. As their place of origin E. Kühnel proposed the area around Adana in Anatolia; Rhodes and Damascus have also been suggested. They can be considered to have originated between the middle of the 10th/16th and the end of the 11th/17th centuries (see E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, Cairene rugs and others technically related, 15th-17th cent., Washington 1957; K. Erdmann, Kaïtner Teppiche, i, Europäische und islamische Quellen des 15.-18. Jh., in Ars Islamica, v (1938), 179; idem, Mamluken- und Osmantepichte, in Ars Islamica, vii (1940), 55; idem, Neure Untersuchungen zur Frage der Kaïtner Teppiche, in Ars Orientalis, iv (1961), 65).

d. Persia

a. Timurid carpets.

The oldest Persian carpets which have been preserved date from the first half of the 10th/16th century. They represent culminating points of the art of carpet knotting which are inconceivable without earlier stages. Timurid miniatures of the 9th/15th century represent indeed with great accuracy various genres of carpets. Roughly, two basic types can be distinguished. First a small-pattern group with geometrical design, consisting of repeating squares, stars and crosses, hexagons, octagons or circles. They resemble contemporary tile-patterns. The motifs are framed by bright, small bands which interface into stars or crosses and in between into knots. The central field is monochrome or is divided in chess-board style with contrasting colours. In the borders a Kūfic-like writing stands out from a dark background. The relation to the small-patterned Holbein carpets is unmistakable.

This type is replaced by arabesque and flower patterns towards the end of the 9th/15th century. The finest specimens are to be found in the miniatures of the painter Bihzād [q.v.]. He belonged to the school of Herāt and was in 1522 entrusted with the direction of the library of Shāh Ismā‘īl I in Tabrīz. A direct influence on the royal carpet manufactures is thus possible. In this new style with arabesque-patterns, constructed lines cross the field—symmetrical to both axes—and outline semi-circles, circles, multi-foils, cartouches and ellipses. These forms intersect, creating segments which are emphasised by their colour and by their arabesque tendril decoration. There are also carpets in which medallions are arranged over one another. This general principles and individual motifs form the bases of the Safawid carpets of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (see A. Briggs, Timurid carpets, in Ars Islamica, vii, 26, and xvii, 146).

b. Safawid carpets.

Dating. Four carpets with a date inserted and some
documents provide the basis for dating the carpets which were manufactured in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries under the Şafawids: (1) the carpet with the hunting scene, designed by Ghīyāth al-Dīn Ḫānī, and now in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, with the date 929/1522, occasionally also read 949/1542; (2) the famous Ardabil carpet by Maksūd Kāhānī, dated 946/1539-40, manufactured together with one or even two others for the tomb mosque of Šayḵ Šafī; then, after a gap of more than 100 years, (3) a "vase" carpet in the museum of Sarajevo, and in the first half of the 17th century (Pl. XV). With the aid of documentary evidence they can be dated as follows. In 1601 the Persian king Sigismond Vasa III ordered such a carpet in Kāshān. In 1603 and 1621 Şāh ‘Abbās I had five specimens sent as gifts accompanying an embassy to the Signoria of Venice. Besides, contemporary reports of European travellers contain many references to these carpets. European paintings, which contribute to the dating of Anatolian carpets, are of no help in this respect as far as the Persian carpets are concerned. Only the "Herât" carpets occur frequently on Dutch paintings of the 17th century. The Şafawid miniatures show that at the beginning of the 10th/16th century the basic types of carpets had been developed. The reproductions are, however, not sufficiently differentiated for conclusions to be drawn from the schools of painting about periods of their origin and localization. Dates are to a high degree determined by stylistic aspects, the quality of the design and realisation and the shape and various degrees of development of the singular forms being weighted one against another. The margin for a subjective judgment remains thus relatively large.

Localisation. Because of their patterns and technical singularities, the Şafawid carpets, with some exceptions, can be divided into clearly discernible groups. It is however difficult to see the relations of these groups with the historically-established knotting centres. Undoubtedly the successive capitals Tabrīz (from 1502), Қazwīn (from 1548) and Iṣfahān (from 1596-7) had their court weaving manufactories. It is possible that the early Şafawid carpets came into being in Tabrīz under the influence of Bihzād. It is surprising that no attempts have been made to localize carpets at Қazwīn. The work-shops of Iṣfahān are sufficiently documented. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier describes even their exact locality in the Maṇḍān area. The manufacturing of silk so-called "Polish" carpets and woollen carpets is proved to have taken place in Iṣfahān. Apparently Kāshān was known before Iṣfahān for its silk weaving. Pedro Teixeira mentions already in 1604 carpets from Kāshān with gold and silk, beautiful brocades and velvets, and the fame of the town was evident in 1601 when King Sigismond Vasa III ordered there silk carpets, worked with gold. So late as 1670 Chevalier Chardin calls Kāshān the centre of the silk-industry. See Pl. XIV.

The woollen carpets, however, cannot be classified since they are only very summarily dealt with in travellers' accounts. In his appraisal of the quality of Persian carpets, Pedro Teixeira, who left Goa in 1604 and travelled to Europe through Persia, puts those from Yezd in the first place, those from Kirmān—further characterised in 1684-5 by Engelbert Kaempfer as carpets with animal patterns made from the best wool—in the second place, and those from Māhrūsān in the third. Thadâus Krusinski mentions the provinces of Șehrīdān, Karâbāgh, Ǧilān, the towns of Kāshān, Kirmān, Maṣḏhad, Astarābād and the capital Iṣfahān as localities in which court weaving manufactories were erected under Şāh 'Abbās I. Tabrīz was important during the 16th century, but in the 17th century it is hardly mentioned any more. Indications of the regions of origin, like north-western Persia (Tabrīz), southern Persia (Kirmān) and eastern Persia (Herât etc.), which have become quite current in the literature on oriental carpets, represent rather a description of a particular type than a concrete localisation. The discovery of oriental sources like town chronicles, descriptions of weaving manufactories or patterns for designs, might clear up this problem.

Compartment rugs. The "Compartment rugs" of the Şafawids are derived from the carpets with arabesque pattern of the Timūrid period. The early specimens resemble their painted examples so closely that one is tempted to give them an earlier date. A Compart ment rug in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and its companion in the Musée historique des tissus, Lyons, thus belong entirely to the Timūrid tradition; the net-like pattern consisting of eight-lobed rosettes surrounded by shield-shaped motifs formed by interlaced bands and the East Asian motifs which fill these fields, such as the dragon, the phooenix and cloud bands as well as the arabesque tendrils in the background and the vertical arranged cartouches of the borders can easily be connected with Timūrid miniatures. If dated to the beginning of the Şafawid period, both carpets could have been manufactured in Tabrīz. To this pair of carpets belong some later variants with a raised medallion, establishing the transition to the medallion carpets of North-West Persia, and other variations with shields and quatre-foils in alternating rows. The overlapping fields, found in the carpets in Bihzâd's miniatures, are seen again on several 17th century "Polish" carpets.

Carpets with hunting scenes and animals. The influence of miniature-painting is most evident on the carpets with hunting scenes and animals. Except for a few carpets with figures arranged asymmetrically, the scenes are adjusted symmetrically on the background, both in horizontal and vertical directions. An arrangement of medallions is put above this, usually with one medallion in the centre and quarters of medallions in the corners of the field. The hunters, on foot or horseback, attack lions, leopards, gazelles, deer and hares with spears, swords and arrows. Together with a great variety of birds, these animals appear also on the carpets with only animals, on which fights between deer or bull and lion, or between the چئی لین or Chinese unicorn and dragon are in the foreground. The "Cheīse" carpet of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (pl. X), with its net of medallions connected by diagonally arranged pointed ovals, holds a middle position between the Compartment rugs and the traditional carpets with medallions and animals. An upward and downward string of arabesque leaves divides the border in interlocking parts of contrasting colours. As "reciprocal pinnacle border", it was, in a simpler form, very popular on the later Şafawid carpets. Among the carpets which are close to the miniatures,
two large, silk carpets with hunting scenes, in Vienna and Boston (see below), are conspicuous. To these are closely connected some silk woven carpets and about 12 woollen carpets (the so-called "Sanguszko" group). Carpets with figures flourished in the 10th/16th century under Shah Tahmasp I. Apart from the mastery of the designs, their technical realisation is exemplary. They are an expression of court luxury. Such carpets were undoubtedly manufactured in Tabriz, but the stylistic and technical differences point to other weaving centres as well. Under Shah 'Abbás I carpets with figures lose their importance, so that the few specimens of the 11th/17th century are mere offshoots of the 10th/16th century carpets.

North-west Persian Medallion-carpets. Together with a series of medallion carpets with figures, a restricted group of carpets which have in common a medallion on a background which is filled with tendrils is localised in north-western Persia, including Tabriz. The most conspicuous specimen is the Ardabil carpet, according to its inscription dated 946/1539-40. A star-shaped medallion, with corresponding quarter medallions in the corners of the field, appears above a fourfold symmetrical double system consisting of elongated spiral tendrils (see Rexford Stead, The Ardabil carpets, J. Paul Getty Museum, California 1974). More characteristic is a simpler class of carpets with medallions on a continuous, somewhat clumsily designed pattern of scrolls with small repeat. Here too the medallions are star-shaped and, as in the case with all medallion carpets of the 10th/16th century, they clearly stand out from the pattern of the background. Often secondary designs are added of a vertical cartouche and a shield-pendant, mostly to be found lengthwise on both sides. Border patterns consist of alternating cartouches and rosettes or a continuous, mirrored repeat of short, interlaced arabesque tendrils. Particularly striking in these carpets is their relatively long format. See Pl. XI.

Herāt carpets. The Herāt carpets normally have no medallion. They are characterised by a variety of large palmettes with flamboyant contours, which cover the points where most delicate spiral scrolls split and touch the symmetrical axes. The colour of the field is almost always purple, that of the borders dark green or deep blue. On the specimens of the 10th/16th century the spiral scrolls are tightly connected. The design is dense, with many bizarre cloud bands and often intermingled with animals and scenes of animal fights. The rich use of East Asiatic motifs has led scholars to localise these carpets in eastern Persia; it is indeed proved that high-quality carpets were manufactured in Khurāsān and its capital Herāt. In a later type, the arrangement of tendrils is looser and wider, the cloud bands are less frequent and more clumsy, and animals are completely absent. The pattern is determined by palmettes and long, often two-coloured lanceolate leaves, also simplified. The details and borders show parallels with the "polish" carpets, and therefore this type of Herāt carpets too can be dated to the 11th/17th century. It is as yet undetermined whether these are identical with the woolen carpets manufactured in Isfahan. Such "Herāt" carpets were exported to India and there imitated. It is difficult to distinguish between Persian and Indian workmanship. So far unambiguous criteria are lacking (see below). These carpets are the only type of classical Persian carpets which appear frequently on European paintings, especially the Dutch genre-paintings of the 17th century. These "Herāt" carpets were evidently a valuable commodity to Europeans, for they have been preserved in great quantity mainly in Portugal and Holland, countries which through their East India Companies had close commercial relations with Persia and India. See Pl. XII.

Vase carpets. In contrast with the medallion and "Herāt" carpets, the "vase" carpets have mostly a rising pattern which is mirrored only with respect to the longitudinal axis. The direction is determined by blossoming shrubs and, on many of these carpets, by receptacles which have the form of vases of Chinese porcelain, filled with flowers, from which the name of this group of carpets is derived. Typical is the division of the field by means of oval rosettes. Three groups of rosettes, placed one against the other, are mostly intersected. They arise from undulating pairs of tendrils which touch each other and retreat behind magnificent flowers. The rosettes may however also be outlined clearly by tendrils or broad lanceolate leaves and be filled up with various colours. Occasionally, the arrangement of rosettes is absent and there remain entangled rows of flower-vases or shrubs arranged in a staggered pattern. Sometimes also patterns of roses occur, intermingled with shrubs and flowers, in connection with medallions. Striking are the wealth of colours, especially conspicuous in large-sized rosettes and palmettes, and the combination of these stylised flowers with naturalistic bushes. The borders are relatively small and the inner or outer guards are often lacking.

Opinions differ about the date of the "vase" carpets. Some fragments with very luxuriant décor and vivid lineation recall stylistically the best "Polish" carpets, with which they can be dated to the beginning of the 17th century. It is still under discussion whether the pieces of the main group, which are designed in a clearer and stiffer way, originated before or after these fragments. Some are of later date, as is shown by the impoverishment of the pattern. More difficult is the decision about others, which are rich in details notwithstanding the rather simple pattern. The "vase" carpet of the museum of Sarajevo, dated 1656, is not typical. Its extraordinary well-executed design and the fact that figurative motifs are in general lacking, favours the opinion that most of the "vase" carpets originated in the 11th/17th century. Southern Persia (Kirmān) is regarded as the region of their manufacture (see K. Erdmann, review of A survey of Persian art, in Ars Islamica, vili, 174 ff.). See Pl. XIII.

Garden carpets. Safavid gardens with their geometrical division by rectilinear canals, as e.g. Hazār Darbār near Isfahan, and the garden at Aghraf, laid out by Shah 'Abbās I in 1612, are reflected in the garden carpets. With their canals and basins with fish and ducks, bordered by trees and bushes in which birds and other creatures frolic, these carpets represent "portable gardens" which are accessible all year round. The earliest specimen is probably a garden carpet in the Jaipur Museum. According to an inscription on the back, this "foreign carpet" arrived at the palace in Jaipur on 29 August 1632, probably by order or as a gift. Apart from this one, only two other garden-carpets from the Safavid period have survived. The type lives on in a later, restricted group which can be distinguished from its Safavid predecessors by the schematic outline of the details, although the general principle remains the same. They may have been manufactured in north-western Persia from the second half of the 18th century until sometime in the 19th century (see M.S. Dimand,
A Persian garden carpet in the Jaipur Museum, in Ars Islamica, vi (1940), 93; and PL XVI, no. 17).

"Portuguese" carpets. The ten to fifteen "Portuguese" carpets all go back to the same model and form thus the most coherent group. They owe their name to the representations of sailing ships with European-dressed persons on board and a man who emerges from the water among fishes and sea monsters. The representation is repeated four times in the corners, and recalls the ornamental motifs on European maps. One of the interpretations of that scene is that it depicts the arrival of Portuguese ambassadors in the Persian Gulf. From the combination of oriental and European motifs it was further concluded that these carpets were intended for Portuguese in Goa. The rest of the filling of the fields is also unusual. It consists of a lozenge-shaped middle field with four small, pointed oval medallions and irregularly notched and feathered outline, surrounded by concentric interlacing stripes of various colours. In the earlier specimens these stripes are vivid and irregularly forked, in the later ones they are rectilinear, parallel and regular. While there is no doubt about dating them to the 17th century, their place of origin still remains uncertain. Formerly these carpets were considered to have originated in southern or central Persia, but now some scholars have proposed India.

Neither hypothesis is supported by convincing proofs (see C.G. Ellis, The Portuguese carpets of Gujarat, in Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, ed. R. Ethington, New York 1973, 267).

Silk carpets. The change in style which the Safawid carpets underwent between the 10th/16th and the 11th/17th centuries, is especially recognisable in the silk carpets. The most famous and largest carpet of this kind is the so-called Vienna hunting carpet which was in the possession of the Austrian imperial house and is now in the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna. The use of silk for pile, warp and weft produces a very fine texture and gives the possibility for an extremely precise design. So it is not only because of its costly material that this carpet heads the figurative medallion carpets orientated towards the miniature painting and dating from the period of Shah Tahmasp. Its size of 6.93 x 3.23 m. corresponds with that of the large, woolen, knotted carpets. Many details are executed in gold and silver brocade. It is said to have originated from Tabriz or, more probably, from Kashan, known for its silk industry. A silk hunting carpet from the collection of Baron M. de Rothschild, which can be compared with the Vienna carpet, is now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Some thirteen small-sized silk carpets, which K. Erdmann called "the small silk carpets of Kashan" (Siebentandert Jahre Orientöffnungen, 143), are related to these two. Apart from these carpets with animals and animal fights in a rising, symmetrical arrangement, they also represent the type of the early medallion carpets. Representations of persons and peris are lacking. They return on some woven silk carpets, also mostly of small size, which fit in stylistically with the figurative woollen carpets of the "Sanguszko" group, and among which a fragmentary hunting carpet in the Residenzmuseum at Munich stands out. Because of its size, theme and quality of delineation it is directly related to the Viennese hunting carpet. It must, however, be taken into account that the technique of a woven carpet does not permit the elegant lineation of a knotted one. All these woven carpets have pointed oval medallions with transverse cartouches, borders with alternating cartouches and quatrefoils. In comparison with the knotted silk carpets the use of gold and silver brocade on large fields is new, and not only with respect to the emphasizing of details. If the making of the Vienna hunting carpet, which undoubtedly figures at the beginning of the development, is dated to about the middle of the 16th century, then the "small silk carpets of Kashan", the figurative woven carpets and the woolen carpets of the "Sanguszko"-group present the style of the second half of the 16th century.

Contrasting with the new figurative woven carpets, there is a large group of woven carpets with purely floral decor, in which a coarsening of the lineation is recognisable. In two of these carpets—one completely preserved in the Residenzmuseum in Munich (Pl. XI) and the lengthwise half of another in the Textile Museum in Washington—the arms of the Polish king Sigismund Vasa III have been woven. As is known from documents, the king ordered in 1601 silk carpets worked with gold from Kashan. In a bill of 12 September 1602 pairs of carpets are mentioned, together with the sum of five crowns for the weaving of the royal arms. In 1642 an undefined number of carpets came as dowry into the possession of the Elector Philip William of the Palatinate by his marriage to princess Anna Catherina Constanzza, a daughter of Sigismund III. Among these carpets were undoubtedly not only the woven carpets with the arms but certainly also the other woven carpets and the "Polish" carpets, now in the Residenzmuseum. The carpets with the arms thus illustrate the style of woven carpets about 1600. They form the starting point for a chronological order of the floral woven carpets, which with their latest specimens may reach as far as the second half of the 17th century. In the shape of their medallions, however, they remain related to the early Safawid carpets.

The view that carpets with figurative representations were no more in fashion in the 17th century is confirmed by the knotted silk carpets, the large fields of which are brocaded with gold and silver threads, and the manufacturing of which flourished under Shah 'Abbās I. At first these carpets were thought to be of Polish origin and therefore were called "Polish carpets". The group includes now about 230 specimens, which came into the possession of European courts or churches as gifts of ambassadors or on order. They were however not only intended for export but were also in Persia a sign of wealth and luxury, and bear witness to the court taste in the beginning of the 17th century. Since these "representation" carpets, in contrast to the woollen carpets, evoked again and again the admiration of European travellers, they form rich source material, much more so than any other kind of Safawid carpets. And thus it can also be ascertained that the main group was produced in the court manufactury in the Maydan area of Isfahān. In the "Polish" carpets the relaxation of the 16th century rules for the form of the carpets is unmistakable. This is shown by the shifting from lines to fields, which finds expression in the abandoning of the monochrome foundation and in the loss of the clear delineation of the medallions against the background. Characteristic is further a luxuriat, merely floral decor.

Production in great quantities brought about a rationalisation of the design, as can easily be shown from the many specimens known. This kind of production necessitated also economy in the material, as may be seen from the preference for smaller sizes
and above all from the use of cotton besides silk in the weft.

The patterns can be reduced to about a dozen basic systems, mostly present in the few large-sized carpets. Variety is brought about by a difference in choice of various details, by different medallions and borders and by variations of colours. Apparently these carpets were preferably knotted in pairs, because until today 25 exact pairs are known, harmonising even in the borders and the division of colours. Continuing the tradition of Kashān, where the earliest of these carpets may have originated, the uniform style of the "Polish" carpets was probably developed in Isfahan at the beginning of the 17th century, after the court was transferred there in 1605/1596-7. The "Polish" carpets, characterised by an obvious negligence in the discipline of the drawing, may date from the second half of the 17th century. The destruction of the Safavid dynasty by the Afghans in 1722 put an end to the manufacture of brocade textile (see K. Erdmann, *Persische Wirkteppiche der Safawidenzeit*, in *Pantheon* (1932), 227; F. Spuhler, *Der figurale Kaschian-Wirktpich aus den Sign.* *des regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein, in Kunst des Orient*, v/1 (1968), 55; T. Mankowski, *Note on the cost of Kashan carpets at the beginning of the 17th century, in Bull. of the American Inst. for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iv (1936), 152; M.S. Dimand, *Loan exhibition of Persian rugs of the so-called Polish type*, Metropolitan Museum New York 1930; F. Spuhler, *Ein neuerwerterner "Polentepich" des Museums für Islamische Kunst, in Berliner Museen, N.F., xx/1, 27; idem, *Seidene Reprdsentationsteppiche der mittleren bis späten Safawidenzeit*, inaugural thesis, Berlin 1968, to be published by Faber and Faber, London).

### 18th and 19th Centuries

The few carpets from the 18th century abandon to a great extent the tradition of the two preceding centuries. Simpler repeated patterns with plant motifs like trees, shrubs, forked leaves, palmettes and rosettes are preferred. In the 19th century production revives. The old centres of Tabriz, Isfahan, Kāşān, Kirman and Khūrsān with Herāt gain new importance with mostly large carpets. In Tabriz and Kāşān small-sized silk carpets are knotted too, also as prayer rugs. The arrangement of the medallions on a monochrome or small-patterned background is preferred. A typical design of the 19th century is the "Herāt" pattern, spread all over Persia. The main element of its repeat is a lozenge with four blossoming leaves which run parallel to the sides and a rosette in the centre. The *hokh* or almondstone pattern is equally popular. The figural carpets have their origin in the hunting and animal carpets of the 10th/16th century and came mainly from Tehran and Kirmān. Elements of the classical pattern are geometrised and distorted. Peculiarity and liveliness cannot be denied to the products of the 19th century. This is especially true for the carpets from the surroundings of the town of Bidjār, which are, moreover, of outstanding quality. Characteristic is an extremely fine carpet, dated 1209/1794 (formerly in the McCullian collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York), which in colouration and structure belongs to the Bidjār carpets and for the drawing of which a pattern of a "vase" carpet was used. A series of later Bidjārs can be connected to this one.

In contrast with the preceding centuries, there have been preserved from the 19th century not only carpets from the manufactories, but also carpets that were made by tribes and villages for their personal use, and village products of cottage industries, marketed in the larger towns. They are usually small-sized. Their charm lies in their originality. To these belong carpets from the towns of Hamadān, Saruk, Bidjār, Heriz, Senneh and Kirmānghāb and from the Kurdish tribes in the neighbourhood. Some of the patterns of the Ḍaḵṭiyārīs living to the west of Isfahan are based on the Isfahan-style. The Ḍaḵštānī nomads around Shīrāz use both purely geometrical forms and flowers and animals (see A.C. Edwards, *The Persian carpet*, London 1953) (see further on tribal carpets, Section iii below).

#### c. India

During the 16th and 17th centuries carpets sometimes of very high perfection were manufactured in the towns of Āgra, Lahore and Jaipur, evidently without any preceding Indian tradition in this field of handcraft. The stimuli surely came from Persia. Under the Mughal Akbar I (1556-1605), a strong tendency towards Ṣafawī taste was developing. This led to the summoning of Persian artists and craftsmen and affected all the artistic activities under Akbar’s successors Djiāṅgīr, Shāh Djiānī and Awrangzīb until about 1600. Between 1625 and 1630 European influences too made themselves felt. In the present state of research it is not possible to establish a chronology of the Indian carpets of the Mughal period. It is plausible that the separate groups did not replace one another but existed contemporaneously. Some fragments with grotesque animal patterns which are rooted in Indian mythology are to be placed at the beginning of the development and dated perhaps as early as the 16th century. The miniatures in the *Akbār-nāma* of Abu ‘l-Fadl [q.v.], dated 1602-5, give us an idea of the carpets ca. 1600. With their original medallions, scrolls and cloud-bands, they correspond to the Persian carpets of the 16th century, so that the actual origin remains obscure. In the same way the Indian carpets of the later "Herāt" type cannot with certainty be separated from their Persian predecessors. A group with pattern of scrolls stands out more clearly; it is characterised by lancelolate leaves at the ends of the scrolls, formed by leaves of blossoms which overlap like scales. This group is represented by a carpet which was ordered in Lahore and presented in 1634 by Mr. Robert Bell, now in the possession of the Girdler’s Company of the City of London. Also authentically Indian is a carpet with scenes of animal fights, carrying the arms of the Frewin family (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London), which helps to distinguish the Indian animal carpets from the Persian ones. R. Shkelton has proved convincingly that a naturalistic flower style arises in miniature painting between 1620 and 1627, towards the end of the reign of Djiāṅgīr. This style, encouraged by the import of European botanical works, spread to carpets and textile fabrics and did not hesitate to employ plastic effects in its design, produced by gradations of colour. A carpet with rows of blossoming shrubs lies underneath Awrangzīb’s throne on a portrait painted around 1660. A date *post quem* is thus available for quite a number of extant carpets of this kind, with cherry-red background and a fine arrangement of colours. Such a date is valid too for the extraordinarily tight-knotted prayer rugs with a central blossoming bush, standing out from a flat landscape. Apparently both types did not originate before the second quarter of
the 17th century and may have reached their peak of popularity about the middle of that century. Their differing quality indicates that they were manufactured in various centres. In the 18th and 19th centuries the Indian carpets seem to have been made only for export and are artistically without consequence (see R. Skelton, *A decorative motif in Maghul art*, in *Aspects of Indian Art, Papers presented in a symposium at the Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, October 1970, Leiden 1972, 147*; and PIs. XVI, XVII).

f. The Caucasus

The stylised, archaizing representations of pairs of animals, dragons, trees, bushes, etc. on the Caucasian dragon and tree carpets caused F.R. Marquart in 1908, in the first chronology of Oriental carpets, to place these carpets at the beginning of the development and to date them to the 15th/14th centuries. This opinion however is contradicted by the evident influence the Safavid carpets have had on these "dragon" carpets, as is shown by the floral motifs, animals and scenes of animal fights. These carpets got their name from the dragons which are mostly distorted until they are unrecognisable. The dragons are inserted into a rising lozenge-shaped design, made from diagonal stripes. This arrangement and the narrow borders point to a relation with the "vase" carpets. According to modern opinion, only a few of these carpets date back to the 17th century. Together with their Caucasian versions, most of them are derived from the 18th century tree-carpets and floral carpets with spiral tendrils and have their origin in the Shirwan/Karabagh area. Some of the Caucasian carpets of the 17th and 18th centuries are of considerable size, which indicated that they were manufactured in urban manufactories. In accordance with the sense of decoration of the rural population, a profusion of bright patterns with large fields in lively colouration developed in the 19th century from the above-mentioned wealth of forms. With their geometrical design these small carpets and runners—are there no more large-sized carpets in this period—stand out clearly from the Persian carpets of the 19th century. The most important knotting centres were Kazak, Shirwân, Daghistan, Karabagh, Mâhân, *Taghân*, *Gandja* and Kuba (see A. Sakian, *Novouvel documents sur les tapis arméniens*, in Syria, xvi (1936), 177; M. Ağaçgil, *Dragon rugs, an loan exhibition*, *The Textile Museum Washington* 1948; U. Schürmann, *Téppiche aus dem Kaukasus*, Brunswick n.d., Eng. tr. Grainge, Basingstoke 1974; Catalogues: *Kaukasische Teppiche*, Museum für Kunsthandwerk Frankfurt 1962; C.G. Ellis, *Caucasian carpets in the Textile Museum, in Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens*, in *Monument 5 Leerdam*, Istanbul 1969, 194; and PIs. XVII, no. 20).

g. Spain

In a survey of knotted carpets as expressions of Islamic handicraft, the early Spanish carpets should also be mentioned. The so-called synonyme carpet of the Islamisches Museum, Berlin (I, 27), is probably the oldest and may belong to the 14th-15th centuries. They are often large-sized pieces in a style which predisposes the later "Holbein" carpets. The colours of the Spanish carpets are marked by stronger contrasts. The "Turkish" group may date from the 15th/16th centuries and is succeeded by works with Renaissance elements. Alcaraz, Letur, Cuenca and Valencia are known as knotting centres. The technical peculiarity of the Spanish carpets consists in the fact that the knot is always twisted about a warp (see J. Ferrandis Torrés, *Exposición de alfombras antiguas españolas*, Madrid 1933; E. Kühnel, *Maurische Teppiche aus Alcaraz*, Pantheon 1930, 416; E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Catalogue of Spanish rugs, 12th cent. to 19th cent.*, The Textile Museum, Washington 1953).

h. Turkestan

The varieties of the Turkoman productions are determined by the use that is made of them, especially as furnishing of the tent ([see *Bayam*, iv, Central Asia]. Small carpets serve as floor-coverings, as curtains for the entrance, corresponding in format and design with a prayer rug, as tent-bands which border the upper edge of the round part. Various bags to store supplies, saddlebags and camel-ornaments are also knotted. They all have in common a deep-red to dark-purple ground and an all-over, geometric, repeat design in bright red, blue, white and (rarely) green and yellow. The way in which the gul, the star-shaped to octagonal leading motif which has the function of a tribal sign, is executed, may indicate the particular nomadic tribes: Tekke Turkomans, Yomuts, Çavdîr (Tchodos), Ersarîhs and Sârikis, to whom can be linked the Balûc in the west and the Afghans in the south. The way in which transposed rows of principal and subordinate gulks are arranged, already existent on carpets to be seen on Timurid miniatures and on "Holbein" carpets, suggests a long tradition in the knotting art. Since, however, any support for an accurate dating is lacking, one hesitates to date single specimens to the 18th century (see A. Bogolubow, *Tapisseries de l'Aste centrale faisant partie de la collection vienne par A. Bogolubow*, St. Petersburg 1908 (new edition: A.A. Bogolyubov, *Carpets of Central Asia*, ed. J.M.A. Thompson, London 1973); H. Clark, *Bokhara, Turkoman and Afghan rugs*, London 1922; A. Thacher, *Turkoman rugs*, New York 1940; U. Schürmann, *Zentral-Asatische Teppiche*, Frankfurt 1969, Ger. tr., *Central Asian rugs*, London 1970; V.G. Moshkovskaya, *Knyz narodov sredney Azi Konça 19-20 ve.*, Tashkent 1970, Ger. tr., *Die Teppiche der Volken Mittelasien*, Hamburg 1974.

3. Public Collections of Oriental Carpets

*Europe.* The most important collections are in Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi; Berlin, Islamisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (East Berlin) and Museum für Islamische Kunst; Stockholm, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (West Berlin). Also in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Florence, Museo Bardini; Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe; Leu-Nagrad, Hermitage; Lyon, Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian; Lyons, Musée Historique des Tissus; Milan, Museo Poli Pezzoli; Munich, Residenzmuseum and Bayerisches Nationalmuseum; Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

*U.S.A.* The most important collections are in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Washington, The Textile Museum. Also in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art; Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts; Los Angeles, County Museum; Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art; St. Louis, City Art Museum of St. Louis.

4. Bibliographies

The most extensive bibliography is in K. Erdmann, *Der orientalische Knüpftepich*, Tübingen 1955 (several
editions) arranged according to areas and within these chronologically by the year of publication (English tr. C.G. Ellis, Oriental carpets, London 1960, 2nd impression, Fishguard 1976; K.A.C. Creswell, A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam to 1st Jan., London 1961, Oxford 1973, 1139-1204, alphabetically arranged by authors (Supplement, Jan. 1960 to Jan. 1972, Cairo 1974 (329-37)); J.D. A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam were precious objects of real artistic value and one's tīrāz its satellites manufactured in the large cities, al-Kayrawan, and its colonies; among them were the Aghlabids to the 'Abbasid caliphs; under the caliphate of al-Ma'mun, there is mention of 120 carpets before 1000, Vienna 1908; Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muslimischer Kunst in München 1910, ed. F. Sarre and F.R. Martin, A history of oriental carpets before 1800, Vienna 1908; Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muslimisch-


ii. IN THE MUSLIM WEST

In the Muslim West, the term bisāt, pl. buṣāt is attested, notably by Ibn Khaldūn, Muḥammad, who uses it to describe the revenues paid every year by the Aghlabids to the 'Abbasid caliphs; under the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, there is mention of 120 carpets (buṣāt). It may thus be supposed that these were precious objects of real artistic value and one's natural inclination is to think of "the carpet on which the sovereign and his ministers are seated" (Dūzi, Suppl., i, 85, col. 2). Unfortunately, nothing is known of these carpets which were presumably manufactured in the large cities, al-Kayrawan and its satellites 'Abbāsyya or Rākkiyya, in particular. Does the fact that these products were intended for the highest dignitaries permit us to suppose that, as early as this period, there was at least one tīrāz (q.v.) in Irfīkīya? A workshop of this kind is attested at Mahdiyya in the period of the Fātimid al-Mansūr (Dhahīr, tr. Canard, 75), and there is mention of the manufacture of carpets there. It would seem legitimate to suppose that, under the Aghlabids, there was the capacity for weaving luxury carpets (no doubt inspired by the carpets of the East) intended for the caliphs and for the most senior officials of the Muslim world.

The term bisāt is also employed by Yākūt (7th/13th century), who mentions buṣāt in the region of Tebessa and describes them as sumptuous, well-made and long-lasting. Should these carpets be seen as the antecedents of the lock-stitched carpets which, until recently, still constituted one of the principal items of tent furniture, especially in the region of Tebessa: the tribes of the Nemenzga, the Harakta, the Mahadba and the Hamāma? The most ancient of these products, with strictly geometric decoration, appear to perpetuate the old local traditions such as are still to be found in the Djebel Amour, as well as in the Moroccan Middle and High Atlas.

Bisāt is not at the present time employed in any part of North Africa, where various other Arabic words are used to designate these long, polychrome, woolen fabrics: kīf, kīfī, matraib, jālib, jarājib, while in Morocco, Berber or Berberised words are also used (P. Ricard, Carpetas; as for the carpets manu-

The existence of buṣāt carpets in Muslim Spain is attested by various authors, in particular at Murcia. These products were much valued in the Orient (al-

In the modern and contemporary period, the centres of traditional lock-stitch weaving in North Africa are distributed as follows:

(1) Carpets woven usually by men (reggām), generally within the tent:

Tunisia: the Hamāma, the Mahadba, the Durayd, the Ouled bou Ghanem tribes.

Algeria: the Nemenzga, the Harakta, the Maadid, the Hodna tribes. See pl. XVIII.

All these carpets are characterised by ancient, essentially geometric patterns, with compositions that vary little, and a colour scheme reduced to two or three shades, and by apparently more recent patterns inspired by the carpets of Anatolia, characterised by one or several central polygonal motifs (mṭhrāb) framed by orthogonal fillets. The multiplication of mṭhrāb permits the creation of carpets of large dimensions. They are all polychrome, red being the dominant background colour.

The carpets of the Djebel Amour (Algeria) have remained faithful to geometric décor and to ancient local compositions; there are only two dominant colours, red for the background and dark blue for the motifs (recently replaced by black). At the edges there are fringes woven with a polychrome geometric design. These carpets are comparable with certain Moroccan woven products of the Middle Atlas. See pl. XIX.

Morocco: carpets of the High Atlas: Haouz of Marrakesh, Ouled bou Sbaa, Ait Ouazouguït, etc.; carpets of the Middle Atlas: Zemmour, Zaïan, Beni

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M'tir, Beni Mguild, Ait Youssi, Marmoucha, Ait Saghrouchen, Beni Alaham, Beni Ouaram, etc.

Anatolian influence (woven by women): range of colours.

local types with a fair degree of originality, (Bizerta cities where the influence of al-Kayrawan has been effective for about a century, there being sometimes in particular).

with variants in different countries, are being replaced by the popular label for the rugs of the Tekke Turkmen.

Morocco: Rabat-Salé, Casablanca, Medina (a also influenced by Andalusia).

All these carpets were, or still are, woven in the home, as a family business.

In the contemporary period, the manufacture of carpets, an export product, is tending to become an industry, especially in the major cities such as al-Kayrawan, Tunis, Tlemcen, Rabat-Salé, Casablanca, and also in the more modest towns such as Nabeul, Bizerta, Tetessa, Cherchel, etc.


iii. TRIBAL RUGS.

1. Nomenclature. Until the 1960s few writers on carpet history except, perhaps, A.C. Edwards (The Persian carpet, London 1975), distinguished between the output of cities, villages and tribal groups, and only in the past twenty-five years has the ancient life style of Central Asia’s pastoral nomads attracted anthropologists, making it possible to isolate and study their artefacts.

The custom of marketing an area’s rugs in the local town has obfuscated classification—for instance, Bergama has lent its name to rugs made by villagers and tribes in its hinterland, while Bukhara is still the popular label for the rugs of the Tekke Turkmen. Such misleading nomenclature, coined in the last century, is now being superseded by more precise classification. Similarly, confusing technical terms, with variants in different countries, are being replaced by clearer terminology, based on I. Emery’s work (The primary structure of fabrics, Washington, D.C. 1966).

In the past the words carpet and rug (and in French the word tapis) have been used synonymously, leading to difficulty in the study of documentary evidence. Carpet is now used to define a knotted article of some size, say, 300 by 240 cm. and upwards, while a rug, also of knotted pile, is smaller, measuring up to about 300 by 200 cm. Both words have been used to define flat-weave articles as well, and these are now named after their technique, for instance, kilim or gilim, which is tapestry-woven, and sumak, after sumak weft-wrapping. Only knotted pilework is discussed here.

2. Technique. There are a number of knots of which, as noted in Section i. 1 above, the two most common are the Gördes or Turkish knot and the Senneh or Persian knot. Both are of known antiquity; the Pazyryk rug, dating from the 4th to 3rd century B.C., was made with the Turkish knot, while the Basadar fragments, possibly a century older, show the Persian knot. Again, these terms have proved confusing. The second was named after Senneh, in northwestern Iran, but in the area of modern Sanandaj the Turkish knot predominates. Consequences, although the so-called Turkish knot is the most commonly used in Turkey, both knots are found in Iran and both have been found in the same rug. Classification by knot only, therefore, should be regarded with caution. Each has different characteristics: the Turkish knot is symmetrical, the two tufts lying evenly on either side of the warps, and it is suited to a longer pile, while the Persian knot is asymmetrical, the tufts slanting to the left or right of the warps, and is favoured where clear definition of a complex pattern is required. Some scholars have now adopted the term symmetrical for the Turkish knot and asymmetrical for the Persian.

Description of designs is also prone to variation and many names have been arbitrarily coined by Europeans. A floor carpet can be described as follows: first, the central field and its ornament (some German writers, however, use the word field to define the motif), while the borders are numbered starting from the inner one and specifying the main, or largest, border and the guards or narrow bands which divide them. This system may be adapted to describe saddlebags, tent-bags and animal trappings.

In city workshops, fixed vertical looms make large pieces possible, and women knotters work from a cartoon under male supervision. Villagers use both vertical and horizontal looms, while among the tribes the latter is normal. The tribal loom (Pl. XX), evolved from streamlined simplicity, consists of wood warp beams, pegged into the ground. It is light, easily transported and flexible since it can be used to weave tapestry or, with the addition of a tripod supporting the heddle rods, can be adapted for knotting or various compound weaves. It is necessarily small, and tension is difficult to control since it may be moved while a rug is being made. While cotton warps are favoured in cities and villages, tribal rugs until recently were knotted on wool warps, or a mixture of wool and goat hair, giving them their characteristic suppleness. Tribal wool is of fine quality, carefully selected and dyed. Vegetable dyes were retained longer by the tribes than by settled weavers, and a much-admired feature is the variations in tone, known as ahroq, due to the dyeing of small batches of wool as required. Most of the dye plants like madder, weld and indigo are common, and it is the recipes which give colours their individuality.

The technique of knotting varies. In southern Iran knots are tied with the fingers and cut with a knife, while up in the north-west the wool is pulled through the warps with a hooked tool, at the other end of which is the cutting-blade. Having begun with up to 20 cm. of flat-weave, known as an “end”, the weaver ties one, two or more rows of knots and between these inserts a row or two of plain-weave fills, packing them down firmly with a carpet comb (Pl. XXI) to hold the knots in position. The cords at the sides is put in as the work progresses. Tribal weavers will use an old rug as a model and are free to improvise, especially on detail. The rug is finished with another “end” and the excess warps form the fringes. Clipping of the pile, requiring great skill, is done by tribeswomen as they go along, while in city workshops the knots are roughly slashed and the finished carpet, looking like an unkempt hedge, is clipped by a specialist. Tribal knotting varies from the coarse, shaggy pile of
Yiirik rugs to the fine, velvety surface of Turkmen bags. Each has its own attraction, since the design is evolved to enhance the quality of the wool.

3. History. The carpet from Barrow 5 at Pazyryk (see S.I. Rudenko, *Naseleniya gornoego Kaza v Shkikrov Vremya*, Moscow-Leningrad 1938, ed. by M.W. Thompson, *Frozen tombs of Siberia*, London 1970, 298-304) pushed back the beginnings of carpet history from the 6th century A.D. to the late 3rd century B.C. It is, however, a sophisticated piece, both in technique and design, arguing a long-developed tradition. It is unlikely that it was made by the Altai people, and it more plausibly reflects an eclectic taste for exotic imports. The Pazyryk burials, however, provide invaluable evidence of the life style of these Central Asian pastoral nomads, putative ancestors of later tribal groups, which was notable then, as now, for the major part played by textiles in their economy and cultural heritage. With their wealth based on their animals and their sources of conflict pastoral water and pasture, they made seasonal migrations, as do the Bakhhtiyar-i, the Khashka'i and Khamseh in Iran today. They produced a class of mounted warriors who revolutionised warfare for both the Romans and the Chinese, gave rise to innumerable legends and bred distrust and fear among urban dwellers. It is likely that the women undertook the knotting and weaving, and even today these activities are considered effeminate by tribesmen with the memory of an elite warrior caste (Pl. XX). It can be surmised that knotting originated among even earlier pastoral nomads living in a harsh winter climate who were naturally reluctant to slaughter their animals and, as an alternative to fleeces, evolved a warm, tufted fabric. K. Erdmann and others believed that knotting may have developed among Turkic peoples in West Turkestan, *Erdmann, Der orientalische Kniipfteppiche*, Tiibingen 1955, Eng. tr. C.G. Ellis, *Oriental carpets*, Fishguard 1976, 14-16) and it would seem likely that it arrived in Anatolia with the Saldjuk in the 11th century A.D., where it was established by the 13th century as is attested by the Saldjuk pieces from the mosque of 'Ala' al-Din in Konya (now in the Turk ve Islam Miizesi, Istanbul, illus. in O. Aslanapa, *Tiirkmenische Teppiche*, exhibition cat., Hamburg, Eng. tr. 1970, *Turkoman carpets*, London 1975, 13-14 for detailed lists of tribes and *19'lebs*).

Turkmen pilework is just as famous for its hard, glossy wool, excellent vegetable dyes and fine knotting, normally using the asymmetrical or Persian knot (but see M.H. Beattie, in *The Tuscara of Iran* [see Bibliography], 38-41, for exceptions), and Turkmen rugs are unmistakable with their ground and borders of the same colour, always red, but varying from the clear tones of Salur and Tekke to the ox-blood of the Sali'ik and aubergine of the Yomut, and having in the central field an all-over repeat of *gilis* which, when used as primary ornament, served as a tribal totem, *tangha*, exclusive to the tribe which used it. Tekke floor rugs (Pl. XXII) have octagonal *gilis* quartered by a lattice to enclose trifoliate forms identified by Moskova as birds (see Azadi, *op. cit.*, 20-41) and also of totemic significance, while the Yomut owned a number of *gilis* including the *kepsi*, based on plant forms, and the *dirnak*, a hooked diamond enclosing birds (illust. in Azadi, *op. cit.*, and U. Schurmann, *Central Asian carpets*, London 1969, pls. 15-25). It is known, however, that the Sali'ik and Tekke used older forms of the *gil* than those featuring in 19th century rugs, while secondary *gilis* and border patterns pose complex

Since they were subjected to continuous wear, very few tribal rugs of a pre-19th century date have survived (although notable exceptions are the Turkmen rugs in the Ethnographic Museum, Leningrad, unpublished in the West), making it impossible to write a coherent history. It can be inferred, however, that these ancient patterns persisted in spite of the revolutionary changes in 16th century Iran under royal patronage, emulated in Ottoman court workshops, where the influence of illuminators and bookbinders emphasised the centre of the carpet and introduced a large new repertoire of motifs. The village and tribal traditions seem to have developed independently of the cities but, although they were inevitably more conservative, there is evidence of borrowing and of organic growth; and 19th century rugs show considerable diversity in the treatment of old themes.

The 19th century, which saw the earliest European documentation of the Central Asian tribes, also marked a watershed, for the definition of the national frontiers of Iran, Russia and Afghanistan dealt a major blow to pastoral nomadism, and this century has seen wholesale settlement.

The ethnically most homogeneous tribal confederation was the Turkmen, who retained their exclusivity until their territory on the Trans-Caspian steppes was split up in the 1880s. Modern study has demon-strated major shifts of influence within the confederacy, however, with tribes like the Salur and Sali'ik, powerful in the 17th and 18th centuries, being overtaken in the 19th by the Tekke and becoming embroiled in tribal feuds. In *Trockenes Kaukasische Teppiche*, exhibition cat., Hamburg, En...
problems, since it is now suggested that these may be the ornaments originally belonging to another tribal group which was subjugated or absorbed. Moreover, a subjugated tribe, having lost its right to its primary ornament, possibly transferred it to small items like bags, while the victorious group might incorporate the weaker tribe’s primary ornament in its own smaller pieces. Ersari rugs are unusual in showing strong outside influences and, in addition to classic Turkmen motifs, large central medallions are introduced to bags while floor rugs and prayer rugs may have floral patterns, treated semi-naturalistically and in a higher tonal key (illus. in Azadi, op. cit., pls. 7, 9, and 36, and Schurmann, op. cit., pls. 41-56). As well as floor rugs, the Turkmen women used to knot many articles for their own use, including the tent-band, yolami, bu, yap, which encircled the tent lattice with the knotted pattern on a white plainweave ground facing inwards; the engsi or ensi, a handsome rug with a cruciform design which acted as a tent door; the kapuniik, a fringed decoration hung over the inside doorway; and a variety of bags, from saddle-bags, khorjia, large storage bags, iwai, to smaller ones, torba, for specific purposes like storing bread, spindles, etc. These articles performed the functions of storing the household equipment, transporting it on the migration, and giving the interior of the round tent a shrines, a fringed decoration hung over the inside doorway, and a variety of bags, from saddle-bags, khorjia, large storage bags, iwai, to smaller ones, torba, for specific purposes like storing bread, spindles, etc. These articles performed the functions of storing the household equipment, transporting it on the migration, and giving the interior of the round, felt-roofed tent an appearance of tapestry-hung splendour.

The finest knotting was reserved for covers, namak-dan, for the much-valued horses, and the Yomut, who made the widest variety of articles and patterns, used to knot a set of trappings for the bridal camel, consisting of pentagonal flank hangings, asmailik (discussed in detail in R. Finer and M. Franses, Turkoman studies, I, London 1979), frequently patterned with hooked stems or lozenges (Pl. XXIII), and matching knee-hangings, aipad dakh, while the two bundles of tent-poles lashed to a camel when on the move would each have a bag-shaped cover, uk bad, fitted over their protruding ends.

Turkmen patterns have been influential, the two groups which have borrowed most substantially from them being the Afgan and the Balci. Modern Afghan rugs are knotted in the towns of Pakistan. Old ones, however, made by tribes related to the Ersari in northern Afghanistan, had qualities of their own. With a medium high pile, using the asymmetrical or Persian knot, their central fields show an adaptation of the Tekke gul, without the lattice, although the squarish octagons are quartered and enclose trifoliate stems and leaves. They have more minor ornament than modern examples, and their colours, which include blues, yellows and browns on a red ground, are in a higher key. Borders include geometrical plan forms, also borrowed from the Turkomans, and angular ribbons. Commercial success has resulted in the standardisation of patterns and colours, and rugs are often chemically washed to produce the “golden glow” popular in the West.

A black-tented people, the Balci nomadise in arid country now forming parts of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. They utilise the good but undurable wool of their sheep and undyed camel hair for warps, wefts and knotting, the Turkish or symmetrical knot being more favoured, to produce a long, medium coarse pile. Distinctive features are the elaborately beautiful ends in a variety of flat-weaves, and a limited range of dark colours: blues, blackish browns, several reds and white. Their patterns reflect borrow-

Among the several tribes of Lur origin in western Iran, the Bakhtiyari still migrate twice-yearly over difficult country in the Zagros mountains, in the proximity of other Lurs and of Mamasani, Kaskha’i and Khamshe. Few of the so-called “Bakhtiyari” rugs are tribal pieces, but were made by villagers in the Cahar Mahall area, near Isfahan (see Edwards, op. cit., 309-12, pls. 354-64). The Bakhtiyari do very little weaving now, but still make a type of bag which is unique to them, the front and back of which are in flat-weave, usually sumak or felt-wrapping with, along the bottom and up the sides, a strip of rather coarse, shaggy pile in the Turkish or symmetrical knot. This gives durability and is visually pleasing when the bags are stacked in the tent. Favourite motifs are 8-pointed stars in octagons, rosettes, the Z-boleh and borders of scrolling stem, while the flat-weave areas share these motifs and often have animals as well. Sizes vary from a very large saddle-bag, taliz, and bedding-bag, irzak, to smaller storage bags, which can be loaded on to pack animals, rikati, to small, lavishly decorated bags, namak-dan, with narrow necks for pouring. Colours are rich dark reds, browns and blues, with white cotton in the flat-weave areas. These bags, hardly known in the West, are often bought by the Khamshe and Kaskha’i and can be seen in their tents.

The Afghans, another tribe of Turkic descent, are believed to have been deported from Afgarbay-djan to Kirman province by Shah Isma’il in the 16th century. Surrounded by Persian villagers, their tribal identity became blurred, so that it is difficult to distinguish a nomad from a village Afghan rug. Both knots are found. Old tribal pieces show a colour scheme of rich mid-blues, a clear red, yellow and ivory, and favour the diamond medallion layout, but the Persian boleh is often used as an all-over repeat, known as dehid, and the chicken, murm, found all over Fars, is a favourite, while more naturalistic floral designs have been borrowed from Kirmanshah and the Chahar Mahall area, near Isfahan (see Edwards, op. cit., 354-64). The Bakhtiyarsi do very little weaving now, but still make a type of bag which is unique to them, the front and back of which are in flat-weave, usually sumak or felt-wrapping with, along the bottom and up the sides, a strip of rather coarse, shaggy pile in the Turkish or symmetrical knot. This gives durability and is visually pleasing when the bags are stacked in the tent. Favourite motifs are 8-pointed stars in octagons, rosettes, the Z-boleh and borders of scrolling stem, while the flat-weave areas share these motifs and often have animals as well. Sizes vary from a very large saddle-bag, taliz, and bedding-bag, irzak, to smaller storage bags, which can be loaded on to pack animals, rikati, to small, lavishly decorated bags, namak-dan, with narrow necks for pouring. Colours are rich dark reds, browns and blues, with white cotton in the flat-weave areas. These bags, hardly known in the West, are often bought by the Khamshe and Kaskha’i and can be seen in their tents.

The tribal situation in Fars province in southwestern Iran has long been a complex one, since it is nomad country par excellence, with the Zagros mountains and hill valleys in the north and warmer plains south of Shiraz, so that the migration routes of a number of tribes have impinged on one another. The two largest tribal confederacies, the Kaskha’i and the Khamshe, were founded for political reasons, the Kashka’i during the 18th century and the Khamshe in 1861-2. The major i’afah of the Kaskha’i are Turkic, with some Lurs, Afghans and Persians, while the Khamshe consists of five tribes of Turkic, Persian and Arab stock. Some tribespeople, however, are settled in villages, while of other groups like the Bolvardi, small sections belong to the Kaskha’i and the rest are villagers with no tribal allegiance. There has been wholesale borrowing of patterns and, since both knots are used, consequent difficulty in rug classification. The Kaskha’i have a reputation for the finest rugs. Their most typical composition, three stepped or hooked medallions in
the central field, is shared by the Khamseh and other tribes, but in Qashqai pieces each medallion encloses a motif described as a crab or a striped sheepkin but more likely a stylised plant form (Pl. XXIII).

This simple scheme is garnished with detail: hooked octagons, rosettes, the Persian botân, the Chinese knot, and flower sprigs, as well as a menagerie of creatures like stylised peacocks, porcupines, gazelles, goats (Pl. XXIVa), hawks, chickens and bees, powdering the cloths to cover the animals when they are tethered, while fringed chest and rump bands are still made, for their own use artefacts both functional and of great care lavished on the most trifling of articles”.

Some attributions of designs to specific tribes have been made (J. Allgrove, in the Qashqâ’î of Iran, exh. cat., Manchester 1976, 64-95, pls. 5-8, 37-46), but the narrow guard bands often retain older forms like the oblique stripe and reciprocal diamond. Skilled dyeing, for which the Sheêl Bokûrì Qashqâ’i and Bûlûlû were renowned, produced a sharp, clear red, several blues, a rich, creamy yellow, apricot, and soft dark brown and green, skillfully juxtaposed against ivory. Rug patterns are repeated on saddlebags of fine workmanship (Pl. XXIVb), chickens are shown here drinking at a fountain. Tent bags are generally made in flat-weave, but the Qashqâ’i have lavished sumptuous trappings on their horses, including saddle covers and horse-cloths to cover the animals when they are tethered, while fringed chest and rump bands are still made, often embellished with blue beads against the Evil Eye.

The role of the tribeswomen who have always been responsible for the textile crafts extends into other areas for, since their rugs are the visual manifestation of tribal culture, the women have been the artists of the tribe and custodians of tribal traditions, a phenomenon unknown in the West; similarly, in this situation artists are not a specialist class, but have made for their own use artefacts both functional and of great beauty, bringing to mind Rudenko’s comment concerning the Pazyryk textiles on the “astonishing skill and care lavished on the most trifling of articles”. These are powerful reasons for studying tribal knotting in its own context.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text and in the Bibl. to Section i above):


BITUMEN [see KATRAN].


22. Carpet from Guergour (Algeria).

23. Carpet of the Nememsha (Algeria).
25. Kashkāʾī tent with loom at Khwādje Djamākh, 1944 (Photo: Dr. O. Garrod).

27. Carpet knotting at the Tribal Weaving School, Shiraz (Photo: J. Allgrove).

28. Packing down the wefts (Photo: P. Wallum).
29. Floor rug, Tekke Türkmen (Sotheby's, London).
30. Asmalik (camel flank hanging), Yomut Türkmen (Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester University).

31. Floor rug, Kashkai, Rahimlu of the Safi Khani Ta'ifeh (Private collection).
32. a, b. Saddle-bag faces, Kashkā’ī (David Black Oriental Carpets).
BIYĀR, AL-BIYĀR (A. "wells, springs"), modern Biyardjumand, a small town on the northern edges of the Great Desert, the Dašt-i Kavir, of Persia. The mediaeval geographers describe it as being three days' journey from Bistām and 25 farsaks from Dāmghān, and as falling administratively within the province of Kuṁs [q.v.], although in Samanid times (4th/10th century) it seems to have been attached to Nīshāpur in Khurasan. It was the northeastern corner of the desert to Turshū in the Safavid period by writing poems on the line of ʿAbd al-Hakīm Fikret and Tewfīk Fikret [q.vv.].

We have in Mukaddāsī, 356-7, 372, an especially detailed description of the town, considering its moderate size and importance, lying as it did off the great highway connecting western Persia with Khurasan; this is explicable by the fact that Mukaddāsī's maternal grandfather had emigrated thence to Jerusalem. He mentions that Biyār had good cultivated fields and orchards, and grazing grounds for sheep and camels; the rather scanty water supply was carefully controlled in irrigation channels. There was an inner citadel approached through a single gateway, but there were three iron gates in the outer walls. There was no Friday mosque, and the inhabitants were all Ḥanafīs, strongly opposed to the Karrāmīyā [q.v.]; nevertheless, Mukaddāsī states elsewhere (365) that the Karrāmīyā had a khānākāh in Biyār. He further stresses the building skills of the Biyārīs, above all in the medium of mud brick. Politically it came within the Sāmānid dominions at this time, and coins in the name of the Sāmānid amīr were minted there between 298/910-11 and 369/979-80; a coin is also extant of the Ghaznawīs, from the year 426/1035, the eve of the passing of ʿAmīr ʿAlī in 426/1035.


BLESSING [see BARKA].

BOAT [see SAFINA].

BOLÜKBAŞI, Rifāʿa Tewfīk, modern Turkish orthography Rıza Tevfik Bolukbasi, Turkish poet and writer (1866-1949). He was born in Dārūr Mustafa Paşa in Rumeitia (Dimitrograd in present-day Bulgaria, formerly Turkish) while his father Khoji Mebmed Tewfik Efendi, a civil servant and teacher, was kaşımarkets there. His mother, a Circassian slave girl, died when Rıdā was eleven years old. His grandfather Ahmed Durmush Bolukbasi was a guerrilla leader from Debra in Albania who had fought against the Greeks during the rising in the Morea ([Erifinda] Kandemir, KohiTG aqзадan Rıza Tevfik ("Rıza Tevfik from his own mouth"), Istanbul 1943, 94-7, 109). After attending various schools (including the Alliance Islāmī school and Galatasaray) in Istanbul, he finished in the râbi'iyâ (high school) of Gelibolu (Gallipoli), his family town, and entered the school of political science (Mekteb-i Muhiyye), whence he was however expelled for political activities and insubordination. He switched to medicine, and after several temporary suspensions, graduated in 1899. He worked as government doctor at the Customs Office in Istanbul until the restoration of the Constitution in July 1908, when he joined the political opposition. An ardent member of the ruling Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see İTTIHAD VE TERAKİYE İYİYETİ], he was elected deputy for Edirne, but soon broke with the CUP leaders and joined the opposition and became one of the leading figures of the Liberal Union [see HURKIYET VE İTtgF IYİYET] (Refik Halîd Karay, Minibeb ilemlembub, Istanbul 1964, pasim). He taught philosophy at the University of Istanbul and Turkish literature at the American Robert College. He served as Minister of Education in 1918 and was made president of the Council of State (Shûrâ-yi Davle), in 1919. As a member of the collaborationist Ottoman government, he signed the treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920), which sealed his fate in the eyes of the Nationalists. Student protests forced him to give up his chair in the University (1921) and he fled the country following the Nationalist victory in Anatolia (September 1922). His name was later included in the list of the 150 undesirables [see VEZEİELLİKLER]. After a brief stay in Egypt, he served for seven years in the government of Amir 'Abd Allah (a former fellow-deputy in the Ottoman Parliament) in Jordan, spent a year in the USA and eventually settled in Dūnîyya in Lebanon, where he lived with his wife in retirement until he returned to Turkey in 1943, five years after the general amnesty of 1938. He died in Istanbul on 31 December 1949. Although Rıdā Tewfik is known by the nickname Fesleğen ("The Philosopher") on account of his numerous publications on philosophical topics (see below), which are mainly works of compilation (but which greatly contributed to the teaching of modern philosophy in Turkey), his real contribution to Turkish literature is as a poet. In the late 1890s a young poet, Muhammed Emin (Yurdakul) [q.v.], suddenly appeared on the literary scene and made a sensation by his use of spoken Turkish, syllabic metre and the use of popular subjects. He was greeted as a guide and innovator, but did not have any following as his poetry was uninspired, awkward in style and totally lacking in musical effect. In contrast, Rıdā Tewfik, who started his career in the same period by writing poems on the line of 'Abd al-Ḥaqīm Hâmid and Tewfik Fikret [q.v.], found, in the early 1900s, the
key to a regeneration of Turkish poetry; he was able to capture the style, language and inner warmth of leading poets and popular mystic (dervish) poets without blindly imitating them, but re-creating their warm and lively atmosphere in a modern garb [see Karajaoglu, Kaygusuz Arsal and Yonca Emre]. His success ushered in a new trend which was later moulded into a school by Dıyā' (Ziya) Gökalp, that of the Millî edebiyatı ("National literature"). Rıdâ Tewfik did not abandon the ārâd like most of his younger colleagues of the new school, but used it in parallel with the heğes. His influence on succeeding generations of poets continued in the 1920s and early 1930s and his style began to date only with the appearance of Orhan Kemal (Orhan Veli Kanık and Faşil Hüsnü [Fażil Hüsnü] Dağlarca, who revolutionised all concepts in Turkish poetry.

Rıdâ Tewfik Böülükbashi is the author of the following major works: 'Abd el-Hakîm ve mülêhagat-i felsefeyyesi ("A.H. and his philosophic reflections"), İstanbul 1329 rûmî 1913; Felsefe derleri ("A course of philosophy"), i, İstanbul 1330 rûmî 1914; Mâyâfâsîl Kâmînî-i felsefî ("A comprehensive dictionary of philosophy"), i, İstanbul 1330 rûmî 1914; Etüde sur la religion des Hokonîsîs, in C. Huart, Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Hâwîfîsîs, Leiden 1909; Serahs annîm ("Notes on Issâs annîm") Istanbul 1942, 2nd ed. İstanbul 1949, (contains all his poems, except some political satires); Omer Hayyam ve râhûbleri, Istanbul 1945. Introd.


(Febrîr Ïz)

BOOTY [see Fay', Şanîmâ].

BORNEO, a large island (area 292,000 sq. miles/755,000 km²) straddling the equator in the Indonesian archipelago, and mainly covered with tropical rain forest. The spinal range of mountains rises to 13,455 ft./4,100 m. in Mount Kinabalu in the northeastern tip of the island. Politically, the greater part of the island has since 1949 formed the Indonesian region of Kalimantan (a name which Indonesia also applies to the whole island); along the northern coast lie Sabah, the former British crown colony of British North Borneo and Sarawak, both of whom joined the Malaysian Federation in 1963, and the British-protected sultanate of Brunei (q.v. in Suppl.).

The following article deals only with the Indonesian part of the island; see also BORNEO in EI.

The island is divided into four provinces (daerah tingkat I): Kalimantan Barat (Western Kalimantan, 157,066 sq. km, 2,019,936 inhabitants, capital: Pontianak), Kalimantan Tengah (Central Kalimantan, 156,552 sq. km, 699,589 inhabitants, capital: Palangka Raya), Kalimantan Selatan (Southern Kalimantan, 34,611 sq. km, 1,699,105 inhabitants, capital: Banjarmasin), and Kalimantan Timur (Eastern Kalimantan, 202,619 sq. km, 733,536 inhabitants, capital: Samarinda). South and Central Kalimantan originally formed one province, until on 23 May 1957, the area was divided because of the opposition of the Dayak people against the "Malays" (Muslims) in the southern parts.

1. Earlier History. In Sambas (north-western Kalimantan), which had been a Buddhist cultural centre already in the 6th century A.D., a descendant of the sultan's family of Johore established a sultanate at the time of Brunei's conversion to Islam (between 1514 and 1521), and Malays began to settle in the area. Chinese workers were brought to work in the gold mines, but in 1770 they revolted and formed semi-independent "republics" (barang). Islam had little influence on them, and only after 1865, when they were required to confess one of the acknowledged religions in Indonesia, did a few of them become Muslims. Sambas has remained a stronghold of Malay culture. The area of Lawei, an old Javanese colony, and Matan on the Pawan river, turned to Islam soon after the conversion of the ports in northern Java. Sokadia, having—like Sambas—experienced the influence of Buddhist Sri Vijaya, was Islamised mainly by Malay and Arab traders from Palembang, which at that time (first half of 16th century) was under the rule of Demak. In 1608-9 Surabaya imposed its dominance, until in 1622 Sultan Agung of Mataraw wiped out the influence of its main rival. Only in these areas of south-western Kalimantan Barat, did classical Javanese (Kawi) remain "the sultan's language", in Ketapang e.g. until this century, although in this place only a quarter of the population had been Muslims. Tewfik did not abandon the heğe. His success ushered in a new trend which was later moulded into a school by Dıyâ' (Ziya) Gökalp, that of the Millî edebiyatı ("National literature"). Rıdâ Tewfik Böülükbashi is the author of the following major works: 'Abd el-Hakîm ve mülêhagat-i felsefeyyesi ("A.H. and his philosophic reflections"), İstanbul 1329 rûmî 1913; Felsefe derleri ("A course of philosophy"), i, İstanbul 1330 rûmî 1914; Mâyâfâsîl Kâmînî-i felsefî ("A comprehensive dictionary of philosophy"), i, İstanbul 1330 rûmî 1914; Etüde sur la religion des Hokonîsîs, in C. Huart, Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Hâwîfîsîs, Leiden 1909; Serahs annîm ("Notes on Issâs annîm") Istanbul 1942, 2nd ed. İstanbul 1949, (contains all his poems, except some political satires); Omer Hayyam ve râhûbleri, Istanbul 1945. Introd.


(Febrîr Ïz)
identical. Becoming a Muslim (= Malay) means for a Dayak to lose his social relationships. Only a few Dayak tribes became Muslims, e.g. the Bakumpai, a former sub-tribe of the Ngaju Dayak (Danandjaja, 139, in consent with Mallinckrodt). In some cases such as Pasti and Kutai [q.v.] saw the rise of colonies of Buginese traders and ship-builders from South Sulawesi, soon after their homeland had turned over to Islam (1605-11). According to tradition, the first teacher of Islam in Pasti was an Arab, while Makassarese preachers, among them the miraculous Tuan Tunggang Parangan, were active in Kutai. Like in South Sulawesi, Islam in Kutai seems to have been mixed with many animistic survivals and remained weak throughout the 18th century. The sultans had their kraton in Tenggarong, between Samarinda where most of the Buginese settled, and the Dayak area. Their story is told in the Salasilah Kutai, written in Malay.

2. Modern developments. As the sultans both in East and West Kalimantan during the times of Dutch supremacy were relatively independent in their internal jurisdiction, Islamic law, more or less modified by the local customary (adat) law, played a significant role. Courts were closely attached to the palace. After independence, the Indonesian govern-ment tried to bring these "religious courts" under the authority of the local branches of the Ministry for Religious Affairs (Lev, Islamic courts, 78 f.). On the other hand, Islamic law has also influenced the adat law of the non-Muslim Dayaks.

Since the beginning of the century, Sambas, Pontianak and Banjarmasin have been caught up in Islamic modernist movements. The Malay periodical al-Imam (since 1906), partly inspired by Rashid Rida's al-Mandār, was distributed in Pontianak and Sambas. The "Serikat Islam", the oldest nationalist move-ment, held a congress in Kalimantan in 1923. In 1930, the traditionalist "Nahdlatul Ulama" established its first branches in Banjarmasin and Martapura, and South Kalimantan remained, besides East Java, a stronghold of this party until 1942. The modernist "Muhammadiyah" became active in 1927, its first branch being opened in Banjarmasin. Muhammadghānī or propagandists from Java and Minangkabau were sent there, some of them being former attendants of the "Thawalib" schools in West Sumatra. Their progress seems to have been slow; at the Muhammadiyah's national congress in 1929, no participant from Kalimantan was noted. In 1935, the movement had 29 branches on the island. It is active in del'wa or missionary and educational work by building schools, clinics, and distributing pamphlets and books, its activities reaching now the Halu (up-river) areas and the border districts between West Kalimantan and Sarawak. In Banjarmasin, a government-related "Institut Agama Islam Negeri" (I.A.I.N.) has been established, whereas in Pontianak a branch of the Fakultas Tarbiyah of the I.A.I.N. Jakarta Giputat is active. A branch of the same I.A.I.N.'s Fakultas Usuluddin, now in Singkawang, is to be moved to Pontianak.

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tan are found in general works on Islam in In-
donesia [see bibliography to INDONESIA V. - ISLAM IN INDONESIA]; further B.J. Boland, The struggle of Islam in modern Indonesia (= Ver-
handelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 59). The Hague 1971; Deliar Noer, The modernist Muslim move-
thnologische Untersuchung zur Darstellung des Gesetzes- und Kulturlehens der Dayak in Kalimantan (= Beiträge zur Südasiens-Forschung, Südasiens-Institut der Universität Heidelberg, 9), Wiesbaden 1974 (espe-
ially pp. 109-28); — for a short account of the development of Muslim Higher education until the foundation of the I.A.I.N. at Banjarmasin, see Anali gymas, Proves Lahirnya IAIN Antasari, in Panji Masyarakat No. 148 (1 April 1974);—

(BRAHMANS [see Barahimska].
BRICK [see LINT].
BRIGAND [see FALAK, KAZAK, LIJSS, TARIB].
BRUNEI, a sultanate on the northern coast of Kalimantan (Bornoe [q.v.]), 5,765 sq. km. (2,226 sq. miles) in area with ca. 145,000 inhabi-
tants. The capital is Bandar Seri Begawan (before 1970 called Bandar Brunei or Brunei Town), with ca. 45,000 inhabitants. Its principal landmark is the great Megijid Omar Ali Saiduuddin, built after World War II. Since the 6th century A.D., trade relations existed with China. Occasionally tribute was paid, not only to China but also to Buddhist Sri Vijaya (South Sumatra) and Majapahit (Java), where it was mentioned among other Bornean tributaries in ca. 1365. The Sha'ir Awang Semaun, probably the oldest legendary account of Brunei's history, narrates how the 14 sons of "sultan" Dewa Emas Kayangan, who was of celestial origin, founded the empire of Brunei. The youngest brother was the warrior Semaun, their leader Awang Alak Betatar. When the sultan of Johore sent his daughter to be married to the sultan of Sulu, she was abducted and married to Alak Betatar. The sultan of Johore finally agreed to this state of affairs and installed Alak Betatar as the first Muslim sultan of Brunei, bestowing on him the regalia of Johore (Brown, 134 f.). As Sultan Muhammad he is said to have reigned from 1405 to
1415. His successor Ahmad married his daughter to an Arab from al-Ta‘if, and their son Sulaymân became the ancestor of the later sultans of Brunei.

There seems to have existed, however, a rival pagan kingdom besides the Muslim sultanate, which gave the impression, in 1514, to the Portuguese that Brunei was still heathen. When Antonio Pigafetta, an Italian member of Magellan’s expedition, visited Brunei in 1521, he mentioned that the sultan (Bolkiah I, the fifth of his dynasty) was waging heavy warfare against a rival pagan kingdom in the same harbour. Finally, Sultan Bolkiah succeeded in safeguarding his supremacy and brought Brunei to the climax of its glory, ruling over most of “Borneo” (hence its name), the Sulu Islands and parts of Mindanao and Luzon. It was the Siamiards, however, who, since 1578, from their stronghold in Manila, successfully began to confine Brunei’s strength to the northern coasts of Borneo, from where, in their turn, pirates intimidated the Spanish, and other fleets. During the 19th century, the territory of Brunei was encircled decisively. In 1841 most of Sarawak was ceded to Sir James Brooke. In 1888, Brunei became a British protectorate. Later, in 1906, the sultan was granted the right to supervise matters which were formerly handled by the British, the so-called Department of Native Affairs (paid-law). In 1959, however, when a new constitution was introduced—the first written one in Brunei’s history—his judicial functions were turned over to the courts. Nevertheless, his internal position was also strengthened considerably, as a number of rights of the former resident were transferred into his hands. Brunei became “an internally self-governing Islamic Sultanate under British protection”. Only security and foreign affairs were still handled by the British, who from now on were represented by a High Commissioner.

New perspectives for Brunei’s future opened when in May 1961, Tengku Abdul Rahman as the Prime Minister of the Malayan Federation, forwarded the plan for a new federation, Malaysia, which was to include, besides the Malayan Federation, Singapore, Sarawak, British North Borneo (now Sabah), and Brunei. At the beginning, Sultan Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin (the 5th/11th century, BASH.T.R. or BUSH.T.R., a mountain stronghold famed as the headquarters, first, of Umar b. Hafsun [</.y.], leader of Andalusian resistance, his sons until 315/928. The precise location of Bobastro, often confused (as in El Pb 1250) with Barbasto (Barbashturu) in Huesca province, has proved a thorny problem. Erroneously identified by Dozy with Barbastro (Barbaga), it was believed by Simonet to be situated 6 km. east of Ardales when the railroad running from Cordova to Malaga via Bobadilla. This identification was accepted by Lévi-Provencal (Hist. Esp. mus. i, 305 n. 1), and it remains acceptable to some. It has, however, been challenged by J. Vallvé Bermejo, who, after meticulous examination of all available evidence, some of it new, has cogently argued that the facts of the Bobastro cam-
indeed it was there that the amir al-Mundhir died in 275/888 while pressing a siege. In 278/891 his successor 'Abd Allâh tried to take the place, but failed. Subsequent attempts made by his sons Mu'târrif (280/894) and Abân (291/904 and 294/907) to attain the same objective also came to nothing. Not until (280/894) and Abân (291/904 and 294/907) to attain Subsequent attempts made by his sons Mutarrif Abd al-Rahman III. So far as we can glean, Bobastro thereafter to the Berbers who defeated Muhammad II's troops remained an important Umayyad garrison until it fell on the banks of the Guadiaro in 400/1010. For the 316/928 was Bobastro finally subdued after a decade square from the elements of the simple three-fold magic who had just occupied the city. By the 7th/13th century the fortress was in ruins.

4 9 2
3 5 7
8 1 6
expressed in
Abjad by

Other groups of letters from that square are similarly, but not see generally, used, e.g. 'ar, râj, lâm, and together. From some, also, larger squares are built up, as a four-fold on and a six-fold on . In the older Arabic books on magic (e.g. Shams al-ma'thir al-Buni [i.e. in Suppl.], d. 622/1225) this formula plays a comparatively minor part; but after it was taken up by al-Ghazâlî and cited in his Miftâh min al-dalâl (ed. Cairo 1303/1886, 46, 50, tr. W. Montgomery Watt, The faith and practice of al-Ghazali, London 1953, 77, 79-80), as an inexplicable, but certain, assistance in cases of difficult labour, it came to be known universally as "the three-fold talisman, or seal, of al-Ghazâlî" (al-wujûf, al-khatam, al-muthâlla and al-Dawla) and finally has become the foundation and starting point for the whole "Science of Letters" (ilm al-huruf). Al-Ghazâlî is said to have developed the formula, under divine inspiration (ishûhn, from the combinations of letters and which begin Suras XIX and XLII of the Kur'ân, and which by themselves are also used as talismans (Reinhard, Monumenta muslima, ii, 236). For the process, see the Miftâh al-ghayb (ed. Cairo 1327/1909, 170 ff.) of Ahmad Mâsâ al-Zarkawî, a contemporary Egyptian magician, and on the subject in general, the sixth and seventh Risâla in that volume. Others trace the formula back to Adam, from whom it passed down to al-Ghazâlî (cf. the al-'inâya al-râb'hînaya, 44, and al-Âdîr al-râb'hînaya, 16 of Yûsuf Muhammad al-Hindî, an early 20th century Egyptian writer on magic). In all this, al-Ghazâlî's established reputation as a custodian of mystical knowledge and especially of the book al-Dawla, evidently played a part (JAOS, xx, 113; Goldziher, Le livre de Ibn Toumert, 15 ff.). Another suggested origin is the Arameo-Persian name of the planet and goddess Venus, Buduh BUKA. H. G. Hoffmann, Auszige aus syrischen Akten persischer Mârtyer, 128 ff.). But though this name appears in the Fihrist, 1, 311, 7, with magical and diabolical associations and is quoted very occasionally in connection with Zuhara (e.g. Makrizi, Khatâ, 1324/1906, 8; Thâl-âbî, Kiyaq al-âniyba', 1314/1896-7, 29—both with misprints) it appears to be totally unknown in magical or Qâhir literature. Yet the name evidently passed early into South Arabic, became used there as a feminine proper name and as a feminine epithet, "it" and was confused with the root (L, iii, 484, sub ). Other standing in Arabic it does not have. Further, when Budu was associated with a particular planet, it is with Saturn (Zabâl) and its metal is lead (Zarkawi, Miftâh, 170), not copper as Venus would require. Hardly worthy of mention is Von Hammer's fancy that Budu is one of the names of Allah (Ja, 1830, 72) though it may have a Turkish basis (and see, too, de Sacy, below), and the derivation he suggests or the story told by Michel Sablough de de Sacy (Lettres arabes, iii, 364 ff.) that it was the name of a pious merchant whose packages and letters never went astray, though that may well be a popular Syrian explanation. In magical books there are few cases even of personifying the word (e.g. Ya Budu in al-Fath al-râhmanî by Hasjîld Sa'dîn, 21), but for the popular mind Budu has become a Qâhir whose services can be secured by writing his name either in letters or numbers (Ja, Ser. 4, xii, 521 ff.; Spiro, Vocabulary of colloquial Egyptian, 36; Doute, Magie et Religion, 296, with Kayyûm as though a name of Allah; Klunzinger, Upper Egypt, 387). The uses of this word are most various, to invoke both good and bad fortune. Thus, in Doute, op. cit., against menorrhagia (234), against pains in the stomach (229), to render one's self invisible (275) and against temporal impotence (295). Lane's Cairo magician also used it with his ink mirror (Modern Egyptians, ch. xii), and so in several magical treaties. It is also engraved upon jewels and metal plates or rings which are carried as permanent talismans, and it is inscribed at the beginning of books (like ) as a preservative, e.g. in al-Fath al-ajâlî, Tunis 1290. But by far the most common use is to ensure the arrival of letters and pacages.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Khaldûn, Muqaddima, ed. Quatremère, iii, 131, 135, 139-40, 142-3, 157, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 163-4, 168-9, 174, 176-8, 193; Reinhard, Monumenta muslima, ii, 243 ff., 251 ff., 256; W. Ahrens, Studien über die "magischen Quadraten" der Araber, in Insia, vii (1917), 186-250; idem, Die "magischen Quadrate" al-Bûnî's, in Insia, xii (1922), 157-77; E. Wiedemann, Zu den magischen Quadraten, in Insia, viii (1918), 94-7; G. Bergstrasser, Zu den magischen Quadraten, in Insia, xii (1923), 227-55; T. Canaan, The decipherment of Arabic talismans, in Byzant, iv (1937), 100 ff.; W. Pâx, Der magische Kreis im Spiegel der Sprache, in Forschungen und Forschsschriften, xiii (1937), 380; Carra de Vaux, Une solution arabe du problème des carrés magiques, in Revue de l'histoire des sciences, i (1948), 206-12; L. Fischer, Zur Deutung des magischen Quadrates in Duers MELÉNCOLIA I., in ZDMG, viii (1953), 308-14;
In these instances, there still appears to be an
Islamic world, bk'a (originally) marshy valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges in Syria, and doubtless at that of the name al-Bukiya for a settlement near the Lake of Hims (ibid.) (see Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, 352). From these senses it acquires the broader one of "province, region, tract of land," as in the classical Arabic geographers (for Mukhadasi, 31, tr. Miguel, 70, bk'a is a simple synonym for mawdi'), and this seems to have been the farthest development of the term in the Muslim West (see Dozy, Supplement, i, 103b, who registers this latter sense only).

However, in the central and eastern parts of the Islamic world, bk'a acquired, apparently during the Saltuk period, the sense of "dervish convent," "a place where dervishes live," genitive "dervishes' house," "a simple synonym for mausoleum," or in general "a building for religious or charitable purposes." The transition here in sense clearly arises from the Kur'anic phrase al-bki'a al-mubdraka (XXVII, 30), traditionally interpreted as "the blessed hollow," the place where God spoke to Moses from the burning bush. From Saltuk times onwards, bk'a appears in epigraphic phraseology. Thus an inscription of Yaghi-basun b. GhazF b. Danishmand (537-60/1142-65) from Niksar and dated 552/1157-8 describes the construction of a bk'a mubdraka, probably to be interpreted as a dervish convent (see M. Van Berchem, Épigraphie des Danishmendides, i, 78, xxvii [1912], 87 = Opera minora, Geneva 1978, ii, 703, with further references to CLA, i, Egypte, nos. 44, 459, and iii, Asie Mineure, 24). It was likewise used in the Syro-Palestinian region from Ayyubid times onwards, e.g. in 595/1198 to describe at Jerusalem a school (maktab) originally endowed by Saladin, and Van Berchem noted that in this same city, a Qâmiq al-Nisâ' adjacent to the pious, educational or charitable purposes.

There is no lack of biographical information about Bukrat among the Arabs; the longest section is found in Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, 'Usân an- 'anbâ', 24-33. Bukrat's teachers are mentioned here (24, 11. 16-17), his father Ikraids (Heracleides) and his grandfather Bukrat; besides his father, the ancient sources name also others, like Herodics of Selymbria (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft, vi, 1912, 978 f.). He is said to have lived up to the age of 95. The Arab biographers, to be sure, often present misleading information, e.g. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (op. cit., i, 24, 11. 22-3) says that Bukrat was trained on Rhodes, Cnidos and Cos, while Ibn al-Kifti (Hukumat', ed. Lippert, 90 at the end to 91, l) makes him stay for a while in Fârûka (i.e. Bépoua = Aleppo, in the text identified with Hims; see also Barthebraeus, Tārîkh Mukhtasar al-duwal, ed. Cheikho, 85) and Damascus; both pieces of information perhaps mean no more than that Bukrat travelled far and wide, as was already known in antiquity. On the other hand, one may assume that the Arabs retained scattered biographical data which are not found elsewhere. They were also right in stating that the Corpus Hippocraticum does not go back to one single author and that there have been several physicians of this name: the mathematician Tāhât b. Kurrâ names four Bukrâts or Bukrâts ("Hippocratesians," one might say), the first of whom (in fact the second) would have been the famous Bukrât (Ibn al-Nadîm, Fihrist, ed. Flügel, 293 f.; Ibn al-Kifti, op. cit., 100),
The Arabs also knew about the unconfirmed state-
NAWG, to the Persian court (P. Bachmann, in
xvii/2, Leipzig 1925, no. 104). We
Hist. Kl. 1965, 20 f). Again and again he is com-
the "Hippocratic oath" was also known to the
devotion; he allegedly was the first to found a hos-
work, now lost, Flepi TCOV yvrjoicov mi voGcov
it can be found in Ibn Abi Usaybi'a.
Bukrāt is extremely frequently
the. In any case, Hunayn b. Ishāk and his school were at the
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K. Klarmuth in Archiv, xi (1886), 204-33; 3. K. Tadbir al-amrād al-haddā. Hippocrates: regimes in
acute diseases, ed. and tr. M.C. Lyons (Arabic
Technical and Scientific Texts, i), Cambridge 1966;
4. Kātyāṭiyān. Hippocrates: In the Surgery, ed. and
Ullmann, Die arabische Überlieferung der hippo-
kraischen Schrift "De superfectionate", in Sudhoffs
Hippocrates: on the nature of man, ed. and tr.
diseases (airs, waters and places), ed. and tr.
Mattock (ibid., vii), Cambridge 1971. 10. K. al-Aqīna. Hippocrates: on embryos (On the sperm and on the
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as the most important commentaries and para-
phrases of the Arab physicians.

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especially after the last World War, and the
relevant secondary literature have been put
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Leiden-Cologne 1970, 25-35, and F. Sezgin, GAS,
iii, Leiden 1970, 23-47. Further important are:
M. Steinschneider, Die arab. Übersetzungen aus dem
Griechischen, new impression Graz 1960, 298-318;
H. Diels, Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte. First
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L. Leclerc, Histoire de la médecine arabe, i, Paris
1876, 231-6; Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin,
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Abi Usaybi'a. However, only 12 of these are
marked as important; they are found in the lists
given so far; for the others, see Ullmann, Medizin,
31-5; Sezgin, GAS, iii, 38-47. From the indica-
tions given on the title-pages and colophons of the
manuscripts as well as in the lists of titles, it
cannot always be established with certainty who
were the Arabic translators of the works. In any
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and J. Pagel, i, Jena 1902, 196-268; P. Diepgen, Geschichte der Medizin, i, Berlin 1949, 77-94.
(A. Dietrich)

AL-BULAYTĪ [see AL-BALATI, in Suppl.]

BULBUL SHĀH, Şafi' saints of mediaeval India. Bulbul Shāh, whose real name was Sayyid Šhārāf al-Dīn, was a Musawwī Sayyid and a disciple of Šhāh N'māt Allāh Fārsī, belonging to the Suhrawardiyya order. His father entered the Valley of Kashmir in the reign of Rādja Suhādeva (1301-20) from Turkistan with 1,000 fugitives, fleeing before the Mongol invasion. Rincānā, a Ladakhi prince, who was so much impressed by its teachings which, unlike those of Buddhism and Hinduism, were simple and free from caste, priesthood and ceremonies, that he became a Muslim and adopted the name of Sadr al-Dīn on the advice of the saint. The next person to embrace Islam was Rawancandra, Rincānā's brother-in-law; and according to one tradition he was able to convert nearly 10,000 people to his faith.

Rincāna built for Bulbul Shāh a khannah [q.v.] on the bank of the river Jehām and endowed it with a number of villages, from the income of which a langār (free kitchen) was opened. Bulbul Langar has disappeared, but a quarter of Srinagar, bearing the name of the hospice still exists. Rincana also built near the hospice a mosque, the first ever to have been built in Kashmir. It was destroyed by fire, and a smaller mosque was built in its place. Bulbul Shāh died in 728/1327 and was buried near it.

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Mohibbul Hasan

AL-BUNĪ, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AHMAD B. 'ALI B. YŪSUF AL-KURASHI AL-SUFĪ MUḤİY L-DĪN (variants Takrīkh al-Safa, Muhyi 'l-Dīn Muḥiyya al-Saffa, the title is variable; I did not have access to the lithography of Cairo 1517), quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, Mukaddāmāt, iii, 140 (Engl. tr. Rosenthal, iii, 174; Fr. tr. Montel, iii, 1106). In his Risālat al-Shift li-adwādī'ī al-awādī'ī (cf. M. Ullmann, Die medicin im Islam, Leiden 1970, 249), Tashkoprīzād (d. 968/1560) copied much of al-Būnī's magic to warding off the plague.

Most of the other works circulating under the name of al-Būnī seem to be more or less accurate extracts from the Šams al-maʿārif, their relation to one another and to the main work is still to be investigated. We may mention here the Kitāb al-Uṣūl wa l-dawādī'ī, a kind of introduction to the secret sciences; the Kitāb Ṣawākīt al-Fatḥa al-ṭārīqāt on the consonants ṭ, ẓ, ṣ, l, z, n, f, which do not occur in the first Sūra; the al-Lamā' al-nurādīṣa on the highest names and several writings on the divinatory and magical script etc., all matters belonging to the field of the secret sciences; the Kitāb Shark sawādīt al-Fatḥa al-Fātdhāt (the title is corrupted), which cannot be proved by logical intellect, but only by insight into divine wisdom. He expresses himself in the same way in another work, the Kitāb Laṭf al-dawādī'ī fi asār al-huruf al-wasāyīl (the title is variable; I did not have access to the lithography of Cairo 1517), quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, Mukaddāmāt, iii, 140 (Engl. tr. Rosenthal, iii, 174; Fr. tr. Montel, iii, 1106). In his Risālat al-Shift li-adwādī'ī al-awādī'ī (cf. M. Ullmann, Die medicin im Islam, Leiden 1970, 249), Tashkoprīzād (d. 968/1560) copied much of al-Būnī's magic to warding off the plague.

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AL-BURAK AL-SARIMI (Suraymi) in Ibn al-Kalbi, (al-HADITHIYYA 12, 9, 120, d. 40/660), a Kharijite. He is said to have been the first to proclaim that "judgement belongs only to God" (hadithi; cf. al-Mubarrad, Kamil, Cairo edn., 917, but who is famed in history because of his being one of the three plotters sworn to kill simultaneously 'Ali b. Abi Talib [see IBN MULJAM], 'Amr b. al-As, [q.v.], and Mu'awiyah b. Abi Sufyan. Al-Burak accordingly proceeded to Damascus and stabbed Mu'awiyah whilst he was praying, but only managed to wound him in the hip. According to tradition, the attack had two consequences: firstly, the "marriage vein" (ik al-nikdh) was severed, so that Mu'awiyah was unable to beget any more children, and secondly, the latter decided that in future he would pray inside a maksura (but see the ironic remark of al-Djahiz, Hayawun, ii, 161, where a dog is said to have led him to take this precaution).

When Al-Burak was arrested, he immediately told Mu'awiyah about the plot hatched against the three persons. He asked him to await news of the attack on 'Ali, and proposed that Mu'awiyah should go and kill the caliph if Ibn Maldjun had failed and then return and throw himself on Mu'awiyah's mercy. From this point, the accounts diverge.

According to some, Mu'awiyah had him executed on the spot; according to others, he threw him into prison and freed him when he heard of 'Ali's death. According to the apparently most current account, he put him to death when he learnt that he had had a child born to him whilst Mu'awiyah remained henceforth sterile.

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BURKU' or KASR BURKU', a ruin situated in northern Jordan about 25 km. north of the pumping-station H 4, now a small village on the road from Mafraq to Baghdad. Here one of the earliest Islamic inscriptions, dated 812/1409 (Gaube, 97 f), is preserved. A karra-plan of about 650 m. altitude surrounds the ruin, which lies on the northeast bank of the Wadi Minkad. About 2 km. northwest of Burk'u, the wadi is blocked by a modern dam forming a small lake which contains water from late autumn until summer. The alignment of the foundations of the southwestern part of the kasr suggests that a similar dam existed there in the 7th century A.D.


The remains consist of a plain enclosure-wall at the northwest and the southwestern sides, and ranges of rooms for the southern and the northeastern sides (six rooms), enclosing a courtyard where there is a rectangular tower. Enclosure and rooms show traces of repeated repairs, plan alterations and reconstructions. The masonry of the structure is of poor Hauranian style (basalt blocks on the inner and outer faces, with a filling of lumps of basalt and clay). However, a thorough technical examination permits the isolation of five different stages of building-activity which can partly be connected with chronological evidence provided by inscriptions found at the site. The inscriptions are: a Greek inscription from the 3rd century A.D. (Field, op. cit. 161 ff.); a Greek inscription from Byzantine times (Gaube, op. cit. 97); an Arabic inscription with the name of Amr al-Wadil (the later caliph Walid I), dated 81/700 (RCEA, no. 12; Field, 154 f.; Gaube, 97); an Arabic inscription dated 782/1380 (Gaube, 97), and an Arabic inscription dated 812/1409 (Gaube, 97 f.).

In the course of its centuries-long use, Kasr Burk' served different purposes. The nucleus of the site, the rectangular tower in the courtyard, was a Roman-Byzantine watch-tower controlling one of the main caravan-roads from Arabia to Syria. All installations to secure the water supply of the place (the artificial lake and two reservoirs) are most probably contemporary with the tower. In the 5th or the 6th century A.D. this advanced post was transformed into a monastic settlement and some rooms were built to the southeast of the tower. By Walid's order, rooms northeast and southeast of the tower and the enclosure were added. At this time Burk' served as a modest country-residence. It proved that in Umayyad times important members of the ruling family erected even small and rather primitive buildings. Later, in the Ayyubid period, the building was restored and was most probably used as a khana.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (H. Gaube)

BURNOUS [see UBIAS.

BURUDJIRDI, HAJJI AKHUSNAS TABBATARI (1875-1961), the greatest religious authority (mardis-taklidi mutlak) of the Shi'i world in his time. He belonged to a well-established and wealthy clerical family from which emerged distinguished figures such as Sayyid Mahdi Bahar al-Ulum (d. 1779). After primary education in his home town, Burudjird, he moved to Isfahan in 1892 and studied fikih, usul, philosophy and mathematics under several specialists, including Sayyid Muhammad Bakir Durqait. In 1902 he went to Najaf and attended the lectures of Khrursani [q.v.] and others until 1910, when he went back to Burudjird with the intention of returning to Najaf, but the death both of his father and Khursani in 1911 made him remain in Burudjird. Despite the fact that Burudjirdi was closely associated with Khursani during the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11, we do not know of any co-operation between Burudjirdi and Khursani in the latter's constitutionalist campaign. This is an indication of Burudjirdi's conservatism in the field of politics, which continued to present itself during Burudjirdi's sole leadership from 1947-61.

While in Burudjird he was recognised as a respected religious authority in the western part of Iran. He was so popular in his region that in 1926, when he was temporarily living in Kum, he was urged by the Burudjirdis to return to Burudjird; he lived there until 1944. At this time the Kum Circle for Religious Studies which had been founded by Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim Ha'r! [q.v. in Suppl.], in 1921 was being run by three men (Sadr, Hudjdijat, and Khwansari [q.v.]). It was envisaged that due to his priority in age, experience and background in religious leadership, Burudjirdi would be able to...
reorganise the Circle which, under the government’s pressures, and especially after Hā’īrt’s death in 1957, had been greatly diminished. To this end Burūdjīrdī was cordially invited to Kum in December 1944. After the death of Sayyid Abu l-Hasan Isfahānī and Hādīdji Aka Husayn Kummi in Nadjaf in 1946 and 1947 respectively, Burūdjīrdī was unquestionably acknowledged as the sole marjī’-i taklīf in the whole Shī’ī world and held this title until his death.

During his leadership, many religious activities were undertaken: several libraries, hospitals, mosques, and religious schools were established or revived in different locations in Iran and other countries, including Iraq and Germany; the publication of a number of religious books were subsidised; religious emissaries were dispatched to Europe, USA, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Africa. The Kum Circle for Religious Studies, which had become only a convenient alternative to that of Nadjaf during Hā’īrt’s leadership, now proved to be the most important clerical centre in the Shī’ī world. Thanks to this centrality, many students and specialists of Shī’ism formerly living in Nadjaf and elsewhere joined the Kum Circle, to the extent that their number exceeded 5,000, and for the first time the Nadjaf Circle looked to Burūdjīrdī for assistance, financial or otherwise.

In the field of scholarship, Burūdjīrdī made noticeable contributions; in addition to regular teaching and handling religious affairs, Burūdjīrdī wrote a number of books on fikū and usūl, several of which were never published; one specialty of his was hadith. He has been widely acknowledged as the initiator of a new extent that their number exceeded 5,000, and for the first time the Nadjaf Circle looked to Burūdjīrdī for assistance, financial or otherwise.

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In the field of scholarship, Burūdjīrdī made noticeable contributions; in addition to regular teaching and handling religious affairs, Burūdjīrdī wrote a number of books on fikū and usūl, several of which were never published; one specialty of his was hadith. He has been widely acknowledged as the initiator of a new extent that their number exceeded 5,000, and for the first time the Nadjaf Circle looked to Burūdjīrdī for assistance, financial or otherwise.
Egyptian poet of Berber origin, born on 1\textdegree{} Shawk\textdegree{} 608/7 March 1212 at B\textdegree{u}r\textdegree{s} [q.v.] or near to Dal\textdegree{a} (see Y\textdegree{k}\textdegree{\i}, s.v.) in Upper Egypt. He was in fact known also by the nickname of Dal\textdegree{a} T, it being said that one of his parents originated from Dal\textdegree{a} and the other from B\textdegree{u}r\textdegree{s}; he also had a composite name: B\textdegree{u}r\textdegree{s} T, but this last was never very current. He followed the courses of the Sul\textdegree{f} Abu l-A\textdegree{b}n\textdegree{a} Ahmad al-Murs\textdegree{i} (d. 686/1287; see al-Sh\textdegree{a}r\textdegree{r}\textdegree{i}, al-Tab\textdegree{k}at\textdegree{a} T al-kub\textdegree{a}, Culo n.d., ii, 12-18; P. N\textdegree{y}u\textdegree{i}, Ibn \textdegree{A}t\textdegree{a} T\textdegree{h} All\textdegree{a}, Beirut 1972, index) and was also involved in the first developments of the scientific method.

He spent ten years in Jerusalem, and then resided at Medina and Mecca in fact known also by the name of Dal\textdegree{a} T, it being said that one of his parents originated from Dal\textdegree{a} and the other from B\textdegree{u}r\textdegree{s}; he also had a composite name: B\textdegree{u}r\textdegree{s} T, but this last was never very current. He followed the courses of the Sul\textdegree{f} Abu l-A\textdegree{b}n\textdegree{a} Ahmad al-Murs\textdegree{i} (d. 686/1287; see al-Sh\textdegree{a}r\textdegree{r}\textdegree{i}, al-Tab\textdegree{k}at\textdegree{a} T al-kub\textdegree{a}, Culo n.d., ii, 12-18; P. N\textdegree{y}u\textdegree{i}, Ibn \textdegree{A}t\textdegree{a} T\textdegree{h} All\textdegree{a}, Beirut 1972, index) and was also involved in the first developments of the scientific method.

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and was eager to learn the language of the country. From 1846 to 1848, having temporarily left the city, he helped his friend in the school at 'Ubay, which the latter founded and which enjoyed a high reputation in this period. It was there, for the benefit of his pupils, that Bustanī composed his two educational manuals Ḥidā' al-ḥidā' fi 'ilm al-ḥisāb and Bulāgh al-ārāb fi nākh al-Ārāb; it was also there that his eldest son Salīm was born. On his return to Beirut in 1848, the American Consulate employed him as an interpreter, a post that he held until 1862. During this period, he continued to educate himself, to learn European and Semitic languages with the object of assisting Dr. Smith in his venture of translating the Protestant Bible. His energy was also reflected in a large corpus of lectures, articles and pamphlets. In 1860, he published his magazine Nafīt Sārīyā ("The Syrian bugle"); then in 1863 he founded his famous National School which continued to operate until 1875 and rendered the country very valuable service. In the American Consulate employed him as an assistant and his understanding of ancient texts which he analysed and annotated to make them accessible to all that might facilitate his task as teacher. Henceforward he devoted his efforts to education and to all that to all that might facilitate his task as teacher. It was to introduce his pupils from the Brothers and the College of Wisdom to Arabic literature that he composed, in three volumes, his valuable textbook Les auteurs arabes. The first of these volumes (1951) covers the period from the pre-Islamic age to the Umayyads, the second (1934) deals with the ʻAbbāsīd age, the third with al-Andalus and the naḥḍa. Later, in 1943, this series was crowned by a fourth volume, an anthology. Even though scientific method is not respected scrupulously in his commentaries, Bustanī excels through the purity of his style and the accuracy of his comments. The last years of his career were spent at the Lebanese University.

Bibliography: M. al-Bustānī, al-Salsabīl, 199-206.

4. Kārām al-Bustānī (1888-1966) was born at Dayr al-Kārām, studied in the Jesuit school there, then went and settled in Beirut with his brother Buṭrus (see above, 3); here he applied himself simultaneously to a number of tasks: teaching, journalistic and critical editing of ancient texts. Over a number of years, he was associated with Catholic missionary establishments (Jesuits, Franciscans, Sacre Coeur, Friars, etc.), where he taught Arabic literature. At this time he was collaborating in various Lebanese reviews and journals that were then in fashion (al-Bark, Li'dn al-ḥāl, al-Ārāb, al-Mākhṣūf, etc.) and he gave generous assistance to his brother Buṭrus in the editing of his review al-Bayān. His thorough knowledge of Arabic and his erudition are shown in his study and editing of Arabic manuscripts and most of all in a series of collections of poetry (Dīwān Ḫan Khālid, Dīwān Ḫan Ḩaṭḥā, Dīwān Ḫan Ḥaṣā, etc.). As regards original production, the work of Kārām is confined to a small number of works of a historic-social nature (Légendes orientales, Princesses du Liban, Femmes arabes).

Bibliography: M. al-Bustānī, al-Salsabīl, 196-8.

5. Sa'īd b. Salīm al-Bustānī (1922-77) born at Marādī in the Shūf, studied in Beirut at the College of Jesuit Fathers, then at the Institute of Oriental Literature, and pursued his studies in France, where he obtained a State Diploma in Arabic and a Doctorate of Letters. On his return to Lebanon, he occupied some important posts at the Lebanese University. In 1974, he was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Administration, then, in 1977, Dean of the Faculty of Literature. In the course of his brief university career, he published his thesis Ibn ar-Rāmī, sa vie et son œuvre (Beirut 1967). In addition, he contributed to the Encyclopedia of Islam and to the Dar'īrī al-maʻārif of F.E. al-Bustānī. In university circles, Sa'īd al-Bustānī was associated with bilingualism and western culture, and he defended his positions of principle vigorously. The hope of the Lebanese elite, he died in mid-struggle, carried off suddenly by an incurable disease, leaving a number of important works unfinished.
6. Sahm b. Butrus (1846-84) journalist and novelist, born at 'Ubey. He studied in the centres established in the north of the Lebanon by Protestant missionaries recently arrived from America to compete with the propaganda diffused over two centuries by the Catholic missionaries. As teachers, he also had his father Butrus and Yusuf al-Athfr, introduced him to the subtleties of Arabic. At the age of sixteen (in 1862) he entered the service of the American Consulate in Beirut as an interpreter, a post that he held for ten years. Then his father insisted upon him to collaborate with him in his many projects, especially in the running of the National School, the editing of his reviews and the elaboration of the Encyclopaedia. Thanks to his knowledge of foreign languages, his civic sense and his literary and philosophical training, Sahm gave a new impetus to the Renaissance, and turned it in directions other than those pursued by the generation of his father, of N. Ya'zidji, A'thfr, Abdab and others. The West influenced his thinking and his conception of society. He went far beyond the cultural level deemed sufficient by his contemporaries and tackled new and original genres in vogue in the West. He displayed this tendency towards innovation in several spheres. First, in participation in the activities of literary societies and cultural associations, in particular in belonging to the Syrian Scientific Society in which he played a significant role; he occupied the post of vice-president, and for the benefit of members and friends, he composed some plays, most notably Madijnin Layla, in six acts, performed on the 11th May 1869, and greeted by Beirut audiences as a masterpiece. Later, he was tempted to pursue this line of activity further and he composed more plays in which prose and poetry lie side-by-side and blend harmoniously. Later, he found in his father's various reviews a useful medium for dealing with subjects fashionable in the western press. The columns of al-Djinan (1870-86) discussed moral and civic questions never dealt with before in Arabic journals of this period. The obsequious journalist, the flatterer of power and high authority (and such men were the general rule at that time), came under attack in Sallm's articles from a thinker fired with civic concern and patriotism, believing sincerely in his mission as social reformer. The titles of his surveys and articles suffice by themselves to reveal the breadth of the spectrum of social, moral, economic and political problems that he studied. We shall quote, by way of example, the following titles: Birth and evolution of nations, Factors of progress, Methods of education, The role of economics in the evolution of society, etc. In addition, he blazed the first trail of the modern Arabic novel. Taking the ancient heritage as a base, he tackled subjects with a historical theme and thus sketched the path later to be followed by Nakhla al-Mudawwar and Dj. Zaydan.

Among his works we shall mention the following:

(a) Nine novels published in serial form in al-Djinan between 1870 and 1879;
(b) Some twenty short stories composed directly in Arabic or translated from French or English (published at the same period in the same review);
(c) A history of France;
(d) A history of Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt and Syria;
(e) Statesmen.

These three last were also published in al-Djinan.
(f) Volumes vii and viii of the Encyclopaedia (and valuable participation in the editing of the first six volumes).

Bibliography: Dj. Ayyub, Index alphabétique contenant noms d'auteurs et titres d'articles insérés dans al-Djinan, au cours de sa publication (1870-1886), see in particular articles signed by Sallm (typescript thesis, the Lebanese University); M. al-Bustani, al-Salafiy, 152-3; Y. Daghiri, Mosahir, ii, 186; al-Vazir, 152-3, contribution (manuscript essay submitted to the Lebanese University, 1970). See also Li'ân al-hilal, no. 712 (1884); al-Mektatat, i (1884); Tarrazã‘, Ta’riqh al-sibâ‘o, i, ii; Kahhala, Mu‘jam; Zaydan, Ma‘alûr; i; Ziriklî.
Sulaymān shows himself as a reformer, following the path blazed by his predecessors, and he expresses, in a clear and direct style, his ideas concerning different styles of government, liberty, tyranny, and the means of exploiting the resources of the Ottoman caliphate, as well as various procedures to be adopted for the modernisation of the state. In addition, a number of manuscript works are attributed to him, including l'Histoire des Arabes, and a book of Memoirs in English. In the Lebanese civil war of 1975-6, the house where Sulaymān was born in Ibkishtfn was not spared; it was plundered and partially destroyed, and his library suffered the same fate.


8. Wādi' al-Bustānī (1836-1954), born at Dibiyā, studied at the American school of Sūk al-arb, then at the American University of Beirut where he obtained his B.A. in 1907. He was involved in an astonishing range of activities. Following in the tracks of previous and contemporary members of the Bustānī family, he applied himself to literature and to travels in Arabia, especially to the Yemen (1909) and to the Far East (1912) where he became a friend of Tagore. He returned to Egypt, then, after 1917, occupied some very important administrative posts in Palestine, at that time under British Mandate. In 1953, he left Haifa to return to his native country and there he spent the last year of his life. Two major principles dominated his long career. The first was reflected in his participation in all the efforts to preserve the Arab identity of Palestine. The second, more important, and more fortunate in its results, consisted essentially in a long list of Hindu or Western books translated from English, a language which he knew thoroughly. Thanks to him, the major works of Lord Avebury came to be known in Arabic, notably The pleasures of life (Khartoum 1904), The meaning of life (Beirut 1908), The fruits of life (Cairo 1910) and The beauties of nature (Cairo, 1913). Other authors, too, attracted his attention; he translated The Quatrains of Khayyām (Cairo 1912), and some poems of Tagore which he published under the title The sardine fisher (Cairo 1917). His most remarkable and successful achievement was without doubt the translation of the Sanskrit epic of the Mahābhārata (Beirut 1952), as well as other epic or semi-epic works from ancient India.

Other than translations, his principal works are:
(a) **Lyrics of the War.** Poems, Johannesburg 1915;
(b) **The absurdity of the Palestine Mandate.** (Beirut 1936); (c) **Palestinian poems.** (Beirut 1941) (manuscript).

**Bibliography:** M. al-Bustānī, Kazwgar al-nufūs, 362-75; idem, al-Saṣṣāḥīl, 189-96; Y. Dāghīr, Muṣādār, ii, 196-9; A. al-Djundī, Alām al-adab wa'lam fann, ii, 203-5; U. Kāhilū, Muṣādār, xii, 163; Y. Sarkis, Muṣādār al-maṣḥūr, 561; L. Shāykhū, Tūrūd al- adāb al-arabiyya, 166; Zarkūl, Alām, ix, 127-8.

**BUTRUS KĀRĀM,** Christian Arab official and writer, the son of Ibrāhīm Kārām, was born in Hīnṣ in 1774. Together with his father he was converted from the Greek Orthodox faith of the Kārām family to Greek Catholicism. As a result they were forced to migrate to Acre, where Butrus entered the service of the Fāṣqaʿ All al-Naṣrād (1806). In 1811 he moved to Lebanon, where he was employed by the emīr Dāghīr al-Ṣaḥīfī (see BAṢIR) as a tutor to his sons and as head of his chancellery. After Dāghīr's deposition in 1840, Butrus accompanied him to Malta, and later to Constantinople, where he became a secretary of the Sultan and court interpreter, thanks to his mastery of both Arabic and Turkish. He died in Istanbul in 1851.

Butrus composed many poems in Arabic, the majority of which were collected in his divān entitled Sādī al-ḥamāma fi Diwān al-Muṣādār Butrus Kārām.

When one of his Arabic compositions was attacked by a Muslim critic, he replied with a spirited makāmā in which he maintained the proposition that excellence in Arabic letters and mastery of the Arabic language was not dependent on being a Muslim. Notwithstanding the point of this dispute, it was conducted along thoroughly Islamic lines, with opposing views being expressed in verse, and Butrus himself uses forms of expression which differ very little from standard Islamic formulae, e.g. his makāmā begins "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds: Ruler of the Day of Judgement ... ."

Fair-minded Muslim critics appreciated the worth of Butrus's poetry, and one, 'Abd al-Djalīl al-Baṣrī (1776-1854), composed a poem in which he adjudicated between Butrus and his chief detractor, finding in favour of the former.

**Bibliography**:

**BUZZARD** (see BAYZARA).
Muhammad b. al-Kāsim and of the two daughters of Dāhir, the defeated king of Sind (ibid., 243-7). According to the author, ‘Alī b. Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr Kūfî (about whom see Storey, i, 650), the Cač-Nāma is a translation of an Arabic book which Kūfî found some time after 613/1217-18; the possession of the kūfi dialect of Arabic, ‘Alī b. Ḥāmid b. ‘Uṯmān al-Thākaffī (ibid., 9-10). No details about the author and name of that book are given. However, a comparison between the Cač-Nāma and Arab historians such as Balādhūrī (Fāṭīḥ, 431-46) bears out the Arab provenance of those parts of the book that describe the battles leading to the conquest of Sind; Kūfî might well have used Māḏānī’s Khitṭ Thaqfī al-Ḥind (ibid., 100; Yākūr, Pālābī, v, 315; cf. A. Schimmel, Islamic literatures of India, Wiesbaden 1973, 12). The Cač-Nāma seems to have preserved Māḏānī’s tradition concerning India in a much fuller fashion than classical Arab histories.

On the other hand, the book also comprises a considerable amount of material which probably reflects a local Indian historical tradition. The part dealing with the rise of the Cač dynasty (47-124), the story of Darōhār, Djasīnā and Djānkī (229-234), and some traditions attributed to a Brahman called Rāmīya (179) and some Brahman elders” (bo’sī maḥān-dhī bhardhave) (197; also 200’1) deserve to be mentioned in this context.

The extensive account of the relationship that developed between the Arab conquerors and the local population, which may well reflect a local Muslim Indian tradition, is perhaps the most meaningful and fascinating part of the Cač-Nāma (208 ff.). Here Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim is said to have given his unqualified blessing to the social characteristics of India and to have sanctioned both the privileges of the higher classes and the degradations of the lower ones. He upheld the central and indispensable function of the Brahmins and confirmed the privileges accorded to them by ancient tradition. As for the lower classes, represented in the Cač-Nāma by the Djasī [q.v.] (al-Zūt in Arab historiography), Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim confirmed the disabilities imposed upon them by the deposed Cač dynasty (208 ff.). Some of these disabilities bear a striking similarity to the discriminatory measures employed against the aḥl al-dhimma according to Islamic law. It is fascinating to observe the way in which the ghaṭi injunctions were transposed into the Indian milieu and probably blended with local custom. Even more fascinating is the transformation of the injunctions themselves: they are not applied to all non-Muslims, irrespective of class, because of their refusal to embrace Islam; they serve rather as an instrument to demonstrate and perpetuate the inferior social status of an ethnic group. The Cač-Nāma occasionally sounds like a document intended to accord Islamic legitimacy to the Indian social structure, to sanction the privileges of the Brahmins and to confirm the degraded status of the lower classes. It seems to be a historical and even religious justification of the persistence, under Islam, of a social system which is in sharp conflict with the Islamic world view. It may be considered an illustration of Imtiaz Ahmad’s statement that “...if the formal Islamic ideology rejects caste, the actual beliefs held by the Muslims not only recognize caste distinctions but also seek to rationalise them in religious terms” (Caste and social stratification among the Muslims, New Delhi 1973, p. xxvii).

Bibliography: The Cač-Nāma was published by Da’ūdpota, New Delhi 1939; Manuscripts: British Library Or. 1787; India Office, Ethe 455; cf. Storey, 650-1; Translations: M. K. Fredunbeg, The Chach Namah, an ancient history of Sind giving the Hindu period down to the Arab conquest, Karachi 1900; Elliot and Dowson, The history of India as told by its own historians, London 1867, i, 131-211 (description and partial translation); Makhdum Amīr Aḥmad and Nasīh Bakhr Shāh Bālōţ, Folt-Nāma Sīnd, Haydarābād (Sind) 1966 (Sindī translation and commentary; not used by the present author); cf. Storey, i, 651; Analyses: I. H. Qureshi, The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, The Hague 1962, 37 ff.; F. Gabrieli, Muhammad ibn Qṣim uṭh-Thoqayfī and the Arab conquest of Sīnd, in East and West, xv (1964-5), 281-95; P. Hardy, Is the Cač-Nāma intelligible to the historian as political theory? in Hamida Khubro (ed.), Sīnd through the centuries, Karachi 1978; Y. Friedman, A contribution to the early history of Islam in India, in M. Rosen-Ayalon, ed., Studies in memory of Gastro Wet, Jerusalem 1977, 309-33; idem, The origins and significance of the Cač Nāma (forthcoming).

(CAD, CHAD, a region of Inner Africa). The Republic of Chad (area: 1,284,000 km²; population: about 4,000,000 in 1975) is one of the four states which emerged from the former French Equatorial Africa. The country stretches over 1,600 km. from south of latitude 8° N. to the north of latitude 23° N. Consequently, climate and vegetation vary from savannah woodland with an annual rainfall of more than 1,000 mm. in the south to the arid desert of the Sahara in the north. Chad is torn between two conflicting orientations, between North and Equatorial Africa.

Islam has created a measure of cultural unity in the northern and central parts of Chad, but it has also contributed to the alienation of the region south of latitude 11° N., which remains almost untouched by Islam.

About one million members of the Sara tribe form the main element among the Bantu population of the better-watered south. The Sara are also the largest single ethnic group in Chad as a whole. For centuries the Sara, together with other peoples of the south, were the target for slave raiding from the north.

Further north the open country between latitudes 12° and 15° N. attracted waves of migrants, mainly nomads, from the north (the Tubu) and from the east (Arabs and Arabised groups). The nomads played an important role in the history of that region which saw the emergence of islamilised African states.

Kānim, the earliest state in this region [see KANEM], was first mentioned by al-Yākībī (Tarīkh, ed. Houtsma, 219) in the second half of the 3rd/9th century. The state of Kānim and its Kanembu people evolved as a result of an interaction between rulers of nomad origin (probably Tubu from Tibesti) and the indigenous population at the northeastern corner of Lake Chad. An interpretation of the Arabic sources (Ibn Saʿīd, ed. Verret, 1958, 28; al-Maqrīzī, ed. Hamaker, 1820, 206; a manuscript in Palmer, Sudanese memoirs, iii, 3) suggests that the rulers of Kānim became converted to Islam in the 5th/11th century, undoubtedly through the influence of Muslims who moved along the trade route from Tripoli via Fazzān [q.v.] to Lake Chad. By the 7th/13th century Islam had spread to other
sectors of the population. People from Kanim went on pilgrimage to Mecca and came to study in Cairo, where a madrasa for Kanimi students was established in the 640s/1240s (al-Makrizi, Khita, ed. Wiet, 1922, ii, 266). The ruling dynasty of Kanim claimed descent from Sayf b. Dhi Yazan [g.v.], and became known as the Saiawa. In the second half of the 8th/14th century the Saiawa were forced to evacuate Kanim because of harassment by the Bulula. The Bulula were probably an offshoot of the same dynasty who had mingled with one of the earliest Arab nomad groups coming from the east. The Saiawa moved to Bornu [g.v.] at the south-western corner of Lake Chad (now in Nigeria). After a transitory period the Saiawa rebuilt a state in Bornu, which towards the end of the 10th/16th century, under the reign of Idris Alawoma, regained its hegemony over the Chad basin. Kanim was reconquered by the Saiawa, who preferred to stay in Bornu. The Bulula rulers of Kanim became vassals to Bornu. About the middle of the 17th century the Bulula were removed from Kanim by the Tundjur, who had been themselves pushed out of Waday [g.v.]. Authority over Kanim rested with the alifa (from the Arabic khilafa), who was nominally a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. The Tundjur, who had been themselves pushed out of the fringes of the Sahara, the Arabs maintained their traditional way of life as camel breeders, but those who had to seek pasture farther south abandoned the camel and became cattle pastoralists (bakkara). They mixed with the local population but retained their Arabic dialect. Though they are divided into many tribes, these Chadian Arabs are generally referred to as Shawu Arabs [g.v.]. To the south, the Arabs reached as far as 11° N., and through their contact with the local population contributed to the spread of Islam. In most cases the Arabs accepted the authority of local rulers though they became involved in intra-state and inter-state politics.

Waday, on the western boundary of Där Für [g.v.], lay on the route of the Arab nomads. The first Muslim rulers of Waday were the arabised Tundjur, but they did little to spread Islam among the local population. The spread of Islam is associated with 'Abd al-Karim b. Djami, of the Arab Djaliyyin [g.v.]. He had propagated Islam among the Maba of Waday and then mobilised them in a qahfah against the Tundjur rulers. The Tundjur had been ousted and 'Abd al-Karim established a new dynasty which has survived to the present time. Until the middle of the 18th century Waday had been considered a vassal to Där Für, but then its suldan asserted their independence and expanded south and west to reach the peak of their power in the 19th century. In 1850 the capital of Waday moved from Wara to Abeshe (Abeche). In 1851 H. Barth (Travels, 1857, iii, 506) wrote: "The Wadayi faqih and 'Islam are the most famous of all the nations of the Sudan for their knowledge of the Kuran, the Fulbe or Fellani are not excepted."

In its westward expansion, Waday came into conflict with Bornu, mainly over the kingdom of Baghirmi [g.v.]. The latter emerged at the begin-ning of the 16th century southeast of Lake Chad on the right bank of the Shari river, in a region which had formerly been raided for slaves. Under the influence of Bornu, its rulers adopted Islam, but the Islamisation of the population of Baghirmi was a longer process, as remarked by Barth (Travels, 1857, ii, 561): "Their adoption of Islam is very recent, and the greater part of them may, even at the present day, with more justice be called pagans than Mohammedans". During the 18th century, when the power of Bornu declined, Baghirmi prospered mainly on trade in slaves procured in raids to the south and the south-east. But in the 19th century both Bornu (which had recovered under the qa‘iba Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanimi) and Waday claimed Baghirmi as tributary. Pressed between her two powerful neighbours and exposed to raids and exactions from both directions as well as from Fazzan, the kingdom of Baghirmi disintegrated. Its destruction was completed in 1892 and 1897 by Rabiḥ.

Rabiḥ b. Faḍl Allāh [g.v.], one of the flag-bearers of the slave trader Zubayr Pasha in the Sudan, retreated westwards after his master had been defeated by Gessi Pasha. At the head of a slave army he skirted the powerful Waday and occupied the disintegrating Baghirmi in 1892. He then invaded Bornu, which had been caught unaware, sacked its capital Kukawa [g.v.] and became master of the whole Chad basin. He wrought destruction by his slave raids and punitive expeditions until he was overcome in 1900 by the advancing colonial troops of France, Germany and Britain. Though Rabiḥ had considered himself for some time a follower of the mahdi of the Sudan, he had little interest in religious affairs. Only in one corner of Chad does he seem to have contributed to the spread of Islam. Där Runga, south of Waday, had been for centuries a hunting ground for slaves, separated from the Muslim north by a hostile boundary. The absence of Muslim settlements or even itinerant traders beyond this boundary inhibited the spread of Islam. Rabiḥ made Där Runga a base for slave raiding farther to the south, and it was during this period that people adopted some Arab customs, Arabic garb and rudiments of an Arabic dialect. The process of acculturation, which brought also the spread of Islam, was most evident among chiefs and in the trading villages which developed at that time.

Most of the Arab tribes in Chad came from the Nilotic Sudan. The northern approaches through the Sahara had always been blocked by the Tubu and the Tuareg. But in 1842 a section of the Awlad Sulaymān, who had been defeated by the Ottomans in Fazzan, migrated south to the region just north of Kanim. During the second half of the 19th century, the Awlad Sulaymān fought against the Tuareg and the Tubu. Feuds among those nomads were somewhat mitigated towards the end of the century when the Sanusīya [g.v.] became established among both the Tubu and Awlad Sulaymān as well as in Waday. In 1835 Muhammad al-Sharif, who later became the sulṭān of Waday, met Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Sanusi [g.v.] in Mecca. Closer relations between the leaders of the Sanusīya and the sulṭāns of Waday developed during the reign of 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Sharif (1858-74), when the two parties cooperated in reviving trade along the route from Benghzai to Waday via Kufra. Sanūsī traders enjoyed virtually a monopoly over this trade, and the influence of the Sanusīya among the Saharan nomads contributed to greater security for the caravans. Successive
centres of the Sanusiyya—Diaghbûb (1856-95), Kufra (1895-9) and Kûrû in Borku (1899-1902)—were along this route. The southward shift of the centres of the Sanusiyya indicates the growing importance of this region for the order.

In 1874 the Sanûsî leader Muhammad al-Mahdi (1859-1902) exerted his influence to settle a succession dispute in Wâdây. The successful candidate Yûsûf (1874-98) became a devoted adherent of the Sanusiyya. In 1909 the Sanûsîs encouraged the sultan of Wâdây to resist the French colonial occupation. In Kânim, the Sanûsî zaîyu of Bîr 'Alûfî led resistance to the French from November 1901 to June 1902. Because of their involvement in anti-colonial resistance, the activities of the Sanusiyya came to an end after the French occupation. The Sanusiyya still have some adherents in Kânim and Wâdây, but the predominant tarîqa in Chad is the Tijjânîyya. The rulers of Wâdây and Baghîrîmi, as well as the alîfa of Mao (Kânim), are Tijjânîs. The Sanusiyya, however, still maintain their influence among the Tubu of Tibesti.

Though the Tubu had been nominally Muslims for a long period, Islam had had little impact on their life until their exposure to the Sanusiyya. The Tubu who had successfully resisted outside cultural and political influences, accepted the Sanûsî traders and teachers. Traditionally the Derde, the spiritual and temporal head of the Tubu in Tibesti, had only limited authority over his tribesmen, and Derde Shay (d. 1939) believed that greater commitment to Islam and the application of the Shari'a would enhance his personal authority. He invited Sanûsî teachers to teach the Tubu the ways of Islam. Though there is still considerable laxity in observing Islamic rituals and customs, the Tubu have become aware of their Islamic identity. Tubu elders often refer to the pre-Sanusiyya period as their ġâhîsîyya.

The Tubu are divided into two main groups: the Teda whose centre is in Tibesti and the Daza who live in Borku and Ennedi. The latter were exposed to the influence of 'ulamâ' from Bornu and Wâdây and seem to practise Islam with greater conformity. With greater security under colonial rule, traders and teachers were able to move more freely and farther away. The growing number of pilgrims from Nigeria and other parts of West Africa who passed through Chad as well as foreign merchants from Nigeria, Fazzân and the Sudan who operate in Chad, added to the impact of Islam on public and private life.

Some ethnic groups which in the past had sought refuge from the agression of the islamed states gradually came out of their isolation, mixed with other groups and adopted Islam. In 1910 Islam had reached only a few notables among the Buduma on the islands of Lake Chad, but in the middle of the century all the Buduma were considered Muslims. Though there are no exact figures, it is estimated that more than half of the population of Chad are Muslims.

Chad was of great strategic importance for France as the link between its African possessions of French Equatorial Africa, French West Africa and French North Africa. In the heart of Africa and remote, more than any other territory in Africa, from sea ports, the conquest of Chad, and subsequently its administration and development, posed numerous logistic problems. Only in 1920 did the French complete the "pacification" of Chad, when they overcame the resistance of the Tubu, who had been inspired by the Sanusiyya.

In 1929 the French introduced the cultivation of cotton as a cash crop in the south, and the Sara were the first to integrate into the modern sector of the economy and to reap its benefits. It was also among the Sara that the French recruited troops to their colonial army, and the Sara continue to dominate the army also after independence. Protestant and Catholic missionaries opened schools in the south and an educated elite emerged among the Sara.

The Muslims in the central and northern parts of Chad had their own system of Islamic education and were reluctant to send their children to French schools, or even to government (non-missionary) schools. Only a few sons of Muslim chiefs were sent to study in French schools in the first years of colonial rule. They returned to hold positions in the administration and were able to articulate support for the traditional authorities. Young Muslims preferred to go for advanced studies to Cairo and Khartoum, but on their return they discovered that because of their lack of French education they could not be employed by the administration. This frustration, combined with Islamic militancy which they had acquired in the Arab countries, led to their being considered a threat both to the colonial administration and to their own traditional authorities. As a remedy, an Arab-French school was opened in 1935 in Abeche. The French preferred the sultan of Wâdây, the alîfa of Mao, the Derde of the Tubu and lesser rulers, cooperated with the French administration and were able to retain, and sometimes even to strengthen, their political and religious authority. Only in the 1950s did the French introduce a series of reforms in local government which imposed some limitations on the power of the traditional rulers. But the latter faced an even greater threat with the introduction of elections to representative assemblies and with the emergence of political parties. With the support of the administration, the sultans were able for some time to send their own men to the territorial assembly. But in 1957, with an almost universal franchise, the neutrality of the administration and the decline of the chief's powers, the radical Parti Progressiste Tchadien (PPT), which had been engaged in grassroots politics, became dominant. The PPT's basis of power was among the Sara who were better educated, more advanced economically and more articulated politically. The PPT exploited divisions
among Muslim politicians, some of whom represented the interests of the traditional rulers while others, who had been exposed to influences from Cairo, North Africa and the Sudan, followed a more radical orientation.

When the Republic of Chad became independent in August 1960, the PPT had a marginal majority in coalition with minor political groups and individual politicians. Its leader, François Tombalbaye, became the first president of the republic. In the following years, Tombalbaye consolidated his power by gradually eliminating political rivals as well as ambitious allies. He relied on the support of the Sara, his own tribesmen, who dominated the armed forces. Most of the university graduates in Chad were also from among the Sara and they were appointed to senior political and administrative positions. But Tombalbaye sought also the cooperation of the traditional rulers, such as the sultan of Wad dé and the alifa of Mao. In order to appease them, he restored some of the powers that the sultans had lost in the reforms during the last years of colonial rule. In order to maintain a semblance of national unity, he had Muslim ministers in his cabinet, some of whom were brought back to the government after periods of isolation in prison or in the political exile.

Muslims in Chad felt humiliated when they found themselves ruled by the people of the south, whom they had considered for centuries savage infidels and a fair game for slave raids. The Muslims found it hard to adjust to the change in the balance of powers, and resentment increased when Sara officials replaced the French not only in the capital but also in the territorial administration.

Since 1966 sporadic clashes between the government forces and dissidents spread from the south-eastern provinces of Salamat to the provinces of Wad dé, Bathja and Baghirmi. Disturbances occurred simultaneously also farther north in Borku, Ennedi and Tibesti. Widespread unrest was channelled into a co-ordinated rebellion by the FROLINAT (Front de Libération Nationale), a radical movement which sought to overthrow the régime of Tombalbaye, to eradicate survivals of French colonialism and to foster closer relations with the Arab countries. Though couched in ideological terms, the rebellion was really an escalation of the conflict between north and south, in which the historical, cultural and religious background had current economic and political implications.

Until February 1972, FROLINAT operated almost freely from Libyan and Sudanese territories. Since then the Sudan has effectively sealed its border with Chad. In the middle of 1972 Libya also agreed to withdraw its support from the rebels, but it still harbours the leaders of FROLINAT and does not stop the supply of provisions and arms into Chad from Libya. French troops were sent to Chad, and they succeeded in establishing a measure of security in the eastern and central provinces. But following the withdrawal of the French troops the government's control of the countryside remained rather fragile.

In Tibesti there is not a clear line between Tubu tribesmen who support FROLINAT and those who fought in the civil war together with the Derde, their temporal leader. Through most of the colonial period the Tubu nomads of the farthest north were under French military administration. By agreement with President Tombalbaye this military administration continued after independence until 1964, when French troops have been replaced by Chadian troops who were mainly from among the Sara. These troops had hardly been prepared for the subtle task of governing the non-compliant Tubu nomads, and the situation has been aggravated by mutual distrust. Following a violent confrontation between troops and tribesmen, the military command resorted to collective punishment and detained for some time the Derde and his sons. In defiance of the government, the Tubu nomads deserted the oases and moved with their herds into the desert, as they had done also in the first years of colonial rule. The Derde and his sons took refuge in Libya, and from there directed the resistance of the Tubu.

On 15 April 1975 a military coup brought to power General Malloum who, like the deposed President Tombalbaye, was a member of the southern Sara tribe. The new government had only a partial success in achieving national reconciliation whereas the military situation deteriorated even further. In February 1978 a northern offensive extended the area controlled by FROLINAT to a point only 250 km from the capital Ndjamena (the former Fort Lamy). Their advance was checked only by French troops who had hastily been flown in. The internal conflict had international implications and Libya, together with Chad's two other neighbours—Niger and Sudan—brought the representatives of FROLINAT and the Chadian government to agree on a cease-fire. For the first time, after twelve years of fighting, there were at least formal arrangements for negotiations aiming at the rebuilding of Chad on the basis of equality between the north and the south. These negotiations, however, are bound to be difficult and lengthy [See also the Addenda and Corrigenda].


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During the early part of Sultan Zayn al-Abidin's reign, Pandi, the leader of the Caks, organised a strike as a protest against coerced labour, and set fire to the Sultan's palace and some government buildings. As a punishment, the Sultan ordered the destruction of all the houses of the Caks in Tralgham, 25 miles north-west of Baramula. Pandi escaped, but was captured and executed along with all the members of his family fit to bear arms. Thus suppressed, the Caks remained quiet for some years. But taking advantage of the weakness of Zayn al-Abidin's successors, they recovered their position, and engaged themselves in the struggle for power against their rivals, the Magres. When Mirza Haydar Dughlat (739-42/1339-42), the founder of the Sultanate in Kashmir, made Lankar his commander-in-chief, patronising the Caks in order to counteract the power of the feudal chiefs.

The Caks ruled Kashmir from 968/1561 to 996/1588. The outstanding ruler of the dynasty was Yusuf Shaikh. He was a good administrator, generous, tolerant and just, but also at times ruthless; he appealed to Akbar for help. The emperor sent Yusuf Khan Ridwi to Kashmir, accompanied by some Kashmiri chiefs who acted as guides. Yusuf Khan, by adopting a policy of conciliation won over many Kashmiri nobles, and at the same time sent a force against Yakub. The latter continued to resist, but finding himself alone and isolated, he surrendered when Akbar arrived in the Valley early in Radjab 996/June 1586. He was imprisoned and died in Mubarram 1001/October 1592 and was buried, like his father, in Biswak.

Although leaderless, the Caks continued to resist the Mughals, but were ruthlessly crushed. Dhahangir's governor of Kashmir, Puqad Khan (1032-7/1623-7) hunted them down and killed them; eventually, they escaped to the hills and remote villages, taking up agriculture and other peaceful pursuits. The Caks ruled, though short-lived (968-96/1561-88), was culturally important, for the Cak Sultans, like the Akbarid Mughals, encouraged education, patronised poets and scholars and promoted arts and crafts. Two outstanding poets and scholars of the period were Babi Daud Khaki and Shakhj Vaikh Sara'i, and the most noted calligraphist was Muhammad Hasan, who entered Akbar's service and was given the title of zarfn kalum. Under Dhahangir and Shah Dinhan also, the most prominent calligraphists were those of Kashmiri origin.


CAD.CAMLÍBEL, Farkh Nafidh modern Turkish FARKH NAFIDH, Turkish poet and playwright (1889-1975). He was born in Istanbul, the son of Süleyman Nafidh, a civil servant in the Ministry of Forests and Mining (Orman ve Ma'dindin Nezareti). After high school he began to study medicine, but soon abandoned it to turn to journalism and teaching. He taught Turkish literature in Kayseri (1922-4), Ankara (1924-32) and Istanbul high schools and the American Robert College (1923-46). He was elected a deputy for Istanbul of the Democratic Party, DP, and served 14 consecutive years (1946-60) in Parliament until his arrest with other DP deputies by the Committee of National Unity (Milli Birlik Komitesi) which carried out the Revolution of 27 May 1960. He was detained on a Marmara island (Yatsinda) until his acquittal 16 months later. He died on 8 November 1973 on board ship during a cruise in the Mediterranean. Farkh Nafidh (as he was known until 1934 when he added Camlibel) began to write poetry at the age of 17 using the traditional türk metre. His early works Şehrîn sdha'nî ("The Sultans of the East"), Istanbul 1918, and Günselden gona ("From heart to heart"), Istanbul 1919, reveal the strong influence of Yahya Kemal [q.v.], who was the dominant literary figure of the period. The impact upon him of Divâliz (Ziya) Gökulp's teaching was most marked, and from then the treaty and declared himself sultan. He carried on the struggle against the Mughals, and inflicted defeats on the Mughal commander, Kasım Khan. Meanwhile, Ya'qub's intolerance towards the Sunnis, who were compelled to recite the name of 'All in the public prayers, antagonised their leader, who appealed to Akbar for help. The emperor sent Yusuf Khan Ridwi to Kashmir, accompanied by some Kashmiri chiefs who acted as guides. Yusuf Khan, by adopting a policy of conciliation won over many Kashmiri nobles, and at the same time sent a force against Ya'qub. The latter continued to resist, but finding himself alone and isolated, he surrendered when Akbar arrived in the Valley early in Radjab 996/June 1586. He was imprisoned and died in Mubarram 1001/October 1592 and was buried, like his father, in Biswak.

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on he wrote in the line of the popular bards (şaz şairleri), becoming the most important member of the group called Beğ heyecanı şairî (five poets using syllabic metre, the others being Yusuf Divâ), Orkhan Seyfi, Enis Behlîdî and Khâlid Fakhrî; Dînî neyden ("Listen to the flute"), Istanbul 1913, and Coban şâmeesi ("Shepherd's fountain"), Istanbul 1926. But he did not completely abandon the 'arîdî, which he used (like his contemporaries) whenever he thought the subject matter lent itself better to this metre, as his Suda barkalar ("Circles on the water"), published in 1928 in 'arîdî, shows. In 1933 Fârîk Nâfi'dî published a selection of his poems under the title Bir omar boyu geçti ("A whole life gone by like this"). He collected his humorous poems Tâlî sert ("Bitter sweet") in 1938, and his epic poems Ahen tânsîleri ("Raider's songs") in 1939. Then followed a long silence until the publication of his Zindan duvarlarî ("Prison walls") in 1967. These are impressions of his prison days, in a rather outdated and hackneyed style, in the form of kitâbî (and not rub'î as stated by Mehmed Kaplan, Camhureyti deeri Türk şirîn, Istanbul 1975, 31-3, passim). An anthology selected from all his works was published by the Ministry of Education in 1969, Han duvarlarî ("Inn walls"), which is the title of his most popular poem. A master of form, Camlibel wrote unsophisticated romantic and sentimental poems of love, with no particular depth of feeling, but in an easy, flowing, polished and harmonious style which made him one of the most popular poets of the 1920s. Following the trend of the period, he also wrote patriotic and epic-historic poems, and many poems eulogising Anatolia (and its people), these being increasingly popular subject-matter for literature under the inspiration of the Nationalist movement following the First World War. Camlibel is also the author of a number of verse plays, mostly inspired by political motives (e.g. Azîn ("Raid"), Istanbul 1932), except for his powerful Dînî nur ("The monster"), Istanbul 1926, a vivid portrayal of the chronic conflict between peasants and landowners in Anatolia. Camlibel also attempted one novel, Yıldız yazma ("Rain of stars"), Istanbul 1936.

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(See also Tâlî sert; Çawdir)

**Cawdor, or Çawdir, one of the major tribes of the Turkmen [q.v.].**

It appears already in the lists of 24 Oghuz tribes given by Mahmûd al-Kaşghârî (i, 57; Djuwaldar) and Rashîd al-Dîn (ed. A. Ali-zade, Moscow 1965, 80, 122; Dîjâwudur). The tribe participated in the Sâldjîk movement; the famous amîr Çaka, who founded an independent Turkmen principality on the Aegean coast at the end of the 11th century, is said to be a Çawdor. The tribal name (in the form Çawündur) was registered in Anatolia in the 16th century (see F. Sümer, Oğûtân, Ankara 1967, 315-17). The main part of the tribe, however, remained in Central Asia or returned to it from the west. In his Şadgar-i Türkî, Abû l-'Qâzî [q.v.] (ed. A.N. Kononen, text 61, Russian tr. 68), the Çawdor are mentioned among those tribes which came to Mangîshlak [q.v.] after disturbances in the Oghût îl. It remained on Mangîshlak till the 19th century, longer than any other Turkmen tribe. In his Şadgar-i Türkî (ed. Desmapson, text, 210, tr. 224) Abû l-'Qâzî mentions the Çawdor only once, in the account of the Turkmen tribes which paid tribute to the Uzbek khâns of Khîrazm at the beginning of the 16th century. The Çawdor are mentioned in the Ionian as a kind of a form together with another old Oghûz tribe, the Iğdir (in a form "İğdir Dîjâwûdur"); together they are said to pay three-fourths of the tribute imposed on Hasanîli. The term Hasan-i'i (Esen-i'i in the Turkmen pronunciation; also Esen-Kîân-i'i) has continued to exist till the present time, but its exact meaning is not quite clear; it seems that latterly it has been applied mainly to the Çawdors themselves and sometimes only to one of their main clans, the Kara-Çawdor. Besides the Çawdor and the Iğdir, the Hasan-i'i group included also the tribes of the Abdâl, Bûrçaçî (Boz Hâdîjî), Burundjîk and Köyîndîjî (Soînî Hâdîjî). In the 19th century all of them, except the last one, were mostly considered only as different clans of the...
same tribe Cawdor; in some descriptions, however, they appear as separate tribes.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the dwellings of the Cawdor were located mainly in the northern part of Mangishlak, where the Buzaci peninsula still preserves the name of one of the above-mentioned clans. From the early 17th century, they were exposed to a strong pressure both from the north, by the Kalmuks [q.v.], and from the south, by the Khâname of Khîwâ. As a result of this pressure in the late 17th and the early 18th century, a part of the Cawdor and the Ildar as well as all the Soynandji migrated to the region of the Voigla Kalmuks, and, together with the Kalmuks, they became Russian subjects (see V.V. Bartoľí, Švâmmýn, ii/1, 613-14). At the end of the 18th century, they moved to the Northern Caucasus, and now they live on the rivers Manîc and Kuma in the region (kraj) of Stavropol; in 1960 their total number was estimated as more than 5,000.

The greater part of the Cawdor moved however in the first half of the 18th century to Khârazm, and from the early 17th century, they were the allies of the independent Uzbek rulers of the town of Kungrat in their wars with the khâns of Khîwâ [q.v.]. After the victory of Khlwa over the Khanate of Khîwâ in 1810, part of the Cawdor returned to Mangishlak, but in the 1830s and 1840s they finally left Mangishlak for Khârazm under the pressure of the Aday Kazaks, and since then their centre has become the town of Porsi (now Kalinin), about 30 miles to the east from Old Urgenc. Only an insignificant number of Cawdors still remain on Mangishlak.

On Mangishlak the Cawdor were nomads, though the number of their cattle was relatively small and an important part of their economy was fishing and seal-hunting on the Caspian sea. In Khârazm they became sedentarised farmers. Their exact number is unknown; the estimations of the late 19th and the early 20th century vary between 3,500 and 17,000 families.


Yu. Bregel

ČÄ-Y-KHÂNâ, lit. "tea-house", a term covering a range of establishments in Iran serving tea and light refreshments, and patronised mainly by the working and lower middle classes. The term kahwa-khânâ, "coffee-house", is used almost synonymously, though coffee is never served. This latter name, however, tells us something of the history of this institution, for most of which we have to rely on the accounts of the European travellers. One of the earliest references occurs in Chardin's Voyages (ii, 321), where in his description of Isfâhân in about 1670 he speaks of "les cabarets à café, à tabac, et pour ces boissons fortû qu'on fait avec le sucre du pays." There is no mention of tea here, nor in Hamilton's Journal of Travels, written nearly a hundred years later, even in Malcolm's History of Persia compiled at the beginning of the 19th century. Up to this point it seems that coffee remained the popular drink, but by 1866 Lycklama a Nijeholt was able to write that tea "forme la boisson ordinaire des divers habitants de la Perse" (ii, 105), though elsewhere he mentions that coffee as well as tea was served to him by the Imâm Dju'mâ' of Isfâhân. Yet even he does not use the term čä-y-khânâ, though he does mention that the word kahwa-khânâ was applied to part of the servants' quarters in a large Persian house. E.G. Browne in 1887 records a stop at "a little roadside tea-house" near Tehran, and adds, "Many such tea-houses formerly existed in the capital, but most of them were closed some time ago by order of the Shah. The reason commonly alleged for this proceeding is that they were supposed to encourage extravagance and idle-ness, and, as I have elsewhere observed, evils of a more serious kind. Outside the town, however, some of them are still permitted to continue their trade and provide the "bona fide traveller" with refreshment, which, need-less to say, does not include wine or spirits." (A year amongst the Persians, 82). Elsewhere Browne mentions frequently the serving of tea at private entertainments, but never coffee.

Evidently, then, a fairly sudden change of habit took place during the first half of the 19th century, though why tea should suddenly have been preferred to coffee (neither of which grew in Iran at that time) is not clear. It is not even certain when tea first became known to the Iranians. Birûni's Kîhîh al-Saydâna, written in the first half of the 5th/11th century, gives a detailed account of čäy, but only as a plant grown and used in China. According to a Safavid manuscript referred to without quotation by Faridûn Adîmyât in his Amir-i Kabîr va Iran, tea was drunk in Iran in Safavid times; but the same author suggests that the wide-spread introduction of tea-drinking into Iran was due to Amir-i Kabîr [q.v. in Suppl.], who in 1849 received gifts of silver samovars from the Russian and French governments on the occasion of the coronation of Nâsîr al-Dîn Shah, and encouraged the craftsmen of Isfâhân to copy them. From then on, tea began to be imported in significant and increasing quantities, mainly the black tea of India, which was preferred to the milder Chinese. Tea was not actually grown in Iran, and specifically in the Caspian area, until 1896.

The first dictionary appearance of the word kahwa-khânâ is in Francis Johnson's, published in 1852; but the word čä-y-khânâ does not appear until the most recent dictionaries (e.g. Dihkhâda, pt. 41, 1338/1959). Even the omniscient Haim (1935) does not list it, but under kahwa-khânâ adds the definition "[in Persia] a tea-house". However, the word čäy-khânâ was certainly in common use by that time; indeed A.V. Williams Jackson met it as early as 1903, when he found along his route "muđ cabâms which served as tea-houses (čây-khânâb)" (Persia past and present, 34).

At the present time the terms čä-y-khânâ and kahwa-khânâ are to some extent interchangeable, but the former tends to be used for the small way-
June 1907: "In many of the prose or verse. In Adharbaydjan a similar role is often filled by the local (male) community (a very few have curtained-off compartments for women). Both types of establishment serve much the same fare—tea, prepared with the aid of a large samovar, bread and cheese, eggs, perhaps ăh-ă găšt or some other such simple dish, and of course the kăyă (water-pipe). Căyak Tewfik is obtainable only in the more sophisticated, European-style café (kăfa), patronised by wealthy clients, where tea, ice-cream, soft drinks, and French pastries are also to be had. For entertainment, there is the takht-yı nard (backgammon board), and often the nakkălı, who recites long dramatic episodes from the Şah-ńama, or traditional epics and folktales in prose or verse. In Ādhabāyān a similar role is often filled by the āl-kăh, who recites mystical poems (ma‘bud) in Persian, accompanying himself on a stringed instrument. Dervish fortune-tellers (rammāl) are also commonly to be seen. In times of high political activity the kahwa-khāna may serve as a centre for the dissemination of news and views. Browne, in The Persian revolution, 143, quotes an unnamed Persian correspondent, writing on 19 June 1907: "In many of the Qahwa-khānas professional readers are engaged, who, instead of reciting the legendary tales of the Šah-ńama, now regale their clients with political news."

Many of the older kahwa-khānos are decorated with paintings and frescoes dating from Kăyār times. These may depict religious scenes (the martyrdom of Husayn, for instance, or the fight between Bžhan and Hman), love-stories (Laylā and Majnūn, Shhīn bathing), and dancing girls, musicians and entertainers at the royal court.


(L.P. ELWELL-SUTTON)

CAYLAK TEWFIK, modern Turkish CAYLAK TEFVIK, Turkish writer and journalist (1843-92). A self-taught man, he was born in Istanbul and became a civil servant. He started his career in Bursa and continued in Istanbul where he published the papers Ahir ("Century"). Later renamed Letaş-i ağır and Terâbek ("Progress"). In February 1876 he published his best-known paper, the humorous Câylak ("The Kite"), which became his nick-name and which ceased publication in June 1877 after 162 numbers. In 1877 he went, with a delegation, to Hungary for a month and on his return he published his impressions as Yâdgâr-i Mağârişân ("Souvenir of Hungary"). Câylak Tewfik is the author of the following works: Kâfis-i bu‘ād, alphabetically arranged poems (tanzim-i bu‘ād), the letter dâl); Istanbul’dâ hir sene ("A year in Istanbul"), Istanbul 1297-9 Rûmî (1881-3); his best known work, the general title of a series of five books, consisting of realistic descriptions of everyday life in Istanbul. The subtles of the work are (1) Tandir; (2) Mahalle kahvesi; (3) Kâhîddînâne; (4) Rahmanî gedaşleri; and (5) Meykânè. Câylak Tewfik pioneered the Nâsr al-Dîn Khâdja literature in modern Turkish, and published three volumes containing about 200 stories on him, Lela'î-fi Nâsr al-Dîn, Bu Adan (1883) and Khaçêne Lêt’îf (1885).


ČEH, the Ottoman term for the inhabitants of present-day Czechoslovakia, mainly Bohemia and Moravia, but partly also Slovakia. The Arabs did not use this term, although the territory was known to them as Čehistan until the end of the 3rd/4th century. In the so-called "Anonymus' cartularies" (early medieval Latin) the name Čeh (Čehia) was used for both the Czech and Slovak peoples, preserved by a group of early and later Muslim geographers (Ebn Rusta, Hudâd al-‘alam, Gardizî, al-Bakri, Marwazi, Afi‘î, the name of Svatopouk (spelled variously as Sw.n.t.b.l.k.)), etc.) ruler of the Great Moravian Empire (871-94), is mentioned. The name of his land (Mirwāt, M.r.ât) is also given in some sources, but its localisation is erroneously shifted too far to the east (cf. Ibn Rusta, 142-5, tr. Wiet, 160-5;HUDâd al-‘alam, tr. Minorsky, §§ 42, 46; Gardizî, ed. Barthold, 90-100, ed. ‘Abd. al-Ḥasayn Ḥabib, Tehran 1347/1968, 275; Marwazi, ed. Minorsky, 22, 35).

Al-Mas‘ûdî must have had an excellent informant (probably a Slavonic slave from this region) on the ethnic and political situation in Central Europe, since his relation is entirely independent of other sources and rich in detail not to be found elsewhere. In the list of Slavonic tribes and their rulers we find also the name of Wenceslaus (Prince of Bohemia (871-94), is mentioned. The name of his land (Mirwāt, M.r.ât) is also given in some sources, but its localisation is erroneously shifted too far to the east (cf. Ibn Rusta, 142-5, tr. Wiet, 160-5;HUDâd al-‘alam, tr. Minorsky, §§ 42, 46; Gardizî, ed. Barthold, 90-100, ed. ‘Abd. al-Ḥasayn Ḥabib, Tehran 1347/1968, 275; Marwazi, ed. Minorsky, 22, 35).

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the oldest extant in the literature, and the whole account belongs to the most valuable sources of early Czech history. Unfortunately his relation is not conserved in its entirety, but only in excerpts in al-Bakri's al-Mamlak wa'l-masalik, some fragments are preserved by al-Kazwini and by the late Maghribl geographer Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari in his Kitab al-Rawd al-mirtab (Bibl. Nat. Rabat, Ms. no. 238).

After the 4th/10th century, the country of the Czechs and Slovaks wanes from the horizon of Arab and Persian geographers. The only exception Czechs and Slovaks wanes from the horizon of Arab and Persian geographers. The only exception

The next time the Muslim peoples came into contact with the territory of modern Czechoslovakia was under the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman expansion in the 11th/17th century touched also some southern regions of present-day Czechoslovakia, these regions then forming a part of the Hungarian kingdom. Following the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, the Turks successively conquered Buda in 1541 and Esztergom in 1543 and occupied the village of Kalat (today Stúrovo), where they built a small fortress, called Cigerdelen Parkani; this was the beginning of Ottoman rule over Czechoslovak territory. In 1544 they conquered the fortress Fil'akovo in eastern Slovakia and Nograd and Szécsény in northern Hungary. This territory was then organized into four sanjaks, those of Esztergom, Nograd, Szécsény and Fil'akovo, where more than 90 villages and hamlets on the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia were located.

During the so-called Fifteen-Years' War of 1593-1606, the Ottomans lost the larger part of this region, so that afterwards only about 200 villages remained under their rule.

The greatest military enterprise of the 11th/17th century, the campaign of Kopruju Ahmed Pasha against the Habsburg monarchy in 1663-4, touched again Czechoslovak territory. In 1663 the Turkish army conquered the important fortresses of Nové Zámky (Uyar, Neuhäusel, Ersekjüvár), Nitra and Levice as well as many smaller fortifications. After the peace of Vasvár of 14 August 1664, the fortress of Nové Zámky, together with 786 villages and hamlets in southern Slovakia, remained in Ottoman hands (cf. Deffer i mutfasî-i eydel-i Uyar, Bağbakanlık Arşiv, Tapu Defterleri, Nos. 115-698). Out of this territory a new eydel was constituted with its headquarters in Uyar. Ottoman rule lasted here until the conquest of Nové Zámky in 1685, whereas in the eastern regions of Slovakia it persisted till a year later, when the township of Rimavská Sobota paid for the last time taxes to the Ottomans.

Since the treaties between the Ottomans and the Habsburg monarchy were frequently infringed, the frontiers remained unstable and underwent many changes. The Ottoman administration considered all villages inscribed in the tax-registers or defters as its own territory and insisted firmly on this view, whereas the opposite party was not willing to accept this state of affairs. There thus emerged a wider frontier zone under the fiscal jurisdiction of both parties, i.e. a condominium. The inhabitants were forced to pay taxes to both sides; the levy of taxes on the disputed territory led to incessant fighting, to punitive expeditions for non-payment, to raids and plunderings of villages as well as to dragging-away of peoples into captivity or slavery. The main raids occurred against Roštava and Jelšava in 1536, Gemen in 1569, Vráble in 1584 and 1630, Krupina in 1564, Zarnovice in 1564, etc. The marauding raids, chiefly by Tatar troops, devastated many times the whole region of the Váh and Nitra rivers (1543, 1555, 1575), as well as eastern Moravia (1530, 1599, 1663).

The only Turkish traveller who visited the territory of Czechoslovakia was Ewliya Celebi, who travelled in the southern regions in 1606-8 and also took part in the campaign of 1663-4. He visited and described the following towns and fortresses, borrowing his information from various sources and being unable to harmonize it (cf. Lewicki, Polska, part 2, passim).

Two Ottoman officials in the same campaign have also left accounts: Mustafa Zuhdi in the Ta’rif-i Uyar (Halis Eleni Ktp., No. 2230) and Mehmed Nedjat I in the Ta’rif-i after-i Uyar (Revan Ktp., No. 1300), both written in 1663. In the Turkish historical literature the events of war on Czechoslovak territory were described in some detail by İbrahim Peçevi (conquest of Fil'akovo, Ta’rif-i, i, 139-40; of Sobotka, ii, 140; the siege of Komárno, ii, 154-6).

Kâtib Celebi gave an account of events of the Fifteen-Years War in his Feghîke, i, 19-20, 132-6, 261-2.

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Baghdād, granted these districts to a local shepherd (ṣubbān). By the 19th century, the family was divided into two branches, one controlling Tiyek and Ekbez and the other Hacilar. The Coban-oghullari played a part in the attempts of the more powerful derebey families of the Cilician region to maintain their local autonomy against the Porte in Istanbul, and were at times allied with e.g. the Kucuk 'Ali-oghullari (q.v.).

**Bibliography:** see A.G. Gould, Lords or bandits? The derebey of Cilicia, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 491. (Ed.)

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**DABBĀGH (a.), “tanner”, frequent as a niha in mediaeval and modern Arabic. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the tanners were Jewish craftsmen. During the lifetime of the Prophet, his Companions, such as al-Hārīrī b. Sabāra, Sawda, Asma' bint 'Amir and others, were associated with tanning. Saidh al-Karaz, one of the Companions of Muḥammad, was busy trading in fruit of the acacia (karaz) which was widely used as a material for the processing of leather. During the Umayyad, Abbasid and Mamluk periods, there were many Jewish and Arab tradesmen engaged in tannery. Dāhīh mentions Jewish tanners; al-Sam'ānī and Ibn al-Azhīr, on the other hand, cite numerous names of Arabs who were well-known not only as dabbaghs, but also as transmitters of traditions and religious lore.

The tanners worked and lived in the suburbs of towns and villages, and had their separate lanes (darb) in the markets known as darb al-dabbdghin. They had their shops close to the camel-market of Mirbad in Baghdad, granted these districts to a local shepherd (ṣubbān). By the 19th century, the family was divided into two branches, one controlling Tiyek and Ekbez and the other Hacilar. The Coban-oghullari played a part in the attempts of the more powerful derebey families of the Cilician region to maintain their local autonomy against the Porte in Istanbul, and were at times allied with e.g. the Kucuk 'Ali-oghullari (q.v.).


(M.A.J. Beg)

**DABBĀGH, ABŪ ZAYD 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN b. MUḤammad b. 'Ali b. 'Abd Allāh al-Āyārī al-Usaydī, b. 605/1208-9, d. 699/1300, was, according to the eyewitness and probably interested testimony of al-'Abdārī, the unique true scholar in al-Kayrawān of his time. If one can believe an anecdote which states that he owed his cognomen of al-Dabbagh to the fact that his great-grandfather disguised himself as a tanner in order to avoid the office of ṣubbi, he must have stemmed from an ancient family of Kayrawānī ṣabībīn. Al-'Abdārī, who visited him in 688/1289 and received from him a general indebtage for the transmission of his whole work, praises his hospitality, fine appearance, amiability, lofty mind and breadth of knowledge. He was well-versed in all the traditional Islamic sciences, was a felicitous poet and excelled above all in hadith. His masters had been numerous (over 80), and he devoted to them, in the fashion of the time, a bānānīyya or catalogue, which has survived. He also wrote a work on hadith, al-'Abdārī al-arba'a fi 'aṭām rāyāt Allah bi-'ādāha al-'ilāmān, a history, Ta'dīkh Mulluk al-İslām and a collection of edifying vitae, Qa'a al-ṣafā fi manṣūk al-anbā', none of these works has come down to us.

However, al-Dabbagh owed his reputation above all to his tabākāt devoted, in a chronological order by dates of death, to the saints and scholars who had either lived in al-Kayrawān or had visited it. According to al-'Abdārī, this was called Mālik al-imān wa-ra'ayat al-nasā'īn fi manṣūk al-maghfīrān min sulhā al-Kayrawān, and was in two big volumes. He drew substantially on the oldest sources, and especially on the Taḥākāt of Abu 'l-Arab and the Rādīd of al-Mūlūk. Al-Dabbagh's work is turned copied and enlarged firstly by Brāhīm al-Awswānī (d. ca. 719/1320), and above all by another Kayra-
warn, Ibn Nadji (d. after 839/1435), who completed it by adding biographical notices of the scholars of by the verb kultu "I say". Hence al-Dabbagh's work Mcfalim al-imdm fi ma'rifat ahl al-Kayrawdn. The earlier texts personal remarks generally introduced this (1320-5) is very poor, but has been re-edited in diverse world of piety and The Tunis edition of Hulal, c. 1970, i, Leipzig 1897, 145). The ori- Armenian Grammatik, volume and seems unlikely to continue. For his part, a more critical way by Ibrahim Shabbuh (i, Cairo tors and called the Silsilat al-Dhahab ("Golden chain"). He was in fact the descendant of a famous line of drapet Areac and this originally Iranian word passed in Sasanid Persia to denote the secretaries of the state. A knowledge of writing and secretaryship was such as Aramaic and Armenian; for etymological records that Ardashlr learnt as"lucky door"). The Arab nomads erkeni/'terkenit, speakers, have always been familiar with this repul- strong gregarious instinct makes it to live in packs (in dialect: mdab'a, pl. mdab'iz), one of which may include more than a dozen members. Hunting in groups, both by day and night, the members of a pack pose a formida- strong gregarious instinct causes it to live in packs (in dialect: mdab'a, pl. mdab'iz), one of which may include more than a dozen members. Hunting in groups, both by day and night, the members of a pack pose a formida-

AL-DABBAGH, ABU ZAYD CABD AL-RAHMAN — DABU


DABIR (s.) "scribe, secretary", the term generally used in the Persian cultural world, including the Indo-Muslim one (although in the later centuries it tended to be supplanted by the term manushi, so that Yule-Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, London 1886, 328, record "dubeer" as being in their time "quite obsolete in Indian usage"), as the equivalent of Arabic käthib and Turkish yazdî. The word appears as dipy/dibhr (Pahlavi orthography dip(w)r), see D.N. MacKenzie, A concise Pahlavi dictionary, London 1971, 26) in Sasanid Persia to denote the secretaries of the government departments, an influential body in the state, and a chief secretary, Erân-dibhrat or dibhr-mahâli is mentioned in such sources as the Kámân-g-i Arđâdîg; see, for instance, Max'ûd Tanbâl, 104, tr. Carra de Vaux, 148, giving the daghrîbdh) as the fourth of the five great dignitaries in the Sasanid state. A knowledge of writing and secretaryship was considered part of a gentleman's education, and the Kârânmag records that Ardashlr learnt dibhr at Bâbak's court (see M. Boyce, The Parthian gozân and Iranian minstrel tradition, in JIRAS [1957], 32-3). From Sasanid usage it passed into Armenia, where we find mention a chief secretary, draped Anau' (H. Hülschmann, Armeische Grammatik, i, Leipzig 1897, 145). The origin of the word is seen in Old Iranian *dâbha- "bearer of writing" and this original Iranian word passed during pre-Islamic times into more westerly languages, such as Aramaic and Armenian; for etymological details, see W. Eilers, Ironisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon: über einige Benennungen und Titel, in Indo-Iranian Spr., v (1961-2), 216-17.

For the functions of dibhr in Islamic times, see Kâthib, ii and iii, and also Brown and v. (C.E. Bosworth)

The hyena family comprises four species, distributed geographically throughout Africa and from Arabia to Bengal; this means that the majority of Muslim peoples, and especially all Arabic and Berber speakers, have always been familiar with this repulsive carrier of disease. Stronger and more ferocious than the former, this hyena has no more than one or two cubs a year, and night, the members of a pack pose a formidable threat to cattle and deer, and they have been known to attack isolated travellers; within the pack, a strict law regulates the distribution of captured prey. Much less prolific than the spotted hyena, the spotted hyena has no more than one or two cubs to a litter. The other two species of hyena, the brown hyena (Hyena brunnea), and the aard-wolf (Proteles cristatus), an insectivore, are virtually unknown in the Arab countries, being confined to central and southern Africa.

The Greeks, who knew of the hyena through the writings of Aristotle (Hist. Anim., vi, 32) and Hero-
dotus (iv, 192), had only two words for the animal: ʿuṣṣna and yālūnū, while the Arabs, many centuries before Islam, employed a wide vocabulary of terms to describe both the physical appearance and behaviour of the hyena (see Ibn Sīdūh, Mudhafāsās, viii, 69-72); among the most frequent epithets for this nocturnal animal a whole range of pejorative epithets with the sense of “vileness”, “filth”, such as madām, khan'a, qfshal, khal'a, khaz'al, etc. The effect of this ignominious gait is aggravated by the fact that the female hyena is always inspired disgust, with its necrophagous instinct (al-khqffuf), known in different regions as “the crier” (al-khabar), “mother of the sands” (umm al-rimāl) and “mother of the hill” (umm al-kalada) is a sign of bad luck; striking a light is the only way of banishing this unwelcome companion, this animal which joins forces with the wolf (ādhā nakbāl), the jackal and the vulture in consuming the scraps left behind by the lion, the panther, the leopard or the carcass of the underground cave where the hyena sleeps during the day is often shared by some snake or other large reptile with which it coexists peaceably;

In spite of its ferocious and formidable appearance, the hyena is, in fact, characterised by cowardice; once captured and muzzled and seen in daylight, the animal is so terrified that it gives the impression of total bewilderment and stupidity. This well-known behaviour led the Bedouin to coin the phrase abnāk min ḍabh'a “more foolish than a hyena” and the epithet ḍabab'al/dabab'āl “a hyena” or “a fool”, meaning that the animal before being used as a word of reproof for silly or mischievous children. In the Maghribi, a brutal or foolish person is contemptuously described as madāb'ār or ḍabab'āh, implying that, in the words of the proverb ḍab' rās ḍha', “he has eaten a hyena’s head”. Although the young of the species, if caught before the age of weaning, is easily domesticated and proves very much attached to its master, the adult is quite untamable, as is shown by the tragic story of the kind Bedouin who gave refuge to a hunted hyena and was eaten in its sleep as a reward for his benevolence, an episode which gave rise to the proverbial expression maḏūq umm ʿāmir “protector of the hyena”, applied to excessive hospitality shown towards a stranger.

The incorrigible and unsociable temperament of the adult hyena and its latent malevolence gave rise to the metaphorical sense of the word ḍab'a, as used by the Arabs to describe years of drought and distress and misery which accompanied them (Ḥayawān, vi, 446-7). Still more explicit was the old adage kharāt bayna-hum al-dibdā, “the hyenas have defecated between them”, used in reference to rival tribes divided by implacable hatred. Comparison to the hyena, as to the monkey [see ḫirān] and the pig [see ḥimṣīn], was a grievous insult in Arabic as in Persian; in the latter, rā-yi kafṭar “face of a hyena” was used to describe repulsive features inspiring distrust (Ḥayawān, vi, 452).

Belief in hybrid forms produced by matings of the hyena and the wolf was firmly entrenched in the Arab mentality, and al-Dāḥibī was the first to dare to refute it categorically (Ḥayawān, vi, 181-3). According to the latter, copulation of a male hyena with a she-wolf would have produced the sim, a creature renowned for its agility (see al-Damfrī, Ḥaṭy, ii, 27-8), identified by modern naturalists with the Cape hunting-dog (Lycaon pictus), a canine. An inverse crossing would have produced the ‘ibshār (see al-Damfrī, Ḥaṭy, op. cit., ii, 115-6), probably to be identified with the aard-wolf, a species of hyena mentioned above. According to another legend dating from the early years of Islam, the sim' and the ‘ibshār, offspring of the hyena and the wolf were, in fact, the progeny of two tax-collectors, transformed into these two carnivores by Allah as a punishment for their greed (Ḥayawān, v, 80, 148-50); this alleged pu-
nishment gives historical force to the unfortunate repu-
tation for usury acquired in this period by tax-col-
collectors and money-changers. Still more extravagant was
the idea of the evolution of the giraffe (zardfa),
accord
ing to the following process: in Abyssinia, a male hyena
with, according to its sex, a male or a female oryx,
which, mating in its turn
gives birth to the giraffe as a definite product. Although
this comical explanation defies all the laws of genet-
icics, it does, for the simple-minded, account for the
physique of the giraffe; it has the low hindquarters of
the giraffe and the head of a hyena, the
is asleep!" Another injunction was more distateful
preliminary, to undress and to arm himself with cords
in the burrow itself. The brave
had enthusiasts, using the best means available
in the capture of the hyena; these include the hunt-
traps, consisting of the carcase of some ani-
men. As a result, consumption of the meat of this
hyena, known in Arabia. As a result, consumption of the
meat of this scavenger
is regarded as permissible by the
Shi'is and the Hanbalis (see H. Lauout, Le prêts de
droit d'Ibn Qudamah, Beirut 1950, 224; al-Kalajahshdl,
Shah al-dhgh, ii, 47-8); E. Graf, Jagdhand und Schlachtter
im islamischen Recht, Bonn 1959, 143, 233); Mûlik b.
Anas and his followers were more reticent, consid-
ing the consumption of the meat of this scavenger
"worthy of reproof" (makhrîh). As for Abû Hanîfa, he
maintains categorically that this meat is absolutely
impermissible, on the basis of the formal prohibition
applying to all carnivores equipped with canine teeth.
Whatever the motive, consumption or destruction,
the capture of the hyena was a practice that always had
enthusiasts, using the best means available
according to the time and the place. In Islamic coun-
tries, the simplest and oldest method of hunting, no
doubt dating back to prehistoric times, was to trap
the animal with cords in the burrow itself. The brave
man who had the audacity to confront this adver-
sary, in spite of its terrible bite, was obliged, as a
preliminary, to undress and to arm himself with cords
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tepy or the snare (kifjî) with a running knot to catch the
paw. Each of these devices was accompanied by a
bait (rimma) consisting of the carcase of some ani-
mal. In more recent periods, metal traps with tongues
have replaced all devices previously in use. Such
traps should be large and very powerful, because in
many case the hyena's vice-like jaws are strong
enough to bend steel. The Mamlûk Ibn Mangî,
summarizing the results of his research
in the 7th/13th century (ms. Escurial
48); he could, for his personal safety, arm himself
with a sharp dagger (see L. Mercier,
Kitab al-Masdîd wa 'l-matdrid
al-bayzara from the 7th/13th century (ms. Escurial
3 fol. 162b-163b), has given accounts of various
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Whatever the motive, consumption or destruction,
to a wall by its tail and to set dogs on it, torturing it for three days before killing and burying it; with the evil destiny thus exhausted, rain was sure to come soon. Such is the interpretation laid on these obscure ritual practices by the mythologists.

In spite of everything, the hyena should not be unjustly abused because, wherever it lives inproximity to man it is, with the jackal and the vulture, a factor in biological equilibrium, contributing to the elimination of decomposing organic matter, the source of diseases and epidemics. In Islamic countries, the rural populations willingly accept the presence of the hyena in spite of its unpleasant instinct for digging (فجاف); at night, the animal is present in large numbers on the outskirts of encampments and villages, disposing of the garbage and waste products thrown out without any regard for hygiene.

In ancient medicine, as practised by the Greeks and later by the Arabs, the hide of the hyena, in all its forms, offered a wide range of therapeutic properties, the most valued being the supposed aphrodisiac quality of its brains and genital organs when dried and made into powder; but this drug only had a generative effect on the man and induced frigidity in the woman. Bearing in mind the mutual hostility between the live hyena and the dog, it was quite logical to extend this hostility beyond death and to use the remains of the former to repel the latter; also, in carrying one's piece of hyena's skin or its dried tongue gave protection against dog-bites and, consequently, rabies. Similarly, anointing oneself with grease from a hyena would prevent dogs from barking at one's approach; this practice was well-known to burglars. Applying the same grease to a placid dog would immediately transform it into a ferocious animal. A hyena skin buried at the entrance to a house was a permanent means of denying access to all dogs and, hung up outside a village, it kept all pestilence at bay. Wrapped round the siege or the measure used in the handling of grain, this skin preserved the seed against depredation by grass-hoppers and birds; with fruit trees, the same effect could be achieved by the use of the animal's claws. In addition, the head and the tongue of the hyena were lucky talismans; the former promoted fertility in a woman and guaranteed a successful birth. To this list of major qualities a large number of secondary properties could be added, and one might conclude that the hyena, for which the Arabs had no sympathy in the early 617/1220 (Djuwaym-Boyle, i, 102, 117), was mortally wounded (see Barthold, op. cit., 250, 295-6). Dabusiyā apparently flourished at this time and was a mint-town of the Karakhānids (see Zambaur, Die Munzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und ortlich geordnet, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). During the Mongol period, Dabusiyā and Sar-i Pul both opposed Čingiz Khān's hordes in early 617/1220 (Djuwaym-Boyle, i, 102, 107, 117), and operations around it between warring Ozbeg princes are recorded by Bābur in the opening years of the 10th/16th century (Bābur-nāma, tr. Beveridge, 40, 124).

Bibliography (in addition to references given above): Le Strange, The lands of the eastern caliphate, 468, 471; Hudud al-šām, tr. Minorsky, 113.

(C.E. Bosworth)
Dāgh U Taštīhā — Dāhīs

Maydānī, Muḥammad al-amīdī, Cairo 1959, ii, 110-21), and Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut 1965, i, 566-83, neither of whom cites his authorities. The latter version is considerably curtailed and at the same time is eked out by the addition of dialogue and transitional passages to make the story more interesting and to fill in gaps in the narrative. A much shorter account also from Abū ‘Ubaydah, in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, al-fikd al-farād, v. Cairo 1946, 150-60, is divided into ayām.

All the primary accounts differ considerably one from another. We shall first summarise the main events of the war as they are related in the Nakād al-aṣba‘a and then point out the more important differences in the other sources.

Dāhīs was ill-omened even before his birth, since the owner of his sire tried but failed to recover the seed deposited in the womb of the dam, because the pair had mated without his knowledge or consent. The stallion grew up to be a swift runner and eventually became the property of Kays b. Zuhayr of Abs, who seized him in a raid (83-5).

Different reasons are given for the ill-will between Kays and Hudhayfa, but whatever the cause, it eventually culminated in a horse-race arranged between the two. Each agreed to run a stallion and a mare. Kays bet on Dahis and al-Ghabrā3 and the entries of Hudhayfa were al-Khāṭṭār (or Kurzul) and al-Hanfā‘. To make sure of winning, Hudhayfa stationed men along the course who seized and held Dāhīs until the other horses passed. When released, Dāhīs overtook the two horses of Hudhayfa and would have come in second behind al-Ghabrā‘ but again the Banū Fazara intervened and beat off the leaders, preventing them from finishing first. Both sides claimed victory, and the wager was not paid (83-8).

First blood in the conflict was drawn by Kays, who while on a raid killed ‘Awf b. Badr, the brother of Hudhayfa. The bloodwit of 100 camels was paid by al-Rabī‘ b. Ziyād al-‘Absī. Despite this, Hudhayfa retaliated by sending a group of men, among whom was his brother, Hamal b. Badr, against Mālik b. Zuhayr, the brother of Kays, who was married to a woman of Fazara and living in the vicinity. Hamal kills Mālik, and when al-Rabī‘ hears of this, he leaves the āwār of Hudhayfa, which he had enjoyed up to this time, and joins Kays (88-92).

At this point there is a digression to explain an estrangement that had occurred between Kays and al-Rabī‘, who had stolen a coat of mail belonging to Kays. The murder of Mālik, however, reconciles the two men, who combine their forces against Hudhayfa (90). They demand the return of the camels that had been paid as blood money for ‘Awf, but Hudhayfa refuses. Then another brother of Hudhayfa, Mālik b. Badr, is killed by a certain Dūmaylī b. al-‘Absī, a distant relative of Kays (93-4).

Peace is then sought by al-Aslā‘ b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Absī, who gives several young boys to Fazara as hostages. Hudhayfa, however, is implacable. He gets possession of the boys and kills them one by one, forcing them to call on their fathers for help as he shoots them to death with arrows. Among the boys were Wākid b. Dūmaylī and ‘Uthab, the son of Kays b. Zuhayr (93-4).

Next follows a series of battles in which ‘Abs are victorious. On the Day of Khaṭṭārā‘, at which Hudhayfa was not present, Fazara lost several prominent men, among them al-Hārīth, another brother of Hudhayfa (94). Hudhayfa mustered his forces and set out in pursuit of ‘Abs, but fell into a trap laid

Dāhīs were remote not expected to bring their horses to the muster before twelve years, but after six years since the last muster, one-tenth of their income was withheld. If a mansabdar was promoted to a higher mansab and three years elapsed since he last presented his horses at a muster, he received a personal increase of salary, but was allowed to draw the allowances for the increased number of his men only after the first muster. He then obtained assignments against his old and new men.

The entire machinery of branding and inspection was controlled by the Bakhsjhi-yi ma‘allāt (or Mir bakhsjhi) in the central administration. He had under him bakhsjhi posted at the capitals of šāhās or provinces. The actual work of branding and inspection was done by an officer known as the Dagh u tashiha, who reported to the bakhsjhi. This department was very important for maintaining the Mughal army up to prescribed standards, and the decline in the quality of Mughal troops in the 12th/18th century was widely ascribed to the collapse of the dāgh u tashiha system.


Rawaha, a distant relative of Kays (93-4).
by Kays, who sent off the animals and non-combatants in one direction, and together with his warriors went in another. As he expected, Hudhayfa and Dhubyān followed the animals, and, as they scattered to gather in the plunder, 'Abs fell on them unexpectedly and wreaked such slaughter that al-Rabī’ b. Ziyād and his brothers begged him to desist. This battle was known as the Day of Dhu Ḥusā (94-5).

Hudhayfa and his brother Hamal escaped the carnage, and with a few companions came to the Well of al-Haba‘a, where they were finally hunted down by a group of ‘Abs, among whom was Ṣhadddād, the father of the poet ‘Antara. Both Hudhayfa and Hamal were killed. The Nakkā'ī adds as an after-thought that it was said that Hudhayfa killed the mother of Kays, whom he found among the animals, on the Day of Dhu Ḥusā (95-6).

From this point, the fortunes of war change. The rest of the chronicle is given over to the wanderings of ‘Abs, who, hard-pressed by the combined forces of Dhubyān, leave their homeland in an attempt to find allies or qiwār among the Arabs who were not of Ghatafan. They first defeat the Banū Kalb on the Day of ‘Urār, then they go to the Banū Sa‘d b. Zayd Ṭanār, who give them a pledge of security for Dhubyan, leave their homeland in an attempt to find with the Banū Khims and the chances for ‘Abd al-Hamīl in al-Yamama, but find no support with them. They finally find Ḟudayl with ‘Amīr b. Sat‘a‘a, but it is given grudgingly and ‘Abs are subjected to indignities. It is during this period that they participate in the Day of Shīr Džabal referred to above. Thereafter they leave ‘Amir and go to the Banū Taghlib. Taghlib react favorably to their request and send a delegation to consult with ‘Abs, but among the delegates Kays recognizes an old enemy, Ibn Khīms al-Ṭalghīnī, who had killed al-Hārīth b. Zālīm, the man who had avenged the murder of Kays’s father. Kays slays Ibn Khīms and the chances for qiwār with the Banū Taghlib are ruined (98-104).

Thereafter, weary of war, Kays sends his tribe home to try to make peace with Dhubyān. After some difficulties this is accomplished, but Kays himself refuses ever again to be a majdūr of any house of Ghatafan and departs for ‘Uman, where he later dies. Peace is concluded with Dhubyān by al-Rabī’ b. Ziyād and the rest of the Banū ‘Abs (104-8).

It is clear that whoever put together this account of the war—al-Kalbf or his informants—was a partisan of ‘Abs. Kays is made to appear as a paragon of forbearance (ḥilm) and Hudhayfa an unmitigated villain. Kays in the beginning attempts to call off the wager, which was made without his consent, because he realizes that it can only lead to trouble. Hudhayfa insists on running the race, and then wins it only by cheating. He later on sends Hamal to kill Mālik b. Zuhayr, although he had previously accepted the bloodwit for his brother ‘Awf, and now refuses to return the camels. Kays lets one of his sons go as a hostage in an effort to bring about peace, and Hudhayfa kills him with the other children in a barbarous manner. Later on he kills Kays’s mother. Finally, at the end, at the Well of al-Haba‘a, Hudhayfa shows himself a coward and has to be pushed into the fray by his brother Hamal. Kays, who was not present, expresses in verses his regret at the incident and refers to Hamal as “the best of men”, and says he would weep for him forever, were it not that he had behaved unjustly.

In the other sources, Kays does not appear in such a good light, nor is Hudhayfa so wicked. According to ḳbd, v, 151, Dāhīs and al-Qabārī ‘race against each other and not as a team. The wager was between Kays and Hamal b. Badr, the owner of al-Qabārī, who arranged the deception, and thus appears as instigator of the war instead of his brother.

Kays is said to have killed not the brother, but Mālik (or Naḍba), the son of Hudhayfa, whom his father had sent as a messenger to ask for payment of the wager. As a messenger his person should have been sacred, but Kays said grimly, “I’ll pay you later”, and then thrust his spear through his back (ibd., v, 152; Ibn al-Ṣūhr, i, 752).

The killing of the children is told in two separate episodes. Rayyān b. al-Aslā is taken prisoner, but is released by Hudhayfa and gives his two sons and nephews as hostages. Kays kills Mālik b. Badr and only then does Hudhayfa in retaliation kill the two sons of Rayyān, who die calling for their father. He is prevented from killing the nephew by the boy’s maternal uncles, who were apparently of Fazārā (Ibn al-Ṣūhr, i, 576). Later, ‘Abs agree to pay Hudhayfa ten bloodwits for his losses and give as hostages a son of Kays and a son of al-Rabī’ b. Ziyād. Hudhayfa is only able to get his hands on the son of Kays, but captures two other ‘Absis and kills the three of them together. It is not actually stated that this last group were children (ibd., vii, 577). In still another account of this incident, Kays is made to bear the blame for foolishly insisting on giving hostages against the advice of al-Rabī’ b. Ziyād, who wished to stand and fight (Maydānī, ii, 114). In general, the other sources give much more importance to al-Rabī’ than does the narrator in the Nakkā'ī.

According to the Nakkā’ī, Kays was not present at al-Haba‘a when Hudhayfa and Hamal were slain, but he is there in the other versions, egging his comrades on with the cry labiykham in answer to the cries of the children as they were murdered (ibd., vi, 157; Ibn al-Ṣūhr, i, 579).

‘Abs and Dhubyān were permanently reconciled, and the war of Dāhīs had no political aftermath that affected the course of events after the advent of Islam. For later Muslims, the most important results of the war were literary, since it is the best-documented of all the wars of the pagan Arab tribes. Several famous poets participated in it or allude to it in their poetry. Among them are ‘Antara b. Shaddād and Labīb, whose mother was of ‘Abs, and the ‘Abs leaders Kays and al-Rabī’. The memory of the major events in the struggle was doubtless still fresh when scholars began to collect the poetry and anecdotal material connected with it, though it is likely that the minor incidents, the personalities of the participants, and the real causes of the quarrel had already been invested with an aura of romanticism. Probably the very quantity of data facilitated this process which is apparent in the surviving accounts. Even as late as the Umayyad period, the war was exploited for fikhr and hida‘ themes; several Arabic proverbs and proverbial expressions are said to have originated in the dialogue between Hudhayfa and Kays (Maydānī, nos. 537, 613, 821, and 1530), and Dāhīs became a permanent part of Arab folklore and literature as a symbol of bad luck and enduring enmity, embodied in the proverbs allām min Dāhīs kād auda‘ bayn nāfis min Dāhīs wa i-Qabārī (ibd., nos. 2033, 2925).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī, Amīdīl al-‘Arab, Istanbul 1300, 26 ff. (not seen); al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-‘arb, xv, Cairo 1949, 356-63 (copies ibd.); G. W. Freytag, Arabum proverbia, ii, 275-83 (= Maydānī); Abū Tammām, Ḥimasī.

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63 (copies elkd, Nihdyat al-arab, xiv, 275-83 (= Maydanf); Abu Tammam, Hamasae

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DAHIR SANIYYA, the term used for the administration of crown lands in the Ottoman Empire during the last quarter of the 19th century. Saniyya lands were the sultan's money. The Sultan Abdul Hamid II ceded his private properties to the state. The lands continued to be called saniyya, but they were transferred to the newly-formed department of Al-Amlik al-mudawwara.

Within months of the accession to the throne of Abdul Hamid II, vast areas of the richest agricultural lands in 'Irak had been registered as his private property. Most of these lands were in the Hilla-Diwânniyâ, Amâra, and Basra districts. They were acquired by all possible means, from expropriation by imperial order to bonâ fide purchases with the sultan's money. The Saniyya Land Department in 'Irak had close ties with the army, the only source of trained engineers and surveyors able to collect the revenues. The lands continued to be farmed out by ihtizâm; tribes occupying saniyya lands persisted in considering them as their tribal lazma. The Sultan received from saniyya lands both the marâj (owner's share) and the titizâm for their labor. Tenants were granted certain privileges in order to induce them to remain on these lands.

In Egypt, the term was related to the Muhammad 'Ali dynasty. Land given by Muhammad 'Ali and his successors to themselves or to members of their family originally was called dishîh (pl. dishîlî). Ismâ'îl adopted the term dishîlik saniyya or dishîlik al-dî'ira al-saniyya. By 1860 the Dî'ira Saniyya lands amounted to 503,899 feddans, most of them in Upper and Middle Egypt. This land was pledged as security for two loans contracted by Ismâ'îl in 1865 and 1870 and consolidated and unified in 1877 and 1880. After Ismâ'îl's deposition and in the course of the liquidation of Egypt's debt, the Dî'ira lands passed into the control of the state, and only a small part was later restored to the princes in a final settlement in 1893 or repurchased by them. The bulk was sold to land companies and private persons. In 1899 British capital formed the syndicate which later became the Dî'ira Saniyya Company and disposed of all Dî'ira lands on behalf of Egypt's creditors. The operation was completed by March 1906, resulting in a considerable increase in the area owned in large estates.


DAKAR, the capital of Senegal, is situated at the tip of the Cape Verde peninsula. Its position is the westernmost outpost of the ancient world (its longitude reaches 17° 16' W. at the point of the Almadies). The region of Dakar, which covers almost the whole of the peninsula, is subdivided into three parts: (1) An eastern highland area (more than 100 m. in altitude); the N'Djallâ range rises some 70 m. above lake Tanna; to the east, the relief consists of hills or low plateaux with very gentle slopes not exceeding 40 to 50 m.; (2) the tip of the peninsula; from Fann Point to Bel-Air Point, the coastline is very jagged; numerous capes (Fann Point, Cape Manuel, Bel-Air Point) define the bays (Soumboufene, the Madeleines, Bernard, Port of Dakar, etc.); the altitude is very modest, except at Cape Manuel (40 m.); (3) In the north-west of the region, the coast-line is more or less jagged, with a series of capes; the Cape of Yoff, Cape of the Almadies. Here, by contrast, the contours are higher, with the Mamelles (100 m.) and with plateaux at altitudes of between 30 and 50 m. A vast plain links the two mountainous regions of the Cape Verde peninsula. The centre of this plain is a marshy area with stable dunes. In the north, a strong cordon of dunes forms a distinct barrier for sea-farers and isolates a whole series of lakes: lake Yovi, lake Taamara, lake N'Dam, lake Solodeusse, etc. To the south there is a cordon of shifting dunes.

The peninsula of Cape Verde has a special climate totally different from that of the interior of the country. During the “bad season” or rainy season, which lasts from mid-June to October, temperatures reach 22° to 27° C., the air is humid, and there is an average of 600 to 650 mm. of rainfall, the maximum being in the month of August. The singular feature of the climate is the length of the “good season”, or dry season, which recurs from mid-December to mid-March. Temperatures are mild (19° to 23°), owing to the proximity of the sea, but especially to the cold current of the Canaries, which hags the Senegal-Mauritanian coast, and to the alizé, the sea-wind of the Azores, which bars the way to the harmattan (a hot and dry wind).

Historically, the peninsula of Cape Verde was part of the kingdom of Kayor. It was visited in 1444 by the Portuguese Denis Diaz. While Gorée, an island lying 3 km. to the east provided a transit centre for European navigators and for the slave trade, and was the residence of governors controlling the whole of the coastline as far as Gabon, Dakar was nothing more than a tiny village occupied by fishermen of the Lebou tribe (a branch of the Wolof). It was on 25 May 1857 that the captain of the vessel Protet, in agreement with the leaders of the theocratic Republic of the Lebou, officially hoisted the French flag at Dakar, which henceforward became a port of call on imperial communications routes to south America. In 1895, a general government was formed charged with co-ordinating the policy of the governments of the different colonies constituting French West Africa (A.O.F., l’Afrique Occidentale Française). The governor of Senegal was, however, actually installed at Saint-Louis, capital of the A.O.F.

It became a naval base in 1898, the capital of the A.O.F. in 1902 with a governor-general, the focal point of the major axes of communication between the A.O.F. and metropolitan France, and the seat of the General Council of 1957. Dakar also became the capital of the colony of Senegal from 1957 onwards, then that of the Federation of Mali (comprising Senegal and the former French territories of the Sudan), and finally that of Senegal after the accession of the country to international sovereignty in 1960.
Officially the administrative, economic and religious capital, Dakar comprises urban sectors with remarkably clear-cut divisions, regulated by the plans of 1946 and 1961. The former established four zones: (1) A mixed African and European residential zone on the western seaboard as far as Yoff (the airport); (2) A commercial and administrative zone centred on the southern region, bordering on the commercial port; (3) An industrial zone, from the main jetty to Thiaroye; and (4) Finally, a group of reserved territories, non autorisés sectors.

The 1961 plan modified the earlier very little; the only changes were the specialisation of the industrial zone, the constitution of an important university centre, and the designation of the new urban centre of Dagoudane-Pikine as the co-ordination centre for the direct plan.

With reference to the urban structure, the town of Dakar occupies the south-eastern extremity of the tip of the peninsula. It is the region which has developed round the port, on the south-eastern plateaux and on the southern part of the plain where is situated the Medina. The essential characteristic of this urban zone is that it is almost the only area having buildings of solid construction. Grouped within this area are the national organisations of a political nature, the administrative services, the entire wholesale trade, almost all the banks, insurance companies and real-estate organisations. The plan of the town is not a homogeneous unity; the port sector, the most ancient, is in the form of rectangles, squares or triangles; the south-eastern sector is of the radio-centric type with a series of roundabouts; the central part is of chequer-board form with narrow streets, whilst in the south, urbanisation is least advanced.

The town of Dakar comprises several quarters: the business quarter, an ancient nucleus, having as its centre the Kermel market, with several old administrative buildings, the main post-office, the town-hall, an area which is very busy in the morning and deserted at night; the western quarter centred on the Place de l’Indépendance, very modern and full of activity (banks, state agencies, travel agencies and insurance offices); the heterogeneous central quarter which consists rather of services establishments and wholesale houses, and is a centre of the textile trade and of traditional commerce; the human population is very mixed there, with Lebanese and Syrians, French, Portuguese Cape Verdians, Moors, Toucouleurs, etc.; and the administrative quarter with high-rise public buildings: the National Assembly, the Presidency of the Republic, the government ministries, the Embassies, hospitals, the Palais de Justice. It is also a residential quarter.

The northern sector of the town of Dakar comprises an eastern section with some buildings of solid construction in an area of insalubrious shanties (Rebeuss) a central section, with waste-ground and some large buildings (Colis Postaux, the École Malick Sy, the Great Mosque, the Institut Islamique, the Polychnique) and some industrial establishments: Hulierie Petersen, Brosset, Air Liquide, etc.

The third industrial zone contains export and import industries (oil-works, large mills, maritime industries and light industries). This zone is not built up: it is mostly waste-ground with some market-gardens and shanty-towns (Darou Kip, Maka-Colokane, etc.).

The Grande-Médina comprises several quarters: the Gucule-Tabié, relatively urbanised with many solidly-built houses, and some large modern establishments (the Mandel maternity hospital and dispensary, municipal nursery, etc.); Fas, barely urbanised, with very few asphalted roads, dotted with shanties giving place more and more to modern developments (the O.H.L.M. Centre). It is there that the Independence monument and the Kennedy girls' lyceum are situated; Colobane, a quarter identical to Fas; Gibraltar, entirely residential, with some stylish villas constructed by the O.H.L.M.

Grand-Dakar constitutes the most recent, the most extensive and the most populous zone of urban development of Dakar. A very modern urbanisation exists alongside patches of shanty-town. It consists of the following quarters: Farm-Hock, Farm-Residence, Mermoz, Point E and Zone B, a superior residential zone (the University, the École normale supérieure, the École nationale d’économie appliquée, the Blaise Diagne and Delafosse Lycées, numerous embassies and luxury villas for government ministers). In the centre of Grand-Dakar there are some small self-contained estates: Zone A, Cité du Port de Commerce et des Douanes, the estates of Bopp and of Wàgouniaye.

The allotments of the north encompass, between the Avenue Bougainville and the Route du Front de Terre: the Cité de Police, the Karak, the simplest of theself-contained villas of the O.H.L.M., the quarter of the Castors, of Denke and of the Cité des Eaux, some villas of the O.H.L.M. 1 and II.

The Grand-Dakar with its shanty-towns is the quarter with the densest population (500 to the km²). The dominant characteristic is insalubrity. It lies between streets 10 and 13. SICAP and the O.H.L.M. are beginning to apply there a modern urbanisation policy.

Dakar and its suburbs. In the immediate hinterland of the town is a zone where the influence of Dakar is shown by certain characteristic features; installation of industrial establishments as far as MBao where there is a petrol refinery and where there begins the free industrial zone of Dakar-marine; the military camps of Quakam and of Camberene, the international airport of Yoff and its technical buildings; the major telecommunications establishments grouped at Yenoul and to the north of Rufisque, a military conglomeration situated 30 km. from the capital; the presence of residential estates accommodating the workers of Dakar; the estates of the Almadies, of Ngor, of the airport, of Sabe, of Grand-Yoff, of the Patte d’Oie, the villas of the O.H.L.M., Guediawaye, Pikine, Thiaroye and Diaskaw.

Dakar also maintains reciprocal trading relations with certain villages in its close vicinity, providing the villages with fish and vegetables and furniture in exchange for various types of merchandise. These villages are Hann-Pèîtreur, Oukam, Ngor and Yoff.

Demography. Dakar, which had only 20,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century, today numbers more than 350,000. The census of 1961 gave a total population of 302,920 for the town of Dakar and 71,780 for the surrounding area. The same investigation listed 45,000 non-Africans, of whom 29,180 were French, 9,900 Lebano-Syrians, 5,800 Metis, 500 Antillais and about a hundred North Africans. With the exception of the Lebanese community, this non-African population has tended to diminish as a result of the Africanisation of cadres and the reduction of the French military presence.

The African population in 1961 numbered in total 398,060, or 9/10 of the population of Cape Verde (443,560). There are some thirty tribes represented, but five predominate: the Wolof (203,840 or 51.2%),
The Toucouleurs (50,480 or 12.6%), the Lebou (36,860), the Sererés (25,980), and the Peul and Foula (23,900), a total of 341,060.

The Lebano-Syrians deal in commercial activities. The Africans practise fishing and agriculture (the Lebou), or are agents in public services (functionaries and members of the security forces), workers in personal services (the Toucouleur, Peul, young Sererés and Diola) or members of the liberal professions (lawyers, bailiffs, experts in various fields). Industries employ as many people as do the services. Commerce involves the employees of European commerce (clerks, bookkeepers, administrators), tradesmen based in the African quarters and vendors in the markets with a strong colony of Foula from Guinea (Konakry).

Religion. The two main religions practised in Senegal are Islam and Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant), and it is at Dakar that they are officially represented.

The primary religion of Senegal, after the virtual disappearance of animism, is Islam. In fact, 90% of Senegalese are Muslims, as are 4/5 of the population of Dakar. Unlike Christianity, Islam in Senegal takes on a traditional, even local, character. The Muslims of Senegal, of the Malikite rite, belong, in a general sense, to a religious fraternity (tarika) led by a marabout, their spiritual chief. As a result of the rural exodus, Dakar is the meeting-point of all the fraternities existing in the country. From Dakar thousands and thousands of pilgrims travel once a year towards Touba, capital of Muridism (q.v.), a fraternity founded by Shaykh Ahmadu Bamba Mbacké in ca. 1895, or towards Tivaouane, capital of the Tidjáníyya order. These two towns are certainly religious capitals, but it is at Dakar that contacts between the temporal (the secular state) and the spiritual take place. Periodically, the various religious leaders leave their respective capitals to meet the governmental authorities in Dakar.

The different fraternities represented in Dakar are:

(a) The Tidjáníyya (q.v.), of which the present spiritual chief is the "caliph" (khalif) El-Hadj Abdoul Aziz Sy, the third son of the late El-Hadj Malik Sy (1850-1922). The khalif has his official residence at Tivaouane, a zawiya founded by his father; however, he possesses houses in Dakar which provide him with a pied à terre and serve as accommodation for the talibs, disciples who generally conduct Kur'anic schools. These residences are constantly changing when the khalif is moving through the capital. A large number of the members of the Sy family reside in Dakar, each one of them, in his house, has his following of talibs.

While speaking of the Tidjání at Dakar, one cannot ignore El-Hadj Seydou Nourou Tall, grandson of El-Hadj Omar Tall (1796-1864), a man of the first importance both in the religious and the political sphere, whose residence is constantly full of Senegalese Toucouleur and Malian disciples.

(b) The Murids. With the rural exodus of the peasants from the Baol, where are situated Touba and the zawiya of Shaykh Ahmadu Bamba, Dakar contains a significant number of Murids, who every year make the Magal, or pilgrimage to Touba. Almost all the members of the MBacké family reside either at Touba, at MBacké, at Diourbel or in the neighbouring villages, and to our knowledge, only Serigne Shaykh MBacké, grandson of Shaykh Ahmadu Bamba, representing the industrialist tendency of Muridism, resides permanently in Dakar. He owns many houses there and a quarter bears his name (Sicap Serigne Cheikh); his residence is remarkable for the daily crowds of talibs and of dependents. When the khalif is on his way to Dakar, the crowds become more numerous, each man pressing forward to express his allegiance to his spiritual leader; the talibs sing poems to the founder of Muridism or recite the Kur'ân for the whole length of the journey. Dakar becomes a sort of Touba during the entire visit of the khalif, the Shaykh Abdul Ahad MBacké.

(c) The Kâdiriyya, who have several important centres in Senegal. Senegalese pilgrims often travel to Baghdâd, where there is the tomb of Shaykh 'Abd al-Kadir at-Tidjâni (q.v.), founder of the fraternity, but every year thousands of Kadiris adherents make their way to Nimzat, in Mauretania, where the order arose. NDiassâne in Senegal is the most important centre of the Kadirí fraternity. As in the case of the others, many associations of Kadirí talibs exist in Dakar. They are very active, especially during visits of their khalifas, grandson of Shaykh Sa’du Buh, one of the propagators of the sect in Senegal. In Dakar, the Kâdiriyya has its own quarter in the Gueule-Tapée on street 6.

(d) Of recent creation (1890), the fraternity of the Lâye is less widespread than the previous three groups. The Lâyes take their name from Labâse (a corruption of al-Abbâs), better known as Limâmou Lâye (Imâm Allâh) (1843-1909), marabout and founder of the order whose influence remains limited to the Cape Verde peninsula, more particularly among the Lebou. It was from a base at Yoff that the founder preached his doctrine.

The present khalif is Shaykh Sidîna Mandione Lâye; he lives in Camberence, a village not far from Dakar.

(e) The Tidjâni sub-group of the Niassens is based at Kaolack. In Dakar, Maryama Niassé (daughter of the late El-Hadj Ibrahimia Niassé, founder of the sub-section) lives in Malik Sy Avenue and receives visitors coming from all parts of Senegal, as well as from Nigeria, Egypt, Ghana, Dahomey, etc. Her brother, also in Dakar, supervises an important Kur'anic school whose renown stretches beyond the cocoons of the country.

In addition to its role as a capital, Dakar is the meeting-point of all the fraternities existing in Senegal, where the Muslim religion, because of its importance, enjoys a number of official institutional benefits conferred by the secular state.

At the University of Dakar, in the Faculty of Literature, there is an Arabic section, and there is a department of Islamology at the I.F.A.N. (Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire).

The Great Mosque of Dakar is a religious institution of an official nature. Its construction was 90% financed by the state. The Imam is appointed by the Lebou community, but paid and housed by the government. The Friday prayer in the Great Mosque is transmitted only by the radio-masts of the O.R.T.S. and on the occasion of major Muslim festivals, the head of state is always officially represented by the Prime Minister. In the precinct of the Great Mosque is the Islamic Institute of Dakar, which was inaugurated in 1974 by the President of the Republic and which has as its purpose basic research, education and Islamic instruction.

Catholicism is under by a Senegalese bishop who has his seat in Dakar, the centre of the activities of the Catholic Church in Senegal. The Church contributes very effectively to education; it administers infant, primary and secondary schools which
are officially recognised by the Government and receive valuable subsidies from it.

Protestantism is poorly represented in Senegal; the Protestants administer some infant schools which are also recognised by the State.

Educational, sporting, cultural, artistic, manufacturing and tourist institutions are almost all centralised on Dakar. The only Senegalese University—with its Faculties and Institutes, the I.F.A.N. and its major schools, of which the École Normale Supérieure provides higher education, basic research and the formation of higher cadres—is situated in Dakar. The Institutes of Applied Research (Institute of Nutritional Technology, the O.R.S.T.O.M., the Institute of Development and of International Organisations, the Institute of Oceanographic Studies of Thiaroye, the B.A.N.A.S., la Pasteur Institute, the Institute of Psychiatric research, the Institute of Applied Leprology and the National Institute of Arts, are officially recognised by the Government and receive valuable subsidies from it.

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An administrative, economic, human, cultural and religious focus, forced brutally into contact with contradictory elements generating conflict between the modern and the traditional, anxious to overcome these contradictions and reduce these tensions so as to progress towards an integral and harmonious development, Dakar tends to be concerned not only with its own destiny, but more realistically, with that of the whole of Senegal.


(AMAR SAMI)

DAKHALIEH [see DAKHALILYA]

al-DALAL, Abu Zakir Nâgin, mawâlâ of the Fahm tribe, musician and zârîf in Medina, born about 70/690, died about 145/762. Like his teacher Tiwâys (d. 92/710) he was a mukhâniât—hence the proverb “more effeminate than al-Dalal”—and is said to have been castrated by order of one of the caliphs, either Sulaymân or Hâshâm [but see Khaṣṣ]. His musical gifts and ready wits he used as an enter¬tainer of Quraysh women and a singer at weddings, accompanying himself on a tambourine (duff). He composed highly artistic [qâfîr al-amâl] melodies in a style called gâhîd mulâšiq; most of them on verses by contemporary poets. Yûsûn al-Kâthîr, recorded one, Ilbrâhîm al-Mawsîlî 19, and Abu 'l-Farajî al-Isbâhânî 30 of his song texts in their kutub al-aqâhîn, the latter using sources like the songbooks of al-Hâshâmî and Hâshâm and the Aqâhîr al-Dalalî by Ishâk al-Mawsîlî.

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DALMATIA [Dalmacija in Serbo-Croat], a historic province of Yugoslavia, formerly covering parts of the Federal Republics of Croatia (the territory of contemporary Dalmatia), of Montenegro and a very small section of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I. Generalities

Skirted by the Adriatic Sea, Dalmatia stretches in a north-west-south-east direction at the foot of the Dinaric mountain ranges (Velebit, Soljava, Biokovo) from the peninsula of Istria (according to some authors, only from the island of Pag) to the Albanian frontier, marked by the river Bojana.

But in fact, the territory designated by historians and geographers under the name Dalmatia is an area without strictly defined borders; these borders have indeed changed a number of times over the centuries. During the periods when the hinterland was controlled by powerful states (such as the Venetians, the Austro-Hungarian Empire under the Angevins and the Ottoman Empire at its zenith), the territory of Dalmatia was limited to the Adriatic islands and to a few strongly fortified towns. In times of disintegration among the continental states, Dalmatia extended further into the interior of the Balkan Peninsula.

At the present day, the term broadly covers the central part of the Yugoslav Adriatic coast, that is, the coast-line from west of Velebit to the source of the river Zrmanja, and from there, in a south-eastern direction, to the frontier of Montenegro. The two other parts of the Yugoslav littoral are on one side Severno Primorje (the northern littoral): the peninsula of Istria, the gulf of Kvarner, as well as part of the coast in a south-easterly direction; and on the other side Crnogorsko Primorje (the Montenegrin littoral): the coast between Herceg Novi and the Albanian frontier.

Dalmatia comprises three geographical regions: (a) the littoral, flat in places, steeply sloping in others, indented with deep gulfs and well sheltered anchorages; (b) the interior of the country, with poorly defined limits; and (c) the numerous islands which make up the Dalmatian archipelago.

The climate of Dalmatia is Mediterranean, although it is colder to the north of Split on account of the wind known as bura (called Bôprôs or Bouprôs by the Greeks, apôros by the Romans). In the past, the economy depended most of all on fishing, on the rearing of sheep, the growing of cereals, olives, vines and fruit-trees; today, additional sources of income are industry, shipbuilding and tourism. Ports worthy of mention include Split, Šibenik, Zadar, Ploče, Gruž (the port of Dubrovnik, formerly Ragusa) and with regard to the Montenegrin littoral, Bar (the contemporary period), without forgetting the bay of Kotor, with Titov, Kotor, Perast, Risan and Herceg Novi; whereas Rijeka (formerly Fiume), the principal port of Yugoslavia, situated at the end of the gulf of Kvarner, is not generally regarded as a city of Dalmatia (the territory of which, as stated above, is reckoned to lie further to the south) but as a city of “the Adriatic coast”.
II. History

A. The pre-Ottoman period.

Inhabited since Neolithic times, Dalmatia was populated in the Bronze Age by Illyrian tribes, one of which would seem to have born the name Dalmates/Dalmates. (This was in any case the name given by the Romans, after the 1st century, to their province of Illyricum or Hilluricum.)

From the time of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., the Greeks began establishing trading-posts (and later, colonies) on a number of islands (Vis, Hvar, Korčula, etc.) as well as in some of the coastal towns (Solin, Trogir, etc.). In the 3rd century B.C., there are records of raids by Celtic tribes.

The Illyrians of Dalmatia subsequently underwent conquest by the Romans, a conquest which was accomplished in stages, provoking wars of resistance and numerous revolts on the part of the indigenous population against the invaders. Six centuries later, in 297 A.D., the enormous Roman province of Dalmatia (which stretched from Istria to Skadar, and from the Adriatic to Sava, Kolubara and Zaprada Morava) was divided by Diocletian into two regions: Dalmatia and Pannonia (Provincia Praevalitana), the latter approximately covering the present-day Montenegro, with part of Albania, of Macedonia and of Serbia.

Under Byzantine rule from the 5th century onwards, Dalmatia also suffered invasion and temporary subjugation at the hands of various barbarian peoples, first the Ostrogoths, then the Avars; subsequently, it was swamped by the influx of Slavic tribes, who arrived in the Balkans in the 6th and 7th centuries.

During the following centuries, the various regions of Dalmatia passed successively (although belonging effectively, or nominally at least, to the Byzantine Empire) under the domination of the Franks, the different Croatian and Serbian states (Hrvatska, the Principality of Neretva, Zahumlje, Travunija, Dukđja, etc.) and the Normans.

In the intervening period (in the 3rd/9th century), there are records of raids by the Arabs against the Dalmatian coast, in particular an unsuccessful siege of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), which seems to have lasted fifteen months, in 252/866-7 (cf. Théophanes Continuatus, Historia de caelo et rebus gestis Basili . . . , ed. I. Bekkeri, Bonn 1838, 289-90; G. Musca, L’emirato di Bari (847-871), Bari 1967; U. Rizzitano, art. Italiya, in EF).

From the 11th century onwards, domination of the northern part of Dalmatia was contested by the Venetians, the Croats (Regnum Croatiae et Dalmatiae), and the Hungarians, and domination of the southern part by the various local Bosnian and Serbian principalities and kingdoms.

Between 1205 and 1358 a large portion of Dalmatian territory was held by Venice. During this period, there was a raid by the Mongols, who, while in hot pursuit of King Béla of Hungary, devastated the suburbs of Split and ransacked the town of Kotor in March 1242 (cf. R. Grousset, L’Empire des steppes, Paris 1948, 332-3).

Between 1358 and 1409 Dalmatia fell under the domination of Angevin Hungary (regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae), then under that of Venice (1409 and 1420-1579), although for a long time previously, many of the towns had often existed in a more or less (or totally) autonomous state, as was the case of Dubrovnik in particular (cf. M. Novak, Autonomija dalmatinskih Komuna pod Vjesnicom, Zadar 1965).

B. The Ottoman period.

(For the Republic of Dubrovnik, see Ragusa; for the history of the coastal region to the south of Dubrovnik, see KARA DAG, i.e. Montenegro (Crnogorsko Primorje).

The conquest of the Balkan Peninsula by the Ottomans, and their break-through in the direction of Vienna, changed the map of Dalmatia yet again. In fact, throughout the period of the Ottoman Empire’s greatest power, Venice controlled only the Adriatic islands, the cities of the coast and a narrow coastal strip stretching as far as Omiš, while the littoral between the rivers of Cetina and Neretva (Makarsko Primorje), and the entire hinterland, were in the hands of the Turks (sandjak Lika, sandjak Khis, and sandjak Hercegovina). It was only after the beginning of the decline of Ottoman power (end of the 17th century), that Venetian Dalmatia began once more to extend into the interior of the peninsula.

Venetian rule in Dalmatia in the 15th and 16th centuries operated on a feudal pattern. The land belonged to the nobility, the majority of whom were of foreign stock. In the towns the artisans and tradesmen were not permitted to take part in municipal councils. There are records of numerous popular rebellions against the feudal landlords. Maritime commerce was reduced to the advantage of that of Venice. Agriculture, on the other hand, became rather more prosperous (especially on the islands), mainly as a result of the influx of peoples fleeing from the Turks. In the course of the next two centuries, there is evidence of a major transformation of Dalmatian society, a transformation which coincided with the decline of Venice. Finally, we should take note of the emergence of a Dalmatian culture of a very high level.

(a) From the arrival of the Turks to 1570

The first Ottoman raids against northern Croatia began in 820/1417, those against Dalmatia a little later. In 1432 the Turks invaded the region of Zadar, and soon after 1463 that of Senj; subsequently, in September 1468, they mounted attacks against Zadar, Sibenik and Split, then they once more devastated the region of Zadar in 1470, those of Split and of Trogir in 1471, of Modrula (in the region of Lika north of Senj) in 1486, etc. But it was the region of Makarska [at the foot of the mountain of Biokovo] which was most exposed to the Ottoman attacks. From the years 1465-70 onwards, the Turks were in control of the entire hinterland, with the towns of Ljubuški, Vrgorac and Imotski. A little further to the north, Omiš (which was to keep up a valiant resistance throughout the Ottoman period) repelled the first attack, that of 1492. (On the frontiers of Venice in Dalmatia in the 15th century, see M. Šunjie, Pomorje meštan- skih granica v Dalmaciji in odnosi so okolico tokom XV stolječa, in Godišnjak Društva Istoričarstva B.H., xv [1964], 47-62.)

The pressure on Dalmatia became still more intense after the decisive defeat inflicted on the Croats by the Turks (cladis croatica) at Krkavčko Polje near Udbina (1493), and especially during the Venetian-Turkish war of 1499-1503. Having once again devastated the territories of Split, Trogir, Sibenik, Zadar and Nin, the Ottomans took control of the whole of Makarsko Primorje (from Cetina to Neretva) (on the conquest of Makarska, see V. Tipković, Viljet Primorje, in Godišnjak Društva Istoričarstva B. i. H., xiv [1963], 229-37, as well as the salient of Bosiljina [Busoljina?] lying between Trogir and Sibenik [1501].

The peace treaty signed at the beginning of 1503
had little effect on the situation on the ground, with Turkish troops continuing to attack and devastate Dalmatian territories: an attack on Split in 1507, on Omis in 1509, on Skradin in 1512; the capture of Caćina (in Posušje) of Nutjak (on the river Cetina) and of Vir (near Imotski) in 1513, in 1514 attacks on Skradin and Knin, and the capture of Karin; in 1515 an attack on the fortress of Klis; in 1520 the plunder of the region of Split; in 1522 a fresh siege of Klis (by Khosrew Beg [q.v.], the illustrious sandjakbeg of Bosnia), the capture of Knin (cf. V. Klaić, Knin za turskoga vladanja (1522-1688} in Seria Bronsmidiana, 1928, 257-62) and of Skradin; in 1523 the capture of Ostrovecja (an important strong-point, controlling secondary strategic areas to the south of Velebit), the destruction of Nadin and of Vrana; in 1524 the capture of Sinj (according to some authors the town of Sinj was taken in May-June 1513. cf. H. Sabanović, Ezlja Celebi, Putopis, Sarajevo, Syjetlost 1967, 151 n. 14); in 1526 the capture of Gabela, etc.

Thus, after the year 1524, the Turks held all of the hinterland between the rivers Cetina and Zrmanja, with the exception of the fortresses of Klis (besieged again in 1531, finally taken in 1537) and of Obrovac (taken in its turn in 1527), while Venetian Dalmatia was limited to the island of Cres in the following century. The territory lying between Omis and Novigrad (minus the salient of Bosiljina). Also to be noted in this period are a number of popular revolts (revolts of the pušoni against the feudal landlords), which we may add to the long list of similar revolts of the preceding centuries. Worth mentioning are the revolt at Šibenik of 1510, and most important of all the great rebellion of the island of Hvar (1510-14) which had repercussions not only in Split, Šibenik and Zadar, but also in many other regions of Dalmatia.

The Venetian-Turkish war of 1537-40, which followed the capture of the fortress of Klis (1537) and the siege of Omis by the Turks, brought ruin once again to the regions of Split (which was henceforth to have the river Jadrno as its frontier) Trogir, Šibenik and Zadar, and led to the destruction of Vrana (on the town of Vrana under the Ottoman dominion, see S.M. Traljic, Vrana pod turskim upravnom, in Radovi JA& iz [Zadar 1962], 357-58; idem, Vrana imeni gospadari u doba turske vladavine, in Radovi..., xvi, [Zadar 1971], 345-77) and of Nadin (1537-8), while the Venetians briefly regained control of Skradin and ransacked the town. Shortly after, in 1540, the territory (župa) of Poljica passed into Ottoman hands, and was granted special status (cf. A. Suceska, O položaju Poljica u Osmanskoi državi, in Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju, xvi-xvii [Sarajevo 1966-7 (1970)], 77-91; idem, O državo-pravnom položaju Poljica pod turskom vlasti, in Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu, xvi/3-4 [1967], 386-94; idem, O položaju Poljica u osmanskoj državi, in Poljicki ^bornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu, ii [Zagreb 1968/3-4], 111-141; idem, Jedan dokumenat o sjenjskim Uskokima, in Vijeć Vrijenog Mjeseca JNA, vi-vii [Belgrade 1962], 97-108; and naturally the same author's major work Sjenjski Uskok, Belgrade 1973, as well as the two volumes of archive material published by B. Denisca, Istorijski Kolatski Uskoka, Belgrade, SANU, 1950-1; and S. Pavičić, Raseljavanje staroga stanovništva Senja i okolice, nasićavanje uskoksa i njihovo djelovanje, in Sjenjski Zbornik, iii [Senj 1967-8], 324-70).

In the towns there was a remarkable florescence of Dalmatian culture, of literature especially, written either in Latin or in the language of the country, the most significant writers being Marko Marulić (1450-1524), Hanibal Lučić (1485-1553), Petar Hektorović (1487-1572) and others. Three other authors, equally celebrated, deserve greater attention, because they devoted many of their works to study of the Turks, and may therefore be regarded as the ancestors of "Yugoslav orientalism". They are: Feliks Petančić (Felxutus Petanaci, de Petancii, Raptianaus Dalmatiae) [ca. 1455-ca. 1517] of Ragusa; Ludovik Grijević Tuberon (Ludovicus, Aloysius de Cerva, de Crieva, Cervar, Tubero) (1459-1527) also of Ragusa; and Antun Vrančić (Verantius, Vranitis, Wrantius, Vrančić) (1504-73) of Šibenik.

The writings of the first of these include a Histora imperatorum regni Turcici (or Historia Turciac) the manuscript of which is in Nuremberg; De istimuitus in Turciac... (or... Quibus istimuitus Turci sint aggregendi...), ed. Vienna 1522; Genealogia turorum imperato- rum... (or Descriptio Turiciac) the manuscript of which is in Budapest (see D. Kniewald, Felix Petančić i njegova djela, Belgrade, SANU, 1961; M. Kurelec, Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, vi, 474).

The writings of the second include: De Turcarum origine, moribus et rebus gestis commentarius, ed. Florence 1590; Commentationum de rebus, quae temporibus eius in illa Europae parte, quam Pannoniae et Turcicae eorumque finitimis insulis, gestae sunt, liber xi, 1st ed. Frankfurt 1605, 2nd ed. (under the title Syntomea rerum Turchicarum...).

The truce lasted for thirty years. During this period efforts were made to heal the ravages caused by a near-century of devastation and misery. Agriculture and stock-rearing, which had been very severely affected, improved, mainly as a result of the influx of people fleeing the occupied regions. Fishing also prospered, but commerce and craftsmanship were not so fortunate.

But it was a fragile truce, broken daily by the raids of the famous Uskoci on Ottoman territory. These were commando bands of guerrillas, based in Dalmatia (principally in Senj) and conducting mili-
The third (who personally visited Turkey on a number of occasions and lived there for four years) wrote: *Iter Buda Hadriano-polom anno MDLIII...* ed. Venice 1774; *Diarium legationis nomine Maximiliani II...ad portam ottomanas suscepta a C. MDLVI...* ed. in M. Kovacic, *Scriptores rerum Hungarorum, Bodae 1798; Ratio itineris in Turciam facti per Danubium...* ed. in S. Traljic, *Obrovac*, and for a brief period Drnis (where all the Venetians and Dalmatians laid siege to Skradin, and recaptured it briefly in 1647. In the course of their counter-attack, the Venetians and Dalmatians laid siege to Skradin, and recaptured it briefly in 1647. In 1646 the town of Novigrad was taken (3 July 1646) as were Biograd and Nin, but an attack on Šibenik was repelled (October 1646). In the course of their counter-attack, the Venetians and Dalmatians laid siege to Skradin, and recaptured it briefly in 1647. In 1646 the region of Poljica, and, in February 1647, that of Makarsko Primorje (the littoral between the rivers Cetina and Neretva), severed their ties with the Ottoman Empire and allied themselves to Venice (Poljica nevertheless was compelled for some time to pay a kharga to the Ottomans). (On the position of Poljica in the 17th century, see V. Mošin, *Poljičke konstitucije iz 1620 i 1668, in Radovi Staro slovenačkog instituta JAZU*, i Zagreb 1952, 175-206.)

In 1647 the Venetians (the bulk of whose army was made up of Dalmatians and of Slavs who had fled from the regions under Ottoman rule) recaptured the towns of Žemunik, of Novigrad, of Vrana and of Nadin, before inflicting a further defeat on the Turks outside Šibenik (August 1647). Recovering Ostrirovac, Obrovac, and for a brief period Drnis (where all the Turkish fortifications and monuments were demolished), the Venetians attacked Knin and Vrlika, and regained definitive control of Biograd (1648), and, most significant of all, of the famous stronghold of Klis (30 March 1648). The Ottoman reaction was not slow in coming; shortly afterwards, Turkish troops devastated the region of Poljica and that of Ravniki Kotari in the vicinity of Biograd.

Finally, in 1649, major military operations came to an end, when there was an outbreak of plague in Dalmatia, especially in Šibenik and in Zadar, followed by a period of widespread famine (see G. Stanoević, *Dalmaciju u doba Kandiškog rata 1645-1669, in Vesnik Vojnog Muzeja* TKA, v [Belgrade 1958], 93-182; idem, *Trgovina robljem u doba Kandiškog rata, 1645-1669, in Istorijski Glasmk, v [Zagreb 1973], 447-58). For some time previous to this, there are records of a large-scale migration of Slavic peoples known as Vlasi (sing. Vlas or Morlaci (sing. Morlak)—these are clearly to be understood as being armed men—towards Dalmatian territory, daily swelling the ranks of the guerrilla commando bands (hajduci, sing. hajduk, and ukoci, sing. ukok). The latter made constant invasions of Ottoman territory (Lika, Bosnia, Herzegovina), mounting attacks and ambushes far into the interior, pillaging, killing, burning and kidnapping on their way. At the same time, Hadjuci and Uškoci conducted a policy sometimes favouring Venice, sometimes Austria, but more often the latter. A state of permanent minor war was thus perpetuated on both sides of the frontier, a situation well described in Yugoslav popular epic poetry (from both the Christian and the Muslim side), with a full gallery of heroes, all of whom are well-known historical figures. (There are a great

of 1645 by a new Venetian-Turkish war which lasted a quarter of a century. Many things had changed in the meantime, both within the Ottoman Empire (the heyday of which was now long past), and in Europe. But the outcome of the war was once again favourable to the Ottomans, except however in Dalmatia. On Dalmatian soil, the most significant military actions took place between 1646 and 1649. In 1646 the Ottomans mounted a lighting raid into northen Dalmatia, in the regions of Šibenik and Zadar. The town of Novigrad was taken (3 July 1646) as were Biograd and Nin, but an attack on Šibenik was repelled (October 1646). In the course of their counter-attack, the Venetians and Dalmatians laid siege to Skradin, and recaptured it briefly in 1647. In 1646 the region of Poljica, and, in February 1647, that of Makarsko Primorje (the littoral between the rivers Cetina and Neretva), severed their ties with the Ottoman Empire and allied themselves to Venice (Poljica nevertheless was compelled for some time to pay a kharga to the Ottomans). (On the position of Poljica in the 17th century, see V. Mošin, *Poljičke konstitucije iz 1620 i 1668, in Radovi Staro slovenačkog instituta JAZU*, i Zagreb 1952, 175-206.)

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In the context of larger-scale battles, mention could be made of the defeat of a Venetian-Dalmatian force outside Knin (1654), and the ravages perpetrated by Ottoman troops in 1657-8 in the regions of Split, Šibenik and Zadar, with a raid on the island of Brač, following an attack on Split (1657).

The peace treaty was signed in 1671. In Dalmatia, the position of the Venetians was then more favourable, since they retained Klis and its surrounding area, the region of Poljica, and the littoral to the south of Omis (Makarsko Primorje) (it may be noted that de jure, this last territory should have remained under Ottoman control, but it belonged de facto to Venice). The whole of Dalmatian territory under Venetian rule was henceforward known as *acquisto vecchio*, and the frontier with Turkey became a fortified line called *linea Nani* (1671) (see I. Grečić, *Jedna mletačka agrarna operacija u Dalmaciji, in Žadarska Revija*, ii [Zadar 1953], 65-76; V. Omašić, *Mletačko-tursko razgraničenje na trogirskom području nakon Ciparskog i Kandyskog rata i njegove posljedice*, Trogir 1959).

The brief period of peace which followed lasted some fifteen years. It was not long enough to allow Dalmatia to recover from the ruin caused by long years of war, nor to revive its shattered agriculture and commerce, not to mention the epidemics and famines which had weakened the country to a considerable extent. Split quickly regained its status as the leading port for commerce between Italy and the Balkans. The port of Zadar was then of secondary importance.

The Ottoman military operations and the situation in Dalmatia in this period are documented in a sometimes whimsical but entirely first-hand account written by the famous Turkish traveller Ewliya Celebi, who in Dalmatia in this period are documented in a some-

The peace treaty of Pozarevac (21 July 1718) at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th one, Venetian Dalmatia witnessed a spate of popular uprisings (such as, for example, that of the region of Vrana in 1692, and that of Bukovica and Ravniki in 1704), caused in part by the penurious economic state of the peasantry, in part by the aggressive policy of the Roman Catholic church towards the Orthodox one.

On the military level, a new war against the Turks broke out in December 1714. Thanks largely to indirect aid from Austria, Venice scored a number of successes in Dalmatia; in 1715 Sinj repulsed the final siege by the Ottomans, and in 1717 Venetian-Dalmatian troops definitively recaptured the town of Imotski. These victories were augmented by successes achieved in Herzegovina, where the Venetians took the town of Mostar in 1717 (cf. G. Stanojević, *Dalmacija z a vremih njihova boravka*, Zagreb 1888, 233-4, 236-7, and from *M.V. Batinic, Djelovanje franjevaca u Bosni i Hercegovini z,a pnih sest viekova njihova boravka*, Zagreb 1881-7).

(e) From 1699 to the Peace of Pozarevac (21 July 1718)

The decisive defeat of the Ottomans beneath the walls of Vienna (September 1683) signalled the end of their presence in Dalmatia, where a large-scale popular insurrection broke out. The Muslims of the area panicked and fled towards the interior of the empire. Within a short time the whole of northern Dalmatia had been liberated; even before the end of the year 1683, Skradin, Karin, Vrana, Benkovac, O horovac and Omis were in the hands of the rebels, the Turks retaining only the cities of Knin and Sinj.

Venice entered the war in the spring of the following year (1684), and Dalmatia was the scene of a large number of military operations; Sinj was recaptured from the Ottomans in September 1683, Knin, Vrlika and Zvongrad in 1688, Vrgorac between 1690 and 1694, Gabela in 1693, while the territories of Trogir, Šibenik and Zadar were finally liberated.

The peace treaty was signed at Sremski Karlovići (26 January 1699). At the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th one, Venetian Dalmatia witnessed a spate of popular uprisings (such as, for example, that of the region of Vrana in 1692, and that of Bukovica and Ravniki in 1704), caused in part by the penurious economic state of the peasantry, in part by the aggressive policy of the Roman Catholic church towards the Orthodox one.

The new frontier, *linea Mocenigo* (1721-3), passed to the east of the cities of Metković, Imotski, Sinj, Vrlika and Knin and extended as far as Klek and Žabka Gora, and all Dalmatian territory belonging to Venice was henceforward known as *acquisto nuovo*. The Muslim inhabitants who had not succeeded in leaving Dalmatian territory in time were very soon forcibly converted, mostly by the Franciscans (cf. J. Cvijić, *Balkansko Poluotvore*, Belgrade 1966, 377, which gives details borrowed from S. Zlatović, *Franovci države presvetog otkupitelja i Hrvatski pak u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb 1888, 233-4, 236-7, and from M.V. Batinić, *Delovanje franjevaca u Bosni i Hercegovini za prvi šest vekova njihova boravka*, Zagreb 1881-7).
After a certain period of time they had grown considerably in number, and as a result the Muslim religious community (Hanafi rite) of Dalmatia was officially recognised by the Austro-Hungarian government, on 15 July 1912 (see Reichsgesetzblatt für Oesterreich 1912, 875, paras. 1-7; M. Begovic, Organizacija Islamske verske zajednice u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, [Sarajevo 1963, 10-11].

C. After the Ottomans

Dalmatia remained under Venetian rule until the dissolution of the Republic in 1797. It was subsequently a part of the Austrian Empire (1797-1805), then of the Illyrian Provinces (1809-13), before returning to the Austrian Empire (1815-1918). After 1878 a number of Muslims from Herzegovina (which in that year became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) came and settled in Dalmatia. After a certain period of time they had grown considerably in number, and as a result the Muslim religious community (Hanafi rite) of Dalmatia was officially recognised by the Austro-Hungarian government, on 15 July 1912 (see Reichsgesetzblatt für Oesterreich 1912, 875, paras. 1-7; M. Begovic, Organizacija Islamske verske zajednice u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, [Sarajevo 1963, 10-11].

From 1920 to 1941 Dalmatia was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, then from 1941 to 1945 it was divided between fascist Italy and the Ustaschi Croatian State (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska), finally, since 1945, it has belonged to the People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (as part of the People’s Republic of Croatia). In 1971, there were roughly 4,000 Muslims in Dalmatia (the total number of Yugoslav Muslims at the time was a little over three million, of whom 18,457 lived in Croatia; see K. Hadzic, Brojnost i proračun stanovništva u Republici Hrvatskoj u 1971. godini, Zagreb 1972, 1159 ff.).

**Bibliography:** There has as yet been no study of Dalmatia in the Ottoman period (15th to 18th century) which takes into account simultaneously local, Turkish and Venetian sources. It is true that the existing documentation is indeed enormous, and that a large portion of this (archival documents in particular) is accessible only to a very small number of specialised researchers. Naturally, emphasis should be laid on the writings of Yugoslav historians and Turcologists who have in the past produced an impressive number of studies, monographs and articles on this subject. It should be noted however that the bulk of these publications have been primarily concerned with the Republic of Dubrovnik, and that consequently it is most difficult to present a bibliography concentrating exclusively on the history of the territory of Dalmatia as strictly defined.

An excellent general survey by J. Tadic is to be found in Istoria viora jugoslaviei, ii, Belgrade 1960, 247-74, 519-30, 595-601, 1145-60. This work also contains a wise and intelligent analysis of the sources (the Ottoman sources are simply mentioned) and the entire bibliography available at that date (cf. 266 ff., 528 ff., 1159 ff.). For a convenient list of Yugoslav publications on Dalmatia since 1945, see J. Tadic (ed.), Dix années d’histoire et de géographie des Dalmates, 1945-1955, Belgrade 1955 (see especially 217-55, 268-71, 374-84, 410-15, 540-54, 566); J. Tadic (ed.), Historiographie Jugoslave 1955-1965, Belgrade 1965 (especially 113-42, 201-20 and passim); D. Jankovic (ed.), The historiography of Yugoslovia 1965-1975, Belgrade 1975, (esp. 136-59, 185-96 and passim).


**DAM** (A), pl. dima, “blood”, also “blood-guilt” [see dija, kati]. In the present article it will be appropriate to mention the numerous blood sacrifices offered by the Muslims, but we will not concern ourselves with the theory, nor is it our intention to list them [see dija, hajr, id al-?adsa]. We will confine ourselves to a brief survey of the beliefs relative to blood and the uses to which it is put or to which it may be put by Muslims in the various circumstances where the sacrifice of an animal is required, and the role attributed to it in magic and therapy.

Arabic texts of the Middle Ages speak of four cardinal humors: black bile (sawda), phlegm (balgham), yellow bile (sof), and blood, associating this last with joy and with the second string (matn) of the lute (see al-Dhahih, Tarbi?, § 152), and asserting that it is dominant in March, April and May (al-Masudi, Muruq, iii, 425 = § 1313). But these ideas
are late and unknown to the Kur'ān, which, setting aside the story of the creation of man represented by a cloud of dust (‘alāka, XXII, 5, XXIII, 14, XL, 69/67, LXXV, 36) and the dietary prohibition (see below), makes only one brief reference (VII, 130/133) to the miracle of the river turned into blood (Exodus, vii, 21) and does not even mention the bleeding of the nose (nu'dāf) among the sufferings inflicted by God upon the ancient peoples of Arabia as punishment for their impiety (see al-Djahiz, Tarbi', § 47 and index). The Kur'ān gives no information as to the place occupied by blood during the Djāhilīyya where, however, gory sacrifices were not lacking (see J. Chelhod, Sacrifice, passim), nor as to the conception for their impurity (see al-Djahiz, Tarbi', § 47, LXXV, 38) and the dietary prohibition (see al-Djahiz, Hayawān, i, 5, 310; idem, Tarbi', § 69; al-Mas'ūdī, Marājī, iii, 192-3 = § 1049; see also the legend of Djāhdhīma [q.v.] in which blood plays a certain role); this belief is still alive (see Wellhausen, Reste, 139-40; Douté, Magie et religion 85).

The ancient Arabs considered the blood of kings to be a specific remedy for rashes (al-ḥāb) and possession (al-habul), and it may have happened that it was preserved for this purpose (al-Djahiz, Hayawān, i, 5, 310; idem, Tarbi', § 69; al-Mas'ūdī, Marājī, iii, 192-3 = § 1049; see also the legend of Djāhdhīma [q.v.] in which blood plays a certain role); this belief is still alive (see Wellhausen, Reste, 139-40; Douté, Magie et religion 85).

Al-Djahiz mentions (Bahkātū, ed. Hadjīri, 198, 200), somewhat as an exception, the practice of Bedouins who, dying of thirst in the desert, were constrained, after exhausting the contents of the first well, to provide them with water, to slaughter another; they collected its blood, which they beat carefully so as to separate the sediment (dāyīb) from the serum (called mā' = water); this alone they drank; this drink was called maddāḥ (see L., s.v. d. m. y.); Chelhod, Sacrifice, 175).

Drinking the blood of an enemy does not seem to have been a current practice, in spite of the hatred which tribes sometimes held for one another; there is indeed a recent attestation of it (Jaussen, 177, n. 1), but it is exceptional. On the other hand, an arrow stained with the blood of an enemy (sahm mudāmin) returned to the archer who had dispatched it was retained as a lucky talisman (tabarākāt) by the latter (L., s.v. d. m. y.).

Without being obsessed by blood, the ancient Arabs were especially superstitious about menstruation (see ṣawīra) and considered the woman thus disposed (ḥadda') as impure and disqualified from performing certain acts. After Islam, the notion of impurity remained, but the Kur'ān (II, 222) confined sexual relations to menstruous women during the period of menstruation: and it is said that if this prohibition is infringed, Satan interposes between the partners. From another point of view, it is not impossible that the prohibition regarding the consumption of the hare and the rabbit, differently justified by Deuteronomy, xiv, 7, derives, in certain sects (see ARNAB in Suppl.), in part at least from the fact that the doe, which is believed to menstruate, naturally does not purify itself, the hyena is a similar case, and as a result these two animals cannot serve as mounts for the djinn (al-Djahiz, Hayawān, iii, 529, vi, 46).

Once it has left the veins of a living being, blood is at the same time impure and taboo, for it is through blood that a link is established between the phlebotomist, the free-thinkers asserting that meat is only blood transformed. In this regard, it will be recalled that one of the reason invoked as a justification for the refusal to pay a salary to the blood-letter is that the free Islam used to sell the blood to third parties and that this type of sale was forbidden by a hadīth (cf. R. Brunschwig, Méiers orls en Islam, in St. Isl., xvi (1962), 47). In another connection, a group of Kuraysh was given the name Lās'at al-dam [q.v.] "lickers of blood" because of their practice of licking their fingers after dipping their hands into a receptacle containing the blood of a camel, as a means of sealing an alliance. There are scarcely any attestations of the practice consisting, in cases of the adaption by the tribe of a foreign element, of mixing the blood of the adopted man with that of a representative of the group, but in southern Turkey there still exists the "fraternity of blood", effected by the making on the wrist a gash which is sucked by the contractants (J.-P. Roux, Traditions, 324).

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in the case of immolations which, although permitted, have retained a pagan character. Once it begins to flow, it is the blood which "gives to the ceremony its true sense of expiation, of purification and of pro-
tection" (Servier, op. laud., 83).

Although the Kur'ān (XXII, 38/7) states with regard to sacrifices, "neither their flesh nor their blood shall reach Allāh, but only the piety coming from you shall reach Him" (cf. Amos, v, 21-2), a hadith, retained only by al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mādž (no. 3128) but often quoted, proclaims: "the blood [of the victim sac-

in the Kor'an (II, 168/173 and especially V, 4/3) is instructive in this regard, since it declares illic-
tude of Allah even before it has touched the ground" (Ihya, 1278, i, 252; Westermarck, Sacrifices, 199; Chelhod, Sacrifice, 59), and such is doubtless the belief of the Muslims. The more abun-
dantly it is, the greater its power, and it is essential in its own right. It is the animals which are killed, and not ritually bled to death, except in cases of necessity.

Independently of the role played by the blood of the sacrifice of the Great Feast in actually conveying the sacred offering from the Believer to God, it pos-
sesses protective and curative properties sometimes put to profitable use. It is thus that in Iran a piece of cotton is put into water which he is made to drink (H. Masse, Coscences, 142). In Kabylia, blood is mixed with cat-
tle dung which is smeared on a sheltered wall and administered in fumigations (Fichier de Documentation berbère, 1964/4, 12); in the same region a woman takes a little blood to mark the forehead of a child less than one year old (ibid.). In certain tribes, the mist-
ress of the house still smears the posts and the lin-
tel of the door with it to protect her home (Servier, op. laud., 346); it is also poured over a ploughshare to consecrate it (ibid., III-2; among the Zaghawa (M.-J. Tubiana, 149) it is the hoes that are sprinkled with the blood of a he-goat, but in different circum-
stances). On the occasion of the feast of 'Ashūrā [g.v.] it is the practice to dip in the blood of a sacrificed animal branches of rose-laurel which are hung between the stable and the living-quarters (Servier 370); elsewhere blood is sprinkled on the threshing floor (Koller, 325).

In the few examples mentioned above, magical practices have come to be grafted on to rites con-
sidered orthodox; more numerous and more obvious are the vestiges of paganism which appear in the multifarious sacrifices offered to the djinn [see ginn], whose invisible powers whose existence orthodoxy was obliged to admit. Just as during the Dhāhilyya one became united with the divinity by pouring blood over the rocks which were their home (cf. T. Fahd, Le Panthéon de l’Arabie centrale, Paris 1968, 103, on Isāf and Nāvīs [g.v.]), similarly, one enters into communication with the protective genies or wards off the maleficient spirits by means of blood poured on the altar of the home or on high places especially frequented by spirits. Although it is diffi-
cult to arm oneself against the hostile attentions of the djinn which haunt the places, very dangerous
big game, in the Moroccan Rif, some of the blood of each animal killed was set aside to be offered to the spirits of the rocks with the object of lessening the ferocity of the lions (Koller, 331).

In the taking of virginity, and it is well known that on the day after a wedding night, a cloth stained with this blood. Al-Damm, in his Risdla, al-kuddt (d. 7757 1373). The best way to distinguish between them is from whom these details are bor-

Evil sights and others are contained in the Tirmidhi (s.v. zahtab). In the following sketch is based mostly on al-Dawdhir al-mudiyya fi tabakdt al-Hanafiyya (Risdla, ed. and tr. Chehchod, Sacrifices, 185).

The preceding topic brings us back to menstrual blood, which possesses particular properties. In folk-medicine, it is recommended as an antidote for dog-bites, scurvy and freckles and serves also to preserve against the firmness of the breasts, but it also possesses a magical power since seafarers can protect themselves against the dangers of tempests and against the threat of a sea monster called expressively hūt al-hayd “fish of the menses”, by fixing to the stern of their ship a cloth stained with this blood. Al-Damārī, in his Ḥayāt al-hayawān, from whom these details are bor-

The blood of a shemule (yarbu') is efficacious against bladder-stones and that of the mole (kunfudh), while that of the frog (hamd) cures habitual drunkenness if it is mixed with wine, for which it inspires a defini
tive distaste. This is one of the few cases where the blood of an animal is imbibed; in the majori
ty of cases mentioned above, it is used in the form of ointments, but whatever the manner in which it is utilised, it must, in principle at least, for this is not the case with some of the animals mentioned, come from a licit animal, which has been ritualistically slaughtered (al-Kayrawānī, Rīāt, ed. and tr. Bercher, Algiers 1949, 321).

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by the use of their patronymic (kunya) and first name (ism). Among the eighteen identifiable members of this family, three distinguished themselves from among the others; namely, the eponym Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (no. 1), his son Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī (no. 2), and one of their last descendants Abū l-Kāsim 'Alī (no. 15). The eponyms kunya and ism are also those of the latter's brother (no. 16), and for this reason, the eponym was referred to—not it seems, in the contemporary documents, but later—as al-Kābir, the Elder; this was in order to distinguish him from all the rest, not merely from his much later descendants who were too far removed to cause confusion and who had the same kunya and ism (nos 4 and 16), but of whom none was referred to as al-Saghir.

1. Dāmāghāni the Elder was born in 398/1007 in Dāmāghān in the province of Kūrmīs (q.v.), where he was first educated and pursued his initial studies in law. He then came to Baghdād in 419/1029 at the age of 21. Here he continued his studies of law under the two great masters of Hanafī law, al-Kudārī (d. 428/1037) and al-Saymārī (d. 436/1045). The juriconsult Kudārī, famous for his work on law, known especially by his name, Muhādhdhib al-Dawla, with numerous commentaries (see a list in GIL, I, 183, Suppl. 1, 293) was a direct ancestor of Hanafīs anywhere except perhaps in the West. He worked with the Madrasa of Abu Hanīfah and was among the others; namely, the eponym Abu l-Hasan al-Kudūrī (see a list in the Mühr 3b of the Koprulī Library (Istanbul) no. 1584, fol. 41b). Coming from humble beginnings, Abū 'Abd Allāh experienced material difficulties in pursuing his studies in the great capital. The madrasas had not yet begun to flourish in Baghdād, with their endowments for the benefit of students as well as the teaching staff. He had therefore to work, as other needy students did, and pursue his studies at the same time. He took a job as night guard which also allowed him to study by the light of the guard's lamp. He studied hard and learned by heart the current textbooks on law. One night he was surprised by a books on law. One night he was surprised by a

2. After his appointment, the fortunes of al-Dāmāghānī changed. Only three years after his appointment, his residence was rich enough to attract the attention ofzburgers, and again later, in 493/1100, when his son Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī was the occupant.

Dāmāghānī the Elder was considered in his day as one of the leaders of his legal school, with some reputation in the field of disputation (māznazāra). He continued in his post as Kādī l-Kudūrī for thirty years, under the caliphs al-Kā'im (d. 467/1075) and al-Muktafī (d. 487/1094). He served as a substitute-wazīr under both caliphs, refusing to accept the viceroyalty itself and not wanting to exceed his position as Kādī l-Kudūrī (al-Dawārī [also apud Ibn 'Aqīl, Manzūmān, ix, 211, 11-15; ibn 'Abī tawādū', rubū'ī l-kudāt]). This genuine modesty was perhaps due to a gentle personality as well as to his humble beginnings. The period of his life when he lived in poverty, hardly having enough to eat, was also perhaps the cause of his becoming a voracious eater when he could afford to buy all the food he wanted. One anecdote (Manzūmān, ix, 24, 11-3 II, 7,171 ff.) tells of his finishing off a thirty-pound (rail) plate of pastrgy at the end of a copious meal at a banquet given by the caliph. This genuine modesty perhaps due to a gentle personality as well as to his humble beginnings.

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3. Only one work on law has come down to us from al-Dāmāghānī, the Kādī Masā'il al-ḥātūn wa l-turūk (Berlin Ms. 4982). His biographers do not cite any works for him. Among his students was Abū Tāhir Iyās al-Daylamī (d. 461/1069), who was the first professor of law at the great Madrasa of Abū Ḥanīfah founded the same year as the Nizāmīya of Baghdād (see GIL, I, 460, Suppl. I, 637, and bibliography cited; G. Makdisi, I, 171 ff. 6, and index, s.v. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dāmāghānī).

Here follows a list of his descendants with full names, according to the enumeration in the sketch below, all of whom were known by the isna of al-Dāmāghānī.


5. Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, Mubadīlī b. al-Dawārī (d. 518/1124); became a shāhādi-notary under his father (no. I); appointed as kādī of the East Side quarter of Bāb al-Tāk in Baghdād, and of the stretch from upper Baghdād to Mawsil, by his brother (no. 2) when the latter became Kādī l-Kudūrī (23 Shābān 488/28 August 1093) (Qawākrī, i, 287-8).

6. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī, Tādī l-Kudūrī (d. 516/1122); became shāhādi-notary under his father (no. 2), who appointed him as his representative magistrate in Baghdād and elsewhere; when his father died, he was put up as candidate for the post of Kādī l-Kudūrī to succeed his father, but was not appointed; was sent as ambassador of the caliph to Transoxania and died during the mission at 38 years of age (Qawākrī, i, 96).

7. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husayn b. 'Ali (d. 561/1165); substituted for his brother (no. 5) as kādī of the West Side quarter of Karkh in Baghdād, and later of the whole of the West Side quarter of Bāb al-Azād (Qawākrī, i, 82, al-Tamīmī al-Dāfī al-Ghazzī, Manzūmān, ix, 117; al-Tabarqī al-Samīyya fi tārājum al-ḥanāfiyya, i, 473).

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of this Damaghani as his informant regarding the notice where the author of the *Djawdhir* quotes Ibn al-Najjâr (d. 643/1245) as citing the father (no. 2) but the biographical notice cites him as a brother of Yahya b. Manda (d. 511/1118), the great hadith-expert and fikh, (d. 510/1116), 'known for both hadith and fikih, and all the kâdis as his authorised representatives, “because a kâdi, unless guilty of moral depravity, may not be dismissed” (li-anna 'l-kâdiya idhd lam yazhur fiskuh, lam yadjuz 'azluh, *Qawdhir*, xi, 118).

8. Abu Mansûr *Dja'far* b. 'Abd Allâh (d. 568/1172-3); born in 490/1097, he studied hadith under the two Hanbâls Abu 'l-Khaštâb al-Kalwâdhânî (d. 510/1116), known for both hadith and fikih, and Yahyâ b. Manda (d. 511/1118), the great hadith-expert (*Qawdhir*, i, 179).

9. Abu Sa'id al-Hasan b. 'Abd Allâh (d. 575/1179); studied hadith under the great hadith-expert Abu 'l-Kâsim Hibat Allah b. Muhammad al-Shaybânî (d. 582/1186); his brother (no. 12) accepted him as hadith-notary (*Qawdhir*, i, 196).

10. Abu 'l-Mu'azzâfar al-Husayn b. Aḥmad (d. 579/1183); his brother (no. 12) accepted him as hadith-notary in 552/1157 and appointed him as shdhid-notary in his appointment under the caliph al-Mustandjid, his representative magistrate in the quarter of the Caliphal Palace on the East Side of Baghdad (Qawdhir, i, 207-8).

11. Abu Muhammad al-Hasan b. Aḥmad (d. 582/1186); his brother (no. 12) accepted him as hadith-notary in 552/1157 and appointed him kâdi in the West Side quarter of Kârkh in Baghdîd, then also in Wâsît; he spent a lifetime in his career as kâdi, in Wâsît and Baghdîd, between dismissals and reappointments (Qawdhir, i, 196).

12. Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Aḥmad (d. 583/1188); was appointed kâdi in the Karkh quarter of Baghdad's West Side in 540/1145 following his father's (no. 5) death. Then when the kâdi 'l-Kâdit Abu 'l-Kâsim 'Ali b. al-Husayn al-Zaynabî died in 543/1149, he was appointed kâdi 'l-Kâdit in his place, at the age of thirty, by the caliph al-Mu'âsfî. He was confirmed in his appointment under the caliph al-Mustandjid, who then dismissed him. The caliph al-Mustandjid reappointed him, and the appointment being confirmed later by the caliph al-Nâṣîr, Abu 'l-Hasan continued to serve until he died. When he was dismissed by al-Mustandjid, he kept to his home, where he pursued his study of the religious sciences, considering himself as still the kâdi 'l-Kâdit, and all the kâdis as his authorised representatives, “because a kâdi, unless guilty of moral depravity, may not be dismissed” (li-anna 'l-kâdiya idhd lam yazhur fiskuh, lam yadjuz 'azluh, *Qawdhir*, i, 350-2; Ibn Taghbirdât, al-Nâshâya fi 'l-târîkh, xii, 329; *Qawdhir*, i, 350-2; Ibn Taghribirdât, al-Nâshâya fi 'l-târîkh, vi, 104).

13. Abu 'l-Fath Muhammâd b. 'Ali (d. 575/1180); was accepted as hadith-notary by his father (no. 12) on Monday, 12 Radjâb 575/Thursday 13 December 1179), who made him his assistant magistrate in the city of Baghdîd; he died at the age of 29, less than three months after his appointment (Qawdhir, ii, 91).

14. Abu 'l-Fâdi Muhammâd b. 'Ali hâsân (d. 592/1196); was accepted as hadith-notary by his uncle (no. 12) on 12 *Jumâda al-Awâl* 575/Tuesday 11 March 1180, three months after his cousin (no. 13), and was entrusted with the controllership of the caliphal burial grounds in the East Side quarter of al-Rusâfa. He died young (Qawdhir, ii, 40).

15. Abu 'l-Kâsim 'Abd Allâh b. al-Husayn (died Sunday 30 Dhû al-‘Îd 615/17 February 1219); was appointed kâdi in 586/1190, and dismissed in 594/1198; was reappointed as kâdi 'l-Kâdit in 603/1207, and dismissed once again in 611/1214; was highly esteemed for his knowledge of the law according to the various schools of juridical thought, as well as for belles-lettres (Abû Šâmâ, *Târîdjam ridjal al-karnayn al-sâdis wa l-sâbi*, 110-11; Ibn Kâthîr, al-Biddya wa l-nihdya fi 'l-târîkh, xii, 82;
Abd Allah, was also accepted as the uncle as a notary by Abu '1-Hasan al-Damaghanf (of no. 1), but his identification as a shdhid-notary by his father in 466/1073-4, and was accepted as the name of a sister (see Kadi 'l-Kudat Abu Abd Allah al-Damaghanf) which shed light on how he was regarded by some of his contemporaries among the jurisconsults. In one of these, he is said to have refused to accept the testimony of a person who came to him at the behest of the caliph al-Mustazhir. When the latter asked for an explanation, he replied that on the Day of the Last Judgment God would hold him responsible for his actions, not the caliph who appointed him. Another anecdote concerns the Shafi' jurisconsult Abu Bakr al-Shashf (d. 504/1110) who came to Damaghanf to pay him a visit. The Kadi 'l-Kudat did not show him respect by rising for him, so Shashf turned on his heels and left. That was in the 480s. It was not until after the year 500/1106-7 that they came together again on the occasion of a ceremony for mourning over a fellow jurisconsult's death. Shashf arrived first and took his seat. When the Kadi 'l-Kudat entered, everyone rose except Shashf, who did not budge. Damaghanf wrote to the caliph Mustazhir complaining that Shashf did not respect the representative of the religious law. The caliph wrote back: "What do you expect me to say to him? He is your senior in age, a more excellent [jurisconsult], and he would have done the same for you". Shashf also wrote to the caliph complaining of Damaghanf's disdainful treatment of men of religious science, and included the following two verses: "A partitioning screen, conceit, and excessive vainglory / and painstaking reaching for the heights / If all this had come as a result of ability / it would be easy to accept, but it comes as a result of coming from behind (meaning that he succeeded his father, riding on his coat tails)!". The caliph finally brought the two jurisconsults together and they made up their quarrel. But the anecdote ends on a note which shows that Shashf had not quite forgiven the magistrate. Damaghanf sat with Shashf, presumably in the presence of other learned men, and began to give a list of the questions of law that his father, Damaghanf the Elder [q.v.], had discussed in sessions of disputation, together with the names of his fellow disputants in each case. When Damaghanf had mentioned several of these questions, Shashf made the following remark, laden with subtle sarcasm: "How excellently you have memorised the titles of these disputed questions!"—meaning that Shashf was good for superficial memorisation, but not good enough for even remembering the disputations themselves, let alone understanding them.

Ibn 'Akl [q.v.], who had a great respect for Damaghanf the Elder as one of his teachers of disputation, had no respect at all for the son Abu '1-Hasan, to whom he addressed two letters which appear to be open ones written, not in the second, but in the third person (see the French tr. of both letters in Makdisi, Ibn 'Aql, 467-71). In these, Ibn 'Akl compares father and son, laying stress on the inferior qualities of the son. He held against the son the fact that, at one of his sessions as chief magistrate, he cried at the top of his voice that there were no longer any jurisconsults of the rank of mugtahid [q.v.]. Ibn 'Akl considered this a thoughtless attack against the doctrine of consensus or ijma' [q.v.], a doctrine which God had instituted above all that of prophecy, since the Prophet of Islam was the seal of the prophets, not to be followed by other prophets. God thus instituted the doctrine of the consensus of His community in the place of the succession of the East Side quarter of Damascus 1963, 172-5 and index, s.vv. Ibn al-Djawzf, Jurisconsult Abu Bakr al-Shashf, presumably in the presence of other learned

The author of the DAWZAI gives the orthography of the ethnic name al-Damaghanf and says that it is the name of the Kadi 'l-Kudat Abu Abd Allah al-Damaghanf (of no. 1) and of a group of his descendants (see the French tr. of both letters in Makdisi, Ibn 'Aql, 467-71). The author of the DAWZAI, i, 274). There are other persons noted with this name, but with no apparent relationship to this family.


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prophets. He also held against Abu '1-Hasan his neglect of the learned men of Baghdad in favour of those from Khurāsān. He accused him of doing so for the purpose of gaining a broader reputation, presumably because these men would spread his name far and wide. But during their travels back and forth to their home provinces.

Ibn al-Djawāzī (d. 597/1200), who gives a lengthy biography of Abu '1-Hasan and is our source for Ibn 'Aklī's two letters, nevertheless speaks well of him, stating that he was a religious man, with a sense of honour, with generosity and integrity, and that he was knowledgeable in the field of šurūt, i.e. the writing of formal documents. Among his teachers, the Ḥanbalī Abū Ya'la b. al-Farraj (d. 458/1066), Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīfī (d. 463/1071), al-Ṣārifīnī (d. 469/1076), and Ibn al-Nakār (d. 470/1078) are cited as those who taught him hadīth, and is said to have related traditions in turn. He studied law under his father and his brother (see under Dāmaghānī, Abū 'Aīd Allāh, Nos. 1 and 3).

Abu '1-Hasan died in 513/1119 after having served for close on 30 years as magistrate and chief magistrate. He was buried at his home in the quarter of Nahār al-Kullā'īn on the West Side of Baghdad where his father was buried, and the remains of his father were transferred to the shrine of Abū Hanīfa on the East Side. (G. Makdisī)

DAMASCENING [see mā din].

DANDANKAN, DANDANKAN, a small town in the sand desert between Marw and Sarakhs in mediaeval Khurāsān and 10 farsaks or 40 miles from the former city. The site of the settlement is now in the Turkmenistan SSR, see V.A. Zhukovsky, Razvivanie Staraego Merv, St. Petersburg 1894, 38. The geographers of the 4th/10th century mention that it was well-fortified and was surrounded by a wall 500 paces in circumference, the baths and a ribāt or caravanserai lying outside this wall (Ibn Hawkal, 436-7, v, 381-3). It comprised a room with a mihrāb ranging all along the south wall, which opened on to a central, square courtyard through a large, high central bay flanked by two other bays of more modest dimensions. Each of these bays was made up of a rectangular opening surmounted by a lintel and a curved, pointed arch. The central arch was supported on two rectangular pillars, whilst the lateral ones were supported on the piers of the doorway.

Two rectangular rooms, one of them communicating with the prayer room, opened on to the lateral façades of the courtyard, and each communicated with a little vaulted room making up the east and west angles of the northern façade of the buildings as a whole. The central part of this last was made up of a passage way which led both to the central courtyard and also to two further small, vaulted rooms which themselves led to the courtyard. In the centre of the courtyard was a basin for ablutions.

Sauvaget has emphasised the relationship between the plan above and those of the oldest madrasas in Damascus, the difference being essentially in a reduction of the dimensions and the replacement of the iwāns—specific features of madrasas—by lateral rooms. Even so, the distinction between the two types of building was not always clearly made. To cite only one example, the Divā'īya, founded in Damascus by Divā'ī al-Dīn al-Makdisī before 643/1245, is given as a dār al-hadīth by Ibn Ṭūlūn (al-Kalīdī al-djāhchārya fi ta'rikh al-madāris, Damascus, 1949, 76) and as a madrasa by al-Nu'aymī (al-Dīrīs fi ta'rikh al-madāris, Damascus 1948, i, 80).

The opening of the first dār al-hadīth, was followed by the founding of numerous similar institutions based on Nūr al-Dīn's building; unfortunately, these have almost all disappeared. Of the 16 establishments listed by al-Nu'aymī, Damascus has now only the remnants of Nūr al-Dīn's dār al-hadīth; the fine doorway with stalactites of that of Tingiz, built in 739/1338 and whose interior has been completely rebuilt (cf. Sauvaget, Les monuments historiques de Damas, Beirut 1932, 69, no. 44); and a few remnants of walls incorporated in shops or houses. As a result, we are forced to go back to the written sources in order to get information about the architecture of the dār al-hadīth; but these are very rare in this particular aspect, and the passages on these institutions concern themselves almost wholly with the lives of the teachers there. Alone of them Ibn Ṭūlūn devotes a few lines to the buildings themselves, and from him we learn that certain of them were mere
II. Historical development [see ii, 125-6].

Fig. 1. Plan of Nur al-Din’s dār al-ḥadīth, after J. Sauvaget.

Fig. 2. Elevation of Nur al-Din’s dār al-ḥadīth, after J. Sauvaget.
rooms within the house of the ḍarṣī who was giving out instruction. Thus the Ṣubkshākiyya, founded in Damascus by Ibn Shakhtshakha in 656/1258, was only the modest dwelling of this master (cf. al-Nuʿaymī, Dāris, i, 81). The Diyyaʿiya (see above) had a palace resembling that of the Nūrīyya, but the much needed repairs for studies were spread over two floors (Ibn Tūlūn, Kālkatīd, 83). The Kālansīya, founded in ca. 729/1328 by the vizier Ibn al-Kalānštī, not to be confused with the historian of the same name, had a very extensive hall, provided with three large windows looking on to the Nahr Yāzīd, several doors giving access to it, a paved courtyard and a minaret (Ibn Tūlūn, op. cit., 86). The Nūrīyya, founded towards the middle of the 9th/15th century by the kātib ʿIbd al-Dīn al-Dīn al-ʿUmar, showed a structure even more close to that of the madrasas. Three iwāns opened on to a court in whose centre was an abutions cistern. The southern iwān had a mīrāb, and the eastern side was provided with a nāwārī reserved for women (ibid., 88).

Sometimes the dār al-hadīthh had a nīb or kīhākhī [q.v.] annexed to it, or else the founder's own tomb or tawba might be adjacent to it. This was the case with the Nāṣirīya, founded by al-Malāk al-Najīr Yūsuf on the southern slopes of Mount Kāsīyun [q.v.] some time before 659/1261. This imposing architectural complex, built on the banks of the Nahr Yāzīd and decked out with yellow and white stones, was topped by a minaret and also included a mill. According to Ibn Tūlūn, op. cit., 94, it was one of the finest houses in Damascus; but by his time, it had been entirely destroyed and even its site had vanished.

In Aleppo, there are still some remains of the dār al-hadīthh founded by Ibn Ṣḥallād Yūsuf (the biographer of Ṣahlāl al-Dīn) in 618/1221, as attested by the text of a foundation inscription carved on a stone block inserted in a modern wall of the reconstructed building. According to the summary plan deduced by Herzfeld, there remains a rectangular room 16.50 × 6 m. overall, with a mīrāb and three openings. In the north-eastern corner, an entrance contiguous to the room's north wall and at the beginning of another wall perpendicular to the latter gives on to what was possibly the dār al-hadīthh's courtyard (Herzfeld, Materiaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabo-Mauren, Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep, ii, pl. CXXXVIIa).

The Kāmīliyya of Cairo, founded there by al-Malāk al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn in 622/1225 on the model of the Nūrīyya, is chronologically the second of the dār al-hadīthh (cf. al-Makrīzī, Khatāṭ, ed. Būlāk, ii, 375). Some remains of this building still exist, in particular, an iwan, whose pointed-arched vault is faced in fired brick and is supported on the walls and on stone piers (photograph by J.C. Garcin, in Tuhfat al-ahdbb, vii [1967], pl. XII).

These various examples suffice to show how the architecture of the dār al-hadīthh remained dependent on that of the madrasa, when indeed it was not included in it. (S. Orv)

II. History (see Vol. II, 1254-).

Dār Šīnī, or Dārsīnī (Persian dār čīnī “Chinese wood”) is the Chinese cinnamon (Cinnamomum cassia), next to the Ceylonese cinnamon (Cinn. cylin-
drum) the most valuable spice from plants of the cinna-
mon species, of the family Lauraceae, perhaps the oldest spice altogether. The rind of the branch of the cinnamon-tree was used in China as medicine, aromatic substance and spice already in the 3rd mil-

lennium B.C., and reached the Near East and the

Mediterranean countries in the 2nd millennium. It cannot be established with certainty with what original plant dārsīnī is to be associated, since in the pharmacognostic texts Chin. cassia is also rendered by saḥīla, which allegedly is not identical with dārsīnī. The Greeks ( Dioscorides) called this class of ma-
deums d'Alep, ii, 375).

The book of plants, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, no. 814 did not know what to do with the term šīnī and associated it with an unidentified drug sinī mentioned by al-ʿĀṣīnī (Dīsān, ed. Geyer, 201). Ishāk b. Sulaymān al-Īṣāfī (d. ca. 320/932) was perhaps the first to perceive that cinnamon came indeed from China, see al-Qāḍīkī [q.v. below], al-Adīrīya al-maftūda, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gen. 135 i, fol. 130a, 11. Like the numerous other Asian spices, cinnamon was traded mainly by the sea route, the most important transit-port being 'Adan (W. Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge, Leipzig 1885-6, index sv. Cannelle).

The Arabs knew a whole range of kinds of dārsīnī which cannot be determined more completely; the “real Chinese cinnamon” (dārsīnī al-Shīnī), an inferior kind (dārsī šīnī), the “real cinnamon rind” (al-kirfā ʿalā 'l-hākiq), the “five-rind” (kaftāf al-kurūfī), the “pungent cinnamon” (al-hādi fi mādshikh), etc. As spice for food, there served not only the tabular rind of the cinnamon-tree, but also its leaves, blossoms and unripe berries. The pleasant scent is caused by the volatile oil extracted from the rind. Taken as a medicine, cinnamon reduces and softens thick substances, strengthens the stomach, liver and spleen and counteracts their sluggishness, quickens the activity of the heart, invigorates the eyesight and is effective against poisonous bites and stings of scorpions. Spread on excrement and urine, it does away with their nasty smell.


(A. Dietrich)

DARAK (A.), damān al-darak, in Islamic law the guarantee against a fault in ownership. As the most important of the various guarantees aimed at protecting the new legal status brought about by the conclusion of a contract of sale, the damān al-darak ensures that the seller will make good should the buyer’s title be contested by a third party. It is possible, for instance, that prior to the conclusion of a debt against the seller. Thus the wakf, a witnessed document containing the guarantee is drawn up after delivery takes place. Nor is the guarantee given in conveyances in which the alienor is not included in contracts in which the property itself, or its equivalent, if it is fungible, is delivered at a later date, but rather, a separate agreement is not included in contracts in which the property may have been transferred.

There is a difference of opinion on how the seller discharges his obligation; return of the price was the norm, but arguments are made for the return of the property itself, or its equivalent, if it is fungible, or its value together with the value of such improvements as had been made by the buyer at the time the claim was raised. The damān al-darak is usually confined to contracts for the sale of immovable property, but in the formulaires for written contracts we see that the guarantee could be given for movables of value as well, such as slaves, walls (considered movable because they could be dismantled for their materials), and palm trees (sold separately from the land and perhaps uprooted). It is not included in contracts in which the property is delivered at a later date, but rather, a separate witness document containing the guarantee is drawn up after delivery takes place. Nor is the guarantee given in conveyances in which the alienor receives no consideration, as in a deed of gift. The importance of this guarantee and the variety of formulas employed to express it reflect the concern of Islamic law for the protection of ownership and bona fide acquisition.

Bibliography: The term darak is defined in Lane, iii, 874; Dozy, Suppl., i, 436-7; J. Schacht, An introduction to Islamic law, London 1964, 139; al-Saraḥštī, K. al-Maṣābur ʿīl-lurūt, Cairo 1324-31/1906-13, xxx, 173-4, 180, 183, 187-8; Discussion of various aspects of the legal status and the formulae is to be found in the āḏarīt works, e.g., J.A. Wakin, The function of documents in Islamic law: the chapters on sale from Tahāṣīn’s “Ṣūbāḥ al-Sharīʿah al-Kabīrā”, New York 1972, index, s.v.; al-Ṣayrafī, al-Muṭṭakabbīt ʿal-luddʿa fimma yuktub min ummūr al-Shaʾrīʿa, in al-Nuwāyrī, Nihāyat al-ʿarbāʾ fi ṣanʿūn al-adab, ix, 12; Marghīnānī, al-Phatūsāʾ al-Ẓahārīyya, MS British Museum, Rieu Suppl. 4305, fol. 19a; al-Phatūsāʾ al-Ṭāʾārīyya, Calcutta 1251, vi, 424-6. Since this guarantee is a prominent feature of the contract, examples of its use in practice are found frequently in extant deeds of sale. For examples, see A. Grohmann, ed., Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library, i, 146, 162, 169, 175, 182, 187 and passim; J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, Trois actes de vente damascains du début du IVe siècle, in JESHO, viii (1965), 173; W. Hoenerbach, Spanisch-islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos, Berlin 1965, 41-2, 272; for earlier Near Eastern parallels, see R. Yaron, On disposition clauses of some oriental deeds of sale and lease, from Mesopotamia, in Bibliotheca Orientalis, xv, 15-22. See also damān.

(J.A. Wakin)

DARB ZUBAYDA, the pilgrim highway running from al-ʿIrāk to the Holy Cities of the Ḥijāz, named after Zubayda bint ʿAbdār [q.v.], the wife of Ḥārūn al-ʿRaʾshīd.

The main section of the Darb Zubayda, from Kūfah to Mecca, is something over 1,400 km. in length. The branch to Medina leaves the main road at Maʿdīn al-Nakira, which is also the point at which the road from Baṣrah joins it. From Maʿdīn al-Nakira to Mecca the distance is about 500 km., and from the same point to Medina it is about 250 km. Between Maʿdīn al-Nakira and Mecca, the section of the road lying between Maʿdīn Bani Sulaym and al-Mislah has an alternative route which runs: Maʿdīn Bani Sulaym—Suayfān—Hādīna al-Mislah. This latter route lies across the ʿחרat Rahat, and was used for the sake of its superior water resources. For the most part, the preparation of the track of the road consisted in clearing the ground of boulders, rocks, etc., but at least one stretch (near Bāṭn al-Aghār) was paved, at the expense of Ḫālisā, the lady-in-waiting of the mother of al-Raʾshīd (al-Ḥarīf, K. al-Mandsik, Riyadh 1389/1969, 305). Fayd, the midway station of the road, was the seat of the amīr al-ḥādīj and the road superintendent (ʿāmil al-ṭIrāk or wālī al-ṭIrāk) [see further, Fayd, below] and was provided with hostels, and under this caliph the first road superintendent was appointed. The names of at least one hostelry were known as ḥusūn.

The main route of the Darb Zubayda had 54 recognised stations (manāṣil). Stopping places for the evening meal were known as multāʿādākā.

There is no archaeological evidence for the use of the Darb Zubayda route before the Umayyad period, but it must have been in use at least from the time of the foundation of Kūfah in the reign of ʿUmār I.

Al-Ḥarīf (al-Ḥarīf, K. al-Mansīṣ, Riyadh 1389/1969, 309) states that ʿUthmān had wells dug at Fayd, and Ṭabarī mentions that among the places at which Ali stopped on his way from Medina to Kūfah in 36/656 were al-Rabādāh, Fayd and al-Thaʿlabīyya. Similarly, Ḥusayn b. Ṭabarī stopped at inter aīla al-Ḥāḏījr, Zāḏīr, Zubālā and al-ʿAzābā. These are all major stations of the Darb Zubayda.

The ʿIrāk-Mecca road was a leading concern of the Ḥābbāsī caliphates, to the extent that as a well-maintained, reliable highway it may be regarded as an ʿAbbāsid foundation. Al-Salḥāṭ set up milestones and established fire-beacons (manāṣil) along the whole route from Darb al-ʿArab (Ṭabarī, i, 81); Ibn al-ʿArīf, Cairo edn., iv, 344), and he also constructed forts (būṣūn) along the northern section from al-Kādisiyya to Zubālā. Al-Ḥānis provided the road with hostels, and under this caliph the first road superintendent was appointed. The names of at
least 21 of these superintendents have been pre-
served. Al-Mahdi enlarged the forts, constructed water tanks, sunk wells and renewed the milestones. It was
during his reign that Yakht b. Mūsā, the most out-
standing of the road superintendents, was appointed
(161777). His incumbency lasted ten years, during
which time the pilgrim road was noted for its con-
venience, comfort and safety ( Ibn Katīf, Al-Bidāya
wa 'l-nihayā, Beirut and Riyād 1966, x, 133).
Al-Rashīd constructed cisterns, sunk wells and built
forts along the road, but he was outdone in these
works by his wife Zubayda, whose contribution is men-
tioned in laudatory terms by many mediaeval
writers. Al-Harbi refers to at least eleven places
which were provided with water facilities and rest-
houses or fortifications at her instigation, and statics
that a cistern of a circular type (biḥa muḍaẖawwa) was
known as a "Zubaydiyya" (al-Mānasik, 288). Much of
Zubayda's work was devoted to the smaller stations
and al-Muktadir were particularly active in maintain-
ing and improving the road. Evidence of the contri-
bution of al-Muktadir is provided by a Kufic inscription
itself in the same way. It may be noted that the medi-
æval writers record the names of many wealthy indi-
viduals, both men and women, who made the upkeep
of the road the object of their benefactions.

Among the later caliphs, al-Wathik, al-Mutawakkil
and al-Muktaḍar were particularly active in maintain-
ing and improving the road. Evidence of the contri-
bution of al-Muktaḍar is provided by a Kufic inscription
on stone, dated 304/917-17, which refers to improve-
ments being carried out under the supervision of 'Ali
b. Ṭāṣī [q.v.].

From the 3rd/8th century, the security of the road
was increasingly disturbed by tribal raids, beginning
with that of the Banū Sulaym in 230/844. In 294/
906 occurred the first of many attacks on pilgrim
traffic by the Kūrmaṭ (q.v.), and these were to con-
tinue for over thirty years. The last pilgrim caravan
organised under an 'Abbāṣid caliph was that of 641/
1243, when al-Mustā'īn's mother performed the
pilgrimage, taking with her 120,000 camels
(al-Nahrāwālī, K. al-Ḥām bi-'l-dīn bāy'ī Allāh al-Ḥarām, ed.
Wüstenfeld, in Die Chroniken der Stadt Mecca, iii,
Leipzig 1897, 178).

After the fall of Bābādad in 656/1258, pilgrim traf-
ffic was often diverted through Damasc, but the Darb
Zubayda continued to be used intermittently in
later centuries, the frequency of traffic depending
largely upon the presence or otherwise of a stable
administration in Bābādad. The use of the road in the
19th century is attested by European travellers
such as Lady Anne Blunt, Huber and Musil.

The coming of motor transport in the 20th cen-
tury had led to the final abandonment of the Darb
Zubayda, although its cleared track is still everywhere
visible, as are many of the waymarks ('l-dānim), which
usually consist of cairns of stones of over 2 m. in
height. Two undamaged milestones from the 'Abbāṣid
period have survived, and are now preserved in the
Riyād Museum of Antiquities. One of these uses the
system of the post-stage (barāt [q.v.]), the other that
of miles. Most of the water facilities of the road can
still be identified, even though many of these are
sanded up; they include square, rectangular and cir-
cular tanks, some of which are connected with set-
ting tanks and flood diversion walls. Many of the
wells are still in use by local tribesmen. The foun-
dations of rest-houses and forts may still be seen at
many points along the road, and in several cases (e.g.
Kaṭr Zūbālā, Ḫisn Fāyd and al-'Aḳīb) more substantial
ruins testify to the high level of workmanship
bestowed on the public facilities of the road.

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64, 57-8, 70-1, 84; C. Huber, Voyages dans l'Arabie
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work, Leids Ph.D. thesis, unpublished (includes plans
and illustrations).

SAAD A. AL-RASHID AND M.J.L. YOUNG
Based on his estimation, tolls were fixed and those objects chosen which had to be presented as gifts to the sultan or ruler and other high officials. The owner of the chosen gift, however, had to give his consent. Otherwise, according to the Navigation and commercial law of Amamna Gappa (Codex 130, chapter xxxv, see below), this gift would have a personal character and the captain had to pay for it. The collected tolls had to be handed over by the shahbandar to the tunenggung who headed the civil administration of the whole city, including the harbour. The import tax which was demanded in Malakka was not the same for all traders. Those originating “from above the wind”, i.e. the West, had to pay 6% of the value of their merchandise. Only food supplies from Siam, Pegu (Burma), the western coast of the Malay peninsula and northern Sumatra were exempted.

Besides this import tax, 1 to 2% of the value had to be presented to the ruler, the bendahara (treasurer), and the tunenggung. After the shahbandar had reached agreement with the captain and the traders, he was to bring his gifts to their destinations. Tome Pires observed that the Gujarati traders in particular, who sailed with considerably sized vessels, used another procedure to pay their taxes. They asked a delegation of ten traders to re-estimate the whole merchandise loaded on their boat, take 6% of its total value and present it directly to the tunenggung. Thus all duties were paid at once, including the different kinds of gifts for the ruler and his officials. On the other side, the shahbandar was responsible for the Chinese, Siamese and the people from Liu Kiu, “gift”, choosing himself those goods he thought to be suitable.

If a trader wanted to settle at Malakka, he had to pay 3% as taxes, and in addition to this another 6% as royal taxes. For Malays, however, this latter sum was reduced to 3% only (Tjandrasasmita, 74 ff.).

Other regulations were valid for traders originating “from below the wind”, i.e. in the East. Formerly, they seem to have been free from any kind of duties. It was just expected that their gifts to the ruler and high officials should be appropriate and this could mean at least as high as the official taxes and tolls for the traders from the West. Later on, they also had to pay 5% for their goods, except again for food supplies.

In Banda Aceh, the shahbandars together with their secretaries (keureuklon, Malay: karkan) and other personnel were responsible to the Balai Furdah. This was a special office for levying the harbour dues, linked to the Bayi al-Mil (Z. Ahmad, 92), which was headed by the Sri Maharaja Lela and the penghulu kawal, or supervisor of the guard. These officials, too, were not real employees of the sultan, but it was expected that they should gain their living from the gifts the merchants had to deliver.

In relation to sea trade, the following kinds of tolls and taxes (adat wazed) were known in Aceh: the hadia langgar: a gift for the permission to cast the anchor, the adat listik for ships anchoring in the harbour; the adat memohon kuncu, to “ask for the key”, i.e. to get permission for disembarkment after the other taxes have been paid; the adat mengusul, a donation for those Acehnese who guarded the ship during its stay in the harbour; the adat hokk al-kalam, a kind of registration fee; the waris kuala, demanded by the shahbandar for disembarkment or loading certain goods, for preserving the water supply for departing ships, and help for those stranded; the adat cap, to be paid with goods or in money to get the seal or permission of the sultan for sailing; the adat kain, a roll of textiles to be presented by the Indian and European merchants when getting the adat cap, the adat kain yang ke dalam, i.e. textiles destined for the court; etc. (Tjandrasasmita, 77 ff.; Hoesin, 116 ff.).

From the time of Iskandar Muda, every merchant had to pay an additional tax, the wsr (A. "akhir"), for the sultan. Differences between the taxes to be paid by Muslim and Christian merchants are mentioned but not explained.

Of equally high importance for the income of the ruler and his functionaries was the market. Here, the hariya was in charge of securing the payment of a number of duties claimed by the adat; the adat hariya, a rent to be paid by merchants who kept their goods in a storehouse which had to be prepared by the hariya; the adat kamsen, to be taken from merchants as an insurance against robbery; the adat tandi, a fee for the clerk weighing the goods in the market; and the adat teukan, demanded from people going to the market.

All these taxes and tolls mentioned above had to be transferred either by the shahbandar or the hariya to the ulé balang, or district chief, who at the same time served as the local military commander. He distributed part of this money to some of his civil servants, whilst another part had to be presented annually to the court. Like the shahbandar, hariya, or other senior officials, the ulé balang did not receive a salary.

For the people living in the villages, some other kinds of taxes were known. Those farmers who received irrigation waters for their rice fields had to pay the adat blang, or adat buit among. Rent rates to be paid by tenants ranged from 50% to 20% of the yields and depended on the situation of the land. If someone had to be settled, he had first to pay the adat peutaw which permitted him to bring his cause to the court (hak ganceng). The judge (kati, kadi) and other elders sitting in the court session were entitled to receive the adat tuha.

Besides paying their taxes either in kind or money, the villagers had also to give their services voluntarily to the ulé balang or the kegubak, or village chief, e.g. in preparing their rice fields. This had to be done in gotong royong (cooperation) by the villagers, without receiving any compensation but being provided with food.

Taxes which were not under the competence of the ulé balang were those levied on forest products (adat gle) and the adat peutawha for bringing the pepper to the market; trade with pepper was a major concern of the sultan himself.

Complementary to these duties, which were more
ports on the north coast had been very low, and were sometimes completely unknown, as in Gresik before 1612. Only Tuban formed an exception, and this was severely criticised by the Chinese. Moreover, certain nationalities could be exempted from fees, like the Dutch in Japara under Sultan Agung, or the Chinese, the latter certainly profiting from the fact that a number of shahbandars in the north Javanese port were of Chinese descent. But again, gifts were expected to be forwarded by them.

Another commercial centre attractive for merchants from the East as well as from the West was Makassar (Ujung Pandang), which since pre-Islamic days was known too for its free and open attitudes towards trade and its small demands of tolls. Although not directly dealing with questions of taxes and tolls, the Navigation and commercial law of Amanna Goppa, a Buginese codex compiled around 1676 and edited by Ph.O.L. Tobing in 1962 (1977), gives interesting hints about the financial obligations and rewards of the community living together for some time on the same ship. During the journey, the traders are not considered as passengers, but are divided into three or four classes of crew members with special tasks and duties given to each of them. These categorised as "regular crew" may leave the vessel only after having bailed the water from the vessel, paying a fee for "descending" from the ship. The "casual crew" members, however, are free to leave the vessel wherever they want, without paying anything. For each class, the volume of merchandise as well as the part of the hold in which to put their goods are fixed. The freight rate is determined by the distance between the home port and the port of destination, for which detailed data are given.

The sum collected with the freight rates determines the income of the owner of the ship and its senior crew, i.e. the captain, the coxswain, and the jawabatu who has to take soundings and cast the anchor: if neither the captain nor the other two are friends of the owner of the ship, than the proceeds have to be divided into two equal parts, one for the owner and one for the other three. If one of them is a friend of the owner, than two-thirds are for the owner.

A number of regulations deals with the sharing of profit or loss between the dealer and the owner of the goods. According to the principle of bagi laba, the profit or loss have to be divided equally between both of them, if, in case of a loss, this is not due to negligence on part of the dealer. Otherwise, he has to compensate for it. Another principle states that the family of the dealer, if the goods get damaged because of his negligence, cannot be claimed to participate in compensating for the loss (ch. viii). The principle of bagi laba knows, however, some modifications. When the dealer has not yet returned and the owner has good reason to assume to that his partner is dead, the dealer has not yet returned and the owner has good reason to assume to that his partner is dead, he may claim a certain sum from his partner's family, compensating for the loss (ch. vii). The principle of bagi laba knows, however, some modifications. When the dealer has not yet returned and the owner has good reason to assume to that his partner is dead, he may claim a certain sum from his partner's family, compensating for the loss (ch. vii). The principle of bagi laba knows, however, some modifications. When the dealer has not yet returned and the owner has good reason to assume to that his partner is dead, he may claim a certain sum from his partner's family, compensating for the loss (ch. vii). The principle of bagi laba knows, however, some modifications. When the dealer has not yet returned and the owner has good reason to assume to that his partner is dead, he may claim a certain sum from his partner's family, compensating for the loss (ch. vii). The principle of bagi laba knows, however, some modifications. When the dealer has not yet returned and the owner has good reason to assume to that his partner is dead, he may claim a certain sum from his partner's family, compensating for the loss (ch. vii).
heirs cannot be found, his goods have to be turned over to the captain who may trade with them and enjoy the profits. Returning to the domicile of the deceased, however, his property must be handed over to his family, either in money or in kind (ch. xvi).

All these regulations are very similar to those relating to land tenure in the village (desa), and as a matter of fact, during its voyage the vessel is considered as a microcosmos in the same way as is the desa ashore, representing the cosmic order which has to be preserved through harmonious relationships among its inhabitants. The "owner" of this microcosmos stays outside of it, but he is represented by his deputy and his deputy's helpers. This deputy does not receive a salary, but has to live, like his helpers, from what he collects as rent, or taxes.

(b) Mataram, as the most powerful Islamic kingdom in Indonesia, did not base its economies on sea trade but on the products of its agrarian interior in Java. It continued the main spiritual and administrative traditions of the last Hindu empire of Majapahit which was destroyed by Demak in 1478. The student of its taxation system has to note with regret, however, that the late B. Schrieke did not live to implement his new approach to a historical study of taxation (Schrieke, i, 26). The data collected and evaluated in such a study would not only have been helpful in obtaining a clearer picture about the fiscal and economic development of the Javanese kingdoms, and especially of Mataram, but might also have provided a well-documented basis for studies on the religio-cultural currents in Javanese society which continuously gave rise to millenarian movements among the peasantry, caused by the deteriorating economic situation which again was mainly the result of the burden of taxes levied on the farmers.

Basically, the structure of the village (desa) and the kingdom were not much different. The village chief, and similarly the ruler in the greater context, were considered as the representatives of the deity and thus entitled to consider the land of the desa, or the main lands of the kingdom, as their own property, which they then rented out to the people. In some village societies, this conviction was modified: not the village chief himself, but the village community, owned the land, and the council of the elders had to decide who of the villagers might farm a certain piece of land. Thus in Kediri, East Java, all the land was named haqullah, whereas in Banten and Krawang, West Java, only uncultivated land was considered as haqullah, whereas cultivated land became haquladam (Karton-hadikoesoemo, 238). If someone died or moved to another desa without leaving an heir behind, his land hadikoesoemo, 238). If someone died or moved to another desa without leaving an heir behind, his land hadikoesoemo, 238). If someone died or moved to another desa without leaving an heir behind, his land would be redistributed after a certain cycle. Someone who wanted to sell "his" land had to notify the village government and pay the wangi paskin.

The communal understanding of land ownership is evident in the Law Codex of Majapahit, which was, on the whole, still used in Mataram. Para. 259 states that anyone who had asked for permission to farm a rice field but afterwards leaves it uncultivated, has to restore by other means the value of the rice he might have yielded. In para. 261, anyone who leaves an already cultivated rice field on his own, with the result that the crop gets spoiled or is eaten by animals, is categorised as a thief, and that could mean capital punishment (Slametmuljana, 37, 165).

The relationship between the village and the central authority was maintained mainly via the taxes and labour obligations. As the land was never in fact considered as being the property of the farmer, he had to pay the upeti, which means tribute. This tax might rise to 50% of the harvest, but it could always be changed, according to the general situation. Besides this, a capitation tax, housing taxes, dues for different kinds of offences against the laws, etc. were known. Special taxes had to be delivered at occasions like child birth, wedding ceremonies and services for a deceased person. These could sometimes, if they coincided with warfare or other disasters, bring the villagers to the edge of ruin (cf. the report by C. van Maseyck, quoted by Schrieke, ii, 147). The special war tax which Sultan Agung raised mainly among the foreigners during his military operations in East Java (Surabaya) in 1625, is recorded as follows: all married Chinese had to pay 22½ reals, unmarried Chinese 18 reals, married Javanese in the coastal regions who had been his subjects for many years 4½ reals, unmarried and young men 4½ reals, all recently-acquired slaves from Madura and Surabaya ¼ real. This tax was repeated in the following year (Schrieke, ii, 148 f.). At times it was compulsory to purchase some kinds of spices, rattan, and cotton, and above all rice, the staple product of Java, which had already been mentioned, a state monopoly under Amengku Rat. I. A major occasion to deliver the collected taxes at the court was the ‘Id al-Fitr.

Labour obligations due to the ruler included the building of the kraton (palace), important streets or other state projects, and, in times of war, help the army mainly as carriers. The village chief and other district potentates, too, were entitled to summon the villagers for forced labour. Thus the principle of gotong royong, or cooperativeness, became more and more abused. Eventually, a desa could also be exempted from taxes but instead it was charged with the maintenance of a sanctuary.

Another source of income for the district rulers were the toll gates on streets and rivers which, especially since the middle of the 18th century when their number increased enormously, did great damage to inland trade, and therefore time and again contributed to the rise of social unrest.

Upeti, or tribute, had also to be delivered by a vassal or a dependency as a sign of loyalty, or by an ally as reward for any kind of help received before. It could be delivered in kind or money and could also comprise beautiful girls, rare animals or plants. Another way of fulfilling the duties towards the ruler was to send man-power. The annual tribute imposed, e.g., on Palembang in 1668, was one rix-dollar per capita (Dagregister 1668-9, quoted by Schrieke, ii, 227).

et alii (eds.), Sejarah Nasional Indonesia, iii. Jaman Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan kerajaan-kerajaan Islam di Indonesia, ed. Uka Tjandraasmita. Jakarta 1975; D. Lornbard, Le sultanat d’Aje ou le temps d’Skander Mard, 1607-1636. Paris 1967; Slametmuljana, Penundang-andangan Majapahit, Jakarta 1967; Ali Mubarak Khan NohanT, Sultan Bahlul’s grandson ruled over Bihar till the year 936/1530, his son, Bahar Khan, as his successor. His son and grandson ruled over Bihar till the year 936/1530, where he had joined the camp of the rival prince, Barbak Shah, and in Khayl, the rebel niukta’ of the Pandjab in 890/1485.

During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lod!, certain political events caused an estrangement between him and his flight to Kara in 925/1519. In 930/1524, Nasir Khan Noham, his son-in-law, Islam Khan Sarwan!, the rebel in the region of Násiiri-Khurasán, who died between 465/1072 and 470/1077; they were retained when it passed under the control of the Golden Horde [see BATU’IDS], who subjected and absorbed the Kipcak whilst adopting their speech in place of their native Mongolian. John de Piano Carpini and William of Rubruck travelled through the Dağlı-Kipcak during the reign of Bátu [q.v.]. Carpini, who traversed it from end to end, supplied for the first time the modern names of the great rivers he crossed: the Don and the Volga. Rubruck, who entered the steppe via the Crimée, described it as a “vast wilderness” extending in places over thirty days in breadth, in which there was “neither forest, nor hill, nor stone, but only the finest pasturage”. Ibn Batúta’s visit to the region occurred during the reign of Özbek (712-42/1313-41). Like Rubruck he approached it from the south, through the Crimée; from Saray he proceeded in a westerly direction until he reached Byzantine territory. What little we know about social conditions in the Dağlı-Kipcak is derived almost entirely from Rubruck and Ibn Batúta.


DATES [see TAMR].

DAVID [see DAWUD].

DAWÁT, ink holder, a synonym for mihbara, “inkwell”. The term is also used for mikkama, a place for keeping the kalam or pen, and more generally for kalamân, pen-boxes.

Islamic treatises describe the various ways of preparing ink and give different accounts of inkwells, mihbara or dawât, that were used in their time. The dawât is, according to al-KalKaghânî, “the mother of all writing tools”, and “a scribe without an inkpot resembles a man who enters a fight without a weapon”. Following traditional religious relationships between the art of writing, meaning the transcribing of the “Word of God”, the Kur’ân and the tools used for writing, various Islamic writers prohibit the use of inkwells made of precious metals, and call for the omission of human and animal forms in their decoration. However, the 4th/10th century poet al-KuçagÎan already accused the learned men of his time of being proud of their gold-and-silver-decorated inkpots. The religious prohibition of depicting human and animal forms was also disregarded.

The use of glass pots and the preference for the round shape, as suggested by al-KalKaghânî, are documented by some 3rd/9th to 4th/10th century inkpots that have been preserved (Baer, Inkwell, n. 4; The arts of Islam, Hayward Gallery, 1976,
nos. 117-8, with octagonal outer form). A fragmen-
tary cylindrical cast-bronze vessel found at Nīqāpūr suggests that this type of inkwell was used in Eastern Iran as early as the Ṣāmānīd period.

In the course of the 6th/12th century, particularly during its second half, cylindrical bronze inkwells were produced in different Iranian workshops. They were of comparatively small size, and each was originally covered with a separate lid with a domed cen-
tre. Lid and body were generally provided with small loops or handles for fastening the pot to the hand of the scribe, and they were decorated with traced and inlaid silver and copper ornaments. Several signed inkwells from the mid-6th/12th to the early 7th/13th centuries, including some of Ḵurāšānīan workman-
ship, have been preserved. Two of them the decoration includes a human figure, presumably the owner of the inkwell, proudly presenting a cylin-
drical object of the same type as the vessel itself (Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, ex-Koller collection, and London, Victoria and Albert Museum). The covers of the Iranian inkwells are surmounted by a lobed dome that rests on a flat cylindrical collar. In the Syrian specimen, a hemispherical dome rests directly on the horizontal rim, and is surmounted by a pear-shaped finial terminating in a round knob. Both traditions blend in an early 7th/13th century inkpot in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Baer, Inkwell). Three West-Iranian, early Safavid inkpots signed by Mfrak Husayn Yazdi point to the continuation of this type in the 10th/16th century. Apart from cylindrical cask-
nets with small glass receptacles for ink and other writing implements, penboxes with a separate com-
artment for the kalam were used since early times. The earliest known so far is a bronze kalamān dated 542/1148 in the Heilbronn which has the shape of a parallelepiped. It is closed and has two openings on opposite ends, one for the ink and the other for the kalam. More common is the open, originally East-Iranian, wedge-shaped type made in two parts, in which the inner, compartmented box could be entirely removed. These penboxes were probably placed in a belt, and were commonly used in the Ottoman empire.

Rectangular open boxes with a hinged or separate cover are apparently based on wooden models. The earliest known metal penboxes from the middle of the 6th/12th century are round-ended, and these contin-
ued to be popular after the Mongol conquest; but in Mamlūk and Ottoman times, the rectangular penbox was more common. It was imitated by the Chinese in blue and white porcelain for export to the Near East and by Iznik potters working in the early 16th/16th century. A good example of its kind, decorated with a pseudo-Kūfic inscription and floral scrolls in pale blue on white, is kept in the Godman collection in England.

Daḵwāt and kalamān are depicted in miniatures as early as the late 6th/12th century (K. al-Dūrākī, Biḥr Fārēz, Le livre de la thériaque, Cairo 1953, Pls. VII-
IX). A round-ended penbox is shown in the Dāḵwāt e-taawấtīkh copy in the University Library on Edinburgh (Seyrēn, Pl. 827 A), while a small inkpot attached to a penbox of the easily portable type is painted by Behzād in a mosque scene of the Buštān of Sa’dī in Cairo, dated 939/1438 (Prop. Kunstgeschichte, no. 333).

Bibliography: General information based on literary sources can be found in A. Grohmann, Arabische Paläographie, i, Vienna 1967, 117-27. There is no comprehensive study of the daḵwāt in visual art. For a short survey, see E. Kühnel, Islamische Schriftkunst, Berlin-Leipzig 1942, 80-4. One type of inkwell has been studied by E. Baer, An Islamic inkwell in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in E. Ettinhausen (ed.), Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1972, 199-
211. The writer is preparing a comprehensive study of the daḵwāt in Islamic art and civilisation. Representations of the different types are includ-
64; J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler (eds.), Die Kunst des Islam, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 4, Berlin 1973; The arts of Islam, Hay-
ward Gallery, 8 April - 4 July 1976, The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976; A.S. Melkian-
Chirvanī, Le bronze Iranien, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris 1973. Signed metal inkwells and penboxes are listed in L.A. Mayer, Islamic metal-
workers and their works, Geneva 1959 (incomplete). (E. BAER)
Fig. 1. Inkwell with domed cover. Bronze, engraved and decorated with interlacings, the signs of the zodiac and blessings. East Iran, probably late 6th/12th century. Philadelphia Museum of Art, no. 30.1. 45 A & B. Photograph E. Baer.
Fig. 2 a and b. Cylindrical inkpot with receptacles for ink and writing implements. Bronze, incised and inlaid with silver. Decorated with mounted falconers, and animated scrolls. Probably Iran, 7th/13th century. Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, no. 90.431.
Fig. 3. Rectangular penbox. Brass, incised and inlaid with silver and copper. Decorated with the signs of the zodiac. 7th/13th century. London, British Museum, given by A.W. Franks, 1884. Photograph courtesy L.A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem.
Fig. 4. Wedge-shaped penbox. Brass, incised and inlaid with silver and gold. Perhaps north-west Iran, mid-7th/13th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.509. Photograph courtesy L.A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem.

Fig. 5. Penbox. Brass, engraved. Syria, 13th/19th century. Private Collection. Photograph E. Baer.
as a familiar and distinct element within the Frankish army. Indeed, Usama b. Munkidh, writing some three decades after the event, records a visit to the Aqsã Mosque in Jerusalem in the years 532/8-1138-
Hitti, Princeton 1930, 134-5). At the time of Usama’s visit, the Templars had been formally recognised as an order of the Church for only ten years or so (at the Council of Troyes, 1128), and their origins went back only to 1119. As in the case of the Hospitallers, therefore, the Muslims of Syria were not slow to become aware of this new element in Frankish society.

On the other hand, the use of the word Dâwiyya for the Templars raises real problems. For many reasons, one cannot accept Hitti’s suggestion that dâwiyya is a “corruption of a Syriac word for ‘poor’, the original name of the order in Latin being Pauperes Commilitones Christi” (“History of the Arabs”, 644 n. 3). Rather, it seems best to derive the word from Latin devotus, Old French devo, “one who has vowed himself to God’s service”. Phonetically, this etymology seems to fit both dâwiyya and its variant dâsâwiyya reasonably well. Moreover, though it is true that the Templars did not ordinarily call themselves dâwiyya, this term accurately characterises their status and outlook, and may well have been the way in which they were described to the Muslims by local informants. (Cf. the descriptions of them by William of Tyre, RHC, hist. occ., i, 520; Chronique de Michel le Syrien, ed. and tr. J.B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1914, iii, 201-3, 207-8).

As to the understanding of the orders displayed by the Muslim writers of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, we should not expect any full or accurate descriptions, for this would have required an insight into the corporate nature of Frankish society such as the Muslims did not possess (cf. Crusades and Frangi).

The Franks are often perceived and characterised as individuals in the Arabic texts, but they are very rarely seen as members of a socio-economic class, nationality, or corporate entity; the observations of Usama b. Munkidh, Ibn Ḥusayn, and Ibn Wâsîl (Mufarridj, iv, 248-51) represent the furthest limit of Muslim knowledge and concern in this period. Nevertheless, it remains curious that the Templars and Hospitallers were perceived early on as a group apart from other Frankish warriors and yet their precise nature was never investigated.

Throughout the Sâlûq and Zangid periods notices on the orders are extremely rare in the Arabic texts; it is only in the time of Sâlûq al-Din (especially in the years of the reconquest and the Third Crusade (583-8/1187-92), that they become fairly common. This new prominence is certainly due in part to the orders’ greatly increased military and political importance during and after the 1170s, but it is equally owed to the writings of ‘Imâd al-Din al-Kâtîb al-Fâsihâñ, which were the chief source for Sâlûq al-Din’s reign even for his own contemporaries (c.g. Ibn Abî Ṭâyî, Ibn al-Athir). ‘Imâd al-Din’s al-Fâth al-Kâtîbi shows him to be rather well-informed on the orders and suggests some progress in the Muslims’ understanding of them; he knows which castles belong to which, he can give an accurate description of their buildings in Acre and Jerusalem, he seems to have some sense of their internal organisation (though he never discusses it explicitly). He respects the military qualities of both orders, but reserves his fiercest invective for the Templars. One of the ugliest passages in Arabic literature, unique in its gloating and brutality, is surely that which he devotes to Sâlûq al-Din’s massacre of Templar and Hospitaler prisoners after Ḥittîn. Ibn al-Athîr uses ‘Imâd al-Din’s information to make a point of his own—the orders’ boldness and determination which make them a standing threat to the Muslims, and sound public policy requires their extermination. Indeed, he sharply criticises Sâlûq al-Din on those occasions when he decides to release Templar and Hospitaller prisoners instead of summarily executing them. (Ibn al-Athîr [Beirut reprint, 1960], xi, 331, 538, 558; xii, 22-3).

For the Ayyûbîd period after Sâlûq al-Din (589-658/1193-1260), there are only scattered reports on the orders, but the language used suggests a rising level of knowledge and sophistication. In a long report on al-Mâṣûr Muhammad of Hamit’s campaign against the Hospitallers in 599/1203 (Mufarridj, iii, 141-50), Ibn Wâsîl refers to them for the first time as bayt al-isbitdr (domus hospitalis), an expression which is henceforth common for both orders and which seems to imply some sense of their corporate nature. Likewise, for the first time they are called al-mukaddam (fratres), a term suggesting a similar conclusion. Finally, all officers of the orders had previously been simply named mukaddam, whatever their real rank; now, however, Ibn Wâsîl distinguishes two subordinate officers, mukaddam al-turkabiyâ (Turcopoliier) and kûmis min al-bahriyya (perhaps Commander of the Ship; cf. Riley-Smith, op. cit., 329-30). Though Muslim writers never display a systematic knowledge of the orders’ internal structure, this passage at least signals increased contact and familiarity. On a different level, there is a remarkable passage in Ibn al-Athîr (xii, 465-6, anno 623) which suggests some comprehension of the special tie which bound the Templars and Hospitallers to the Papacy, and which also demonstrates that Muslim authors had access to Christian informants for their information about such things.

The Mamlûk chronicles per se seem to add little that is new to the Ayyûbîd texts, but they do reproduce a number of treaties between the Mamlûk sultan and various European rulers which reveal a sound assessment of the place of the orders in the Mediterranean balance of power, and whose precise terminology suggests a fairly accurate knowledge of their internal organisation. Thus in a treaty of 686/1287 between al-Mâṣûr Kâlûwân and the King of Aragon, the orders are identified as potential enemies of Egypt and Aragon equal to the Papacy, to the Genoese and Venetians, and to the Byzantines (Amari, Bibliotheca arabica-nica, Leipzig 1857, 345). Again, when Kâlûwân dictated the terms of a truce with Acre in 682/1283, he recognised that the royal bâllî could no longer command the obedience of all the Franks there, and so the chiefs of the orders were included among the signatories to the treaty. Especially striking is the precise and accurate titulature assigned to these men (baatrat al-mukaddam al-galîl iṣfâr [Templars]; al-mukaddam iṣfâr [Hospitaliers]; al-marshdn al-adjûl iṣfâr . . . nîb iṣfâr [Teutonic Knights]). It is in this document that the Teutonic Knights appear to be identified for the first time as a separate entity, under the name bayt al-isbitdr al-am (the last word doubtless being an error for al-sâman) (Makrûfî, Sulîk, i, 985-6, 995). Whatever knowledge of the orders may be ascribed to the historians and chancery of the early Mamlûk period, however, it would develop no further. For with the fall of Acre (690/
Henceforth, only the Hospitallers of Rhodes (1306-10), Syro-Egyptian Muslims no longer played any part in Islamic history, sc. that of the Templars (1307-14), the dissolution of the Templars (1307-14), and the transfer of Hospitaller heritage to Rhodes (1306-10).

Bibliography: The literature and published documentation on the orders is of course overwhelming, but the bulk of it refers to their European branches rather than to Syria. (This is especially true of the Templars, whose central archives were destroyed when the order was abolished in the years 1307-14.) The best general history of the orders remains H. Prutz, Der geistliche Ritterorden, Berlin 1996. For the Hospitallers in Syria, we have an excellent recent study by J. Riley-Smith, The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310, London 1967. For the Hospitallers in Rhodes (1306-1523), the most recent overviews are the chapters by A. Luttrel and E. Rossi in K.M. Setton, ed., A History of the Crusades, Madison, Wisc. 1975, iii, 270-339. Due to the lack of archival materials, there is no serious modern work which focuses on the Templars in Syria; however, A.J. Forey, The Templars in Jerusalem, London 1953, is a detailed study of their role in Spain during the reconquista. The political and diplomatic role of the orders in the East is of course presented in the standard works on the Crusades. Archival materials can be approached through two major collections: Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St-Jean de Jerusalem (1100-1310), ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, Paris 1894-1906; and Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple, 1119-1150, ed. Marquis d'Albon, Paris 1913. An extremely rich source for the Hospital's Rhodian period is the Catalogue of the records of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the Royal Malta Library, ed. J. Mizzi, V. Borg, A.Z. Gabarretta, Malta 1964. As suggested in the text, the Arabic sources all but ignore the orders during the Seljuk and Zangid periods. For the Ayyubid period, the most interesting references are in 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātīb al-Iṣfahaṇī, al-Faḥ Fasahat Fasahat al-Kudrī, ed. Landberg, Leiden 1888; tr. H. Massa, Paris 1972; Ibn al-Aṯīr, Kāmil; Ibn Wāṣil, Ṣuyūṭī al-Ṭūrī, ed. al-Shayyār et al., Cairo 1953. In the early Mamluk period, valuable information is yielded by Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, al-Rawād al-zāḥir (on Baybars), ed. A.A. Khwāvīār (SOAS thesis, 1960); idem, Taḡrīf al-ayām (on Kalāwīn), ed. M. Kāmil, Cairo 1961; al-ʿAynī, Ṭabīd al-qimān, fragments publ. in RHC, Hist. or., ii, Baybars al-Maṣṣūrī, Zubāt al-filāha, unpub. (see Brockelmann, II, 44, S II, 43). In general, Ibn al-Furāt, T. al-duwāl wa-l-mulūk, vii-viii, ed. Zārāyfūz ʿIzz al-Dīn, Beirut 1936-8, gives the most reliable extracts of unpublished 7th/13th century materials. Makrīzī, Sulūk, ed. M.M. Ziyādā, Cairo 1934, though late and of little use in itself, is important because of the editor's careful indexes and cross-references. Among Eastern Christian sources, Kīnānāzūs (Greek), Matthew of Edessa (Armenian), Bar Hebraeus and (of highest importance) Michael the Syrian (Syriac) may be mentioned.

DAWLAT KHĀN LODĪ. 27th ruler of the Dihlī sultanate, was the son of Mahmūd Khān Lodī and a cousin of Mallū ʿIḳbāl Khān. Native Persian chroniclers say nothing about the early history of this Afghan nobleman of Dihlī who emerged as a dominant figure during the early years of the 9th/15th century when Tughlūkūd authority was on the verge of dissolution. He served Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmūd II, the last ruler of the dynasty, both as private secretary with the title ʿAẓīz al-Mamlūk ("Great one of the State") and as military governor of the Dō'ab. On the death of the Sulṭān in 815/1412, the amīrs offered the throne of Dihlī to Dawlāt Khān Lodī, who thus assumed power, but without the honours of royalty, as incorrectly mentioned by Fīrūzštānī, i, 292; for the Tughlūkī dynasty after Fīrūz Shāh's death in 790/1388 had become a moribund institution, as evidenced by Bāḏāʿī, in his Manūṣṭūṭah al-tawārīḵī, i, 266, where he speaks of Sulṭān Māḥmūd's writ as extending only from Dihlī to Palam, a suburb of the capital.

The first act of Dawlāt Khān Lodī on becoming ruler was to move out of the capital towards Kāηtār, where he received the allegiance of Narsingh Ray and other Hindu landlords. But he had to retreat from Kālpī in the face of fierce onslaughts by Ḫārawid Shāh, the Ṣirāqī ruler of Ǧawānīpūr (see ṢIRĀQĪ). Dawlāt Khān's downfall came at the hands of his arch-rival Khīdhr Khān of Mūltān, who taking advantage of the prevailing disorder in and around Dihlī, attacked the capital in 816/1414. Dawlāt Khān took refuge in the fortress of Sīrī, which was invested by Khīdhr Khān for four months. At last, he capitulated, and was sent prisoner to Ḥiṣār-Emīrzāgh, where he soon died. The Dihlī Sultanate henceforth enjoyed a fresh lease of life for a little more than a century, with Khīdhr Khān becoming the first ruler of the Sayyid dynasty.


DAWR (A. pl. ʿawwār), "revolution, period"; the periodic movement of the stars, often coupled with kāʿūr (pl. ʿawwār), "great period" (see Rassla no. 35 of the Rassla-i Ḥiṣārīn al-Safā, [q.v.]), Fīl-ʿawwār wa-l-ʿakār, in the doctrines of the extreme Shiʿī sects, the period of manifestation or concealment of God or the secret wisdom in and around Dihlī. The Ismāʾīlī doctrine, history is composed of seven ʿawwār of seven "speaking" (nāṭīk) prophets, each of whom reveals a new religious law (ṣariʿa): Adam Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad and Khīdhr Khān. Each nāṭīk has his trustee (wāṣṣī) who reveals the inner (bāthān) meaning of the respective ṣariʿa. The seventh nāṭīk, the Khīdhr Khān, will abrogate Muhammad's ʿawwār and restore the pure ʿawwār (q.v.) of the times before Adam's fall. The period between each two nāṭīk is called the "little period" (al-ʿawwār al-saghir). The whole cycle from Adam to the Khīdhr Khān (al-ʿawwār al-kabīr) is also called "period of the concealment" (al-ʿawwār al-satīr), because the gnosia (iṭm) is concealed by the outward (ẓāhīr) and is only known by the initiates. During the period of concealment, the seven planets rule the world. Before the ʿawwār al-satīr, there was a period of manifestation or revelation (al-ʿawwār al-kabīr) during which the twelve angels of the Zodiak kept the unadulterated pure tasāḥīd; at the end of time, the Khīdhr Khān will bring forth a new ʿawwār al-kabīr. In the literature of the Tayyi-biya, an eternal alternation of satīr and kashf is supposed.

The Druzes (see DURŪZ): In the Druze canon,
the periods of reincarnation of the Divine Creator are called adwār. The 13th treatise counts 70 adwār, each of $70 \times 70 \times 1000$ years.

The Nuṣayrīs [q.v.]. Like the Ismāʿīlīs, the Nuṣayrīs assume a cycle of seven adwār, in which the Divine “Sense” (muṣala) incarnated himself in Abel, Seth, Joseph, Joshua, Ṣafī (the vizier of Solomon), Simon Peter and Ἄλω, while his “Name” (ism), i.e. his prophet, was incarnated in Adam, Noah, Jacob, Moses, Solomon, Jesus and Muhammad.

The conception of the seven periods of revelation seems to derive from old Jewish-Christian traditions like those preserved in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies; it is a well-known topic in the speculations of certain Gnostics and Manicheans (see T. Andrae, Die Person Maimundos in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde, Stockholm 1918, 322 ff.; H.H. Schaeder, Die islamische Lehre von vollkommenen Menschen, in ZDMG, bxxix (1925), 213 ff.).


DAYN (A.), like obligatio in Latin, means literally “debt”, but also expresses the idea of “claim”. This predominance of the passive aspect makes it necessary to specify the sense of the relationship: hence when one says lahu dayn, this means that an obligation is due to someone, i.e. he is a creditor, whereas with ‘alayhi dayn, this means someone has an obligation to fulfill, i.e. he is a debtor. Claim and indebtedness are thus two aspects of the obligation, according to whether the active or the passive side is in mind, and this is why it seems more exact to speak of “obligation” for dayn.

The obligation (dayn) which is a personal right is opposed to that in an object (hakk fi ‘l-dayn). The idea of dayn rests on that of dhimma, a word which has a very wide sphere of applicability: it is the capacity of being subject to the law, in fact the basis of an obligation. Hence patrimony and dhimma, the expression dayn fi dhimma.

The obligation which has as its object a determinate thing (dayn fi ‘l-dhimma) is divisible from the obligation which has as its object a personal action (dayn fi dhimma). In regard to obligations which have a determinate thing (‘ayn), dayn can arise out of a contract (fān) or personal action (dayn), and in your transaction or marriage), or out of a tort requiring reparation.

The elements of obligation (gharī‘ al-dayn). Obligation necessarily presupposes (a) at least two persons, i.e. a person who is required to perform a certain act, the debtor (muṭālib, muṭālib), and a second person to whom the fulfillment of this performance is due, the claimant (rābib al-dayn, ṭālib). The word gharī‘ indicates the two of them (Latin res). But there can be several principals involved, claimant or debtors, as when there is joint responsibility for the obligation. (b) An object, i.e. the performance which is obligatory and which the other party is legally entitled to exact; a multiplicity of objects is possible (the case of alternative obligations). (c) A cause. Muslim authors often understand by this the origin of the obligation.

The effects of the obligation. This last can be completed or not completed. Where it is completed, see below, there results the extinguishing of the obligation. If it is not completed, the claimant has a right to recover damages because of loss suffered through the non-completion of the obligation. A formal notice is not necessarily: Das interpellat pro homo. From the very fact of non-performance, the debtor is presumed to be at fault, and must prove either force-majeure or act of God (ism al-sulātān, darāra, ṣadūq or ‘ajū samāwyya).

Modalities of the obligation i.e. settlement and stipulations. In principle, only monetary claims can be affected by a settlement. This last is always presumed in the interest of the debtor. The stipulations can be suspenseive or resolutory, but there is a reluctance to validate conditional obligations in which the active and the passive side are not united in practice. It is thus easily understandable why the dayn is classified by Muslim authors among goods or chattels (see al-Mawardī, ‘Adab al-kādī); in effect, it is an incorporeal possession belonging to the creditor and existing in the patrimony of the debtor, as when there is joint responsibility for the obligation. Hence patrimony and dhimma, the expression dayn fi dhimma.

Debt [see DAYN].

DECLARATION [see mu‘ar].

DECLENSION [see tārīq].

DECORATION [see FANN].

DEED [juridical] [see ṿAD].

DEFAULT OF HEIRS [see fārast].

DEHKHUDA, ʿALI ʿABBĀR (1297-1375/1879-1955), poet, satirist and lexicographer of modern Iran. During the constitutional revolution (1905-9), he acquired a reputation as poet and satirist. But later, with the rise of Kīdā Shāh Pahlavi [q.v.], he gave up all political activities, devoting himself to literature and philology. Besides the satirical pieces, the so-called Īrand u parand, in which his very sarcastic humour secured vast popularity for the journal Sāri Ṣaftī, his literary
output includes a Persian translation of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* (unpublished), a review of Naṣr-i Khusraw's *Diwan* (ed. S.N. Ta'kawi and M. Minaw, Tehran 1937/1928), a four-volume collection of Persian proverbs and aphorisms, called Amghül u hikâm (*Madīmat al-amthaž*), as cited in E.E. Bertiels's *Özerki*, which has not been published as a posthumous volume, and the extensive lexicon, *Luğat-nāma*, which has had to be published mainly as a posthumous work and is still in progress. While Dehkhudā is generally considered a pioneer in modern, simple prose-writing, his poetical work—except for a few pieces published in popular periodicals—seems rather of a turgid and pedantic character, for only a few pieces published in popular periodicals—


Demirdāshīya

DEMESNE [see day'a].

DEMIRDĀSHĪYA, a branch of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] Sufi order named after Muhammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī, an Azeri Turk as is suggested by his name. According to 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shārānī, al-Tabākāt al-kubrā, Cairo 1954, ii, 147 ff. (cf. Maḥmūd Rābī) and Ḥasan Kāsim (eds.), Abu al-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn al-Makhlūf, Tuhfat al-aḥlāb wa-buqaytīr al-tūlīb fī l-ḥakīmat wa l-maẓrūk wa l-ṭarāqīm wa l-ḥakīmat al-mubāḥahīt, Cairo 1937, 15), he had belonged to the community of mystics which had been gathered around 'Umar al-Rashīdī (*q.v.*), a protegé of the Āk Kūyūnī (*q.v.*), the ruler 'Uzūn Ḥasan and a kāhlīfa (*q.v.*), or the second *ṣīr* (*q.v.*) of the order Yahyā al-S̱īrīnī (*q.v.*). 

The biographies written in the late 19th and early 20th century by Yūsūf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabāḥānī, *Dāmīt karnāšt-e anvelīb*, Cairo 1929, ii, 9 ff., and Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawdhārī, *Nawrūz al-muḥaddith fi iṣṣalāt amāh̲ālāt bi-Alāmah Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī*, Cairo 1364/1944-5, state that Muhammad Demirdāsh had originally been a *maṇīk* of the Sultan al-Aghṣaf Sayy ibn al-Dīn Kāyīt Bāy (*q.v.*) and the *murtid* (*q.v.*) of Muḥammad b. ʿUkba al-Ḥadramī (*q.v.*). After he had joined the disciples of al-Rashīdī in Tabrīz, from where he is said to have returned to Egypt towards the end of Kāyīt Bāy's reign. This version is in accordance with the contents of the official biographies published on behalf of the *tāṬīka* (*q.v.*) at the beginning of the 20th century (appended to Muhammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī, Risāla fi mawṣūf al-baḥāʾīt wa l-maṭḥūth min ṭarāqīm wa l-ṭarāqīmin min al-ṣūrāh, Cairo n.d., 37-54 and 63-65, which are mainly based upon unpublished sections of 'Abd al-Raʿūf al-Munāwīlī al-Kawdhākī durrīyya fī tanāqīm al-sāla al-ṣūrīyya.

Muhammad Demirdāsh was an adherent of Ibn al-ʿArabī's metaphysics, and he must have been influenced by the teachings of the Shādhīḥīyya order in which he had been initiated by his first spiritual master Abū Ṣaʿīd al-Badāwī, *Risāla fī mawṣūf al-baḥāʾīt*, 32 f., 62, as appears in his treatises al-kawāf al-farārī fī mawṣūf al-taḥṣīl, Cairo n.d., and in Risāla fī mawṣūf al-haḳāʾīk, mentioned earlier in the article. The liturgy of the order refers in no way to any special kind of mystical theology, as was noted by E. Bannerth, in *WZKM*, xxi (1969), 20, who described the *tāṬīka* (*q.v.*)—mānā in the terminology of the order—and the ceremonial surrounding the yearly occasion of retreat (*khalīfah*) for a period of three days at the end of Shābān, as it was practiced in the 1960s (see bibliography). It is not unlikely, however, that the liturgy may have mirrored the influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī's thinking upon Muhammad Demirdāsh at an earlier stage, since we have no evidence of a fixed ritual until about a century after his death in 929/1524, when his great-grandson and khāṭīf Muḥammad al-Ṣaḥṣīrī composed a treatise in raḥīm metre, entitled *Tuhfat al-tūlīb al-nūmin min ḥuṭraḍ al-awshahīt wa l-asul l-ʾalāb* (sing, *al-nābūl*) and some members form a circle turning anti-clockwise (or occasionally two circles, one moving clockwise and the other circle moving anti-clockwise), while calling "ha, ha". This period of Demirdāshī ritual has been subject to outside criticism in the past (cf. 'Abd al-Kādir b. Muḥṣīl al-Dīn al-Aḥrīfī, *Hūṣūṣ al-dāʾirīn wa-radd al-maktūb*, Alexandria 1299/1881-2, 43, ff., and 'Abd al-Ḡānī al-Nābūlī, Kībīb al-Ḥaḳīkā fī ṭriḥāt al-Shām wa maṣūr wa l-Ḥuṣūṣ, ms. Berlin 6146, fol. 242a ff.).

From the days of Muhammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī until the present, ceremonial gatherings have been confined to the only existing *ṣūrā* (*q.v.*) of the order, situated in the present-day *Abdīn* quarter of Cairo. The official establishment and the surrounding land had been donated to Muhammad Demirdāsh by Sultan Kāyīt Bāy (*q.v.*), and continued in Cairo in 1364/1944-5, state that Muhammad Demirdāsh had originally been a *maṇīk* of the Sultan al-Aghṣaf Sayy ibn al-Dīn Kāyīt Bāy (*q.v.*) and the *murtid* (*q.v.*) of Muḥammad b. ʿUkba al-Ḥadramī (*q.v.*). After he had joined the disciples of al-Rashīdī in Tabrīz, from where he is said to have returned to Egypt towards the end of Kāyīt Bāy's reign. This version is in accordance with the contents of the official biographies published on behalf of the *tāṬīka* (*q.v.*) at the beginning of the 20th century (appended to Muhammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī, Risāla fi mawṣūf al-baḥāʾīt wa l-maṭḥūth min ṭarāqīm wa l-ṭarāqīmin min al-ṣūrāh, Cairo n.d., 37-54 and 63-65, which are mainly based upon unpublished sections of 'Abd al-Raʿūf al-Munāwīlī al-Kawdhākī durrīyya fī tanāqīm al-sāla al-ṣūrīyya.

The order experienced a severe setback at the end of the 18th century when it was plundered by French troops (cf. 'Abd al-Rāḥmān al-Dībārī, *Aḍābīb al-ʾaḍāb*, Cairo 1297/1879-80, ii, 95), and continued to rank among the less prominent *tāṬīkas* in Cairo until the 1880s, when it experienced a revival under the leadership of 'Abd al-Rāḥmān Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāshī Bāgā, the founder of the Cairoence hospital named after him. After his death in 1929, a dispute about the succession occurred, in which the then muṭīf of Egypt 'Abd al-Maḏīdī Saḥīf intervened (cf. Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, *al-Sayyid al-Badāwī*, Cairo n.d. 182). This dispute ended in the formal investiture of 'Abd al-Raḥīm's six-year old grandson,
equally named ‘Abd al-Rahîm, and the appointment of the principal nakâbî, Amîn al-Šayyâd, as his wakîd or regent, specifically charged with the task of managing the tarîka’s affairs. The latter’s son Husayn was head of the order in the 1970s. Although membership of the order has never spread outside Cairo, this has been the direct consequence of the requirements set upon the potential murîd. Anyone desiring membership had to attend the weekly haqqas of the order held near the shrine of hadrâs, head of the order in the 1970s. During this period he had to be under the surveillance of one of the order’s nukâb, who were always residents of Cairo. The latter had to judge the personality of the candidate, and could propose him for initiation to the head of the order (cf. Zaki Muhammed Mu$$hîdî, al-’Alâm al-a$$arîkîyya, ii, 110).

Traditionally there were never more than twelve nukâbî at one time. New nukâbî were elected by the head of the order in consultation with the nukâbî already in office (cf. Mu$$hâmad Sulaymân al-Ša$$hârî, Tuhfat al-’aláb wa-hiddîntîn al-tarîkî fi’înî yâhîn ‘alâm min al-’aláb, Cairo 1322/1904-5, 81 f.).

The mosque and shrine of Demirdâsh are the scene of an important weekly Žiyâra-day (cf. F. De Jong, Cairene Žiyâra-days. A contribution to the study of the principal wakîl, Abd al-Rahîm, and the appointment of the order held near the shrine of hadrâs, head of the order in the 1970s.

This collection contains also a section with biographical data, liturgical texts and rules, are al-’Alâm al-a$$arîkîyya fi awkâd al-tarîka al-Demirdâshîyya, Cairo n.d.; Mu$$hâmad Labîb al-’Alâm al-’Alâm is a biographical dictionary, edited by Mu$$hâmad Mu$$hâmad al-’Alâm, Cairo 1348/1929-30; and a biography of Abd al-Rahîm Mustafa al-Demirdâshî, compiled by Mu$$hâmad Adham Bek Mu$$nîr, 52 ff.

For other biographies of ‘Abd al-Rahîm, see Zaki Muhammed Mu$$hîdî, al-’Alâm al-a$$arîkîyya, Cairo 1355, iii, 109 ff. These give also additional information about the order’s religious practice, and Mu$$hâmad Sulaymân Badawi, Nolsâm yasta min hayat u$$âdîha al-fâlîd . . . ‘Abd al-Rahîm Mu$$tâfa al-Demirdâshî Behgîî, Cairo n.d. Other publications of the order, containing historical data, liturgical texts and rules, are al-’Alâm al-a$$arîkîyya fi awkâd al-tarîka al-Demirdâshîyya, Cairo n.d.; Mu$$hâmad Labîb al-’Alâm al-’Alâm is a biographical dictionary, edited by Mu$$hâmad Mu$$hâmad al-’Alâm, Cairo 1348/1929-30; and a biography of Abd al-Rahîm Mustafa al-Demirdâshî, compiled by Mu$$hâmad Adham Bek Mu$$nîr, 52 ff.

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the populations of entire nations to well-reasoned analyses based on incomplete or slightly inaccurate census returns.

**Registration.** In Muslim lands, registration data have always been kept by governments. Ideally, a population register records a person by age and sex and lists his date of birth and death and, perhaps, events such as marriage and conscription. More usually, births, deaths, and other events are registered separately, total numbers of births, deaths, etc. are published, and no attempt is made to keep a record of each individual. The former is usually called a Population Register, the latter a Register of Vital Events.

**Sample surveys.** Surveys ask demographic questions of a scientifically selected sample of the population, often 5% to 10%. The surveys take various forms, but are usually intended to find information on demographic variables, particularly fertility, in a detailed manner not possible in a census. Surveys are normally used to supplement information gained through a census. In countries such as those in the Sahel in Africa, though, in which taking censuses long proved impossible, "sample censuses" were taken instead.

**Censuses.** The census is the basic source of quality demographic data. To be a census, an enumeration must be intended to be an actual count of the members of the population of an area. It must be held in a short period of time. Every census should ask age, sex, and residence of all inhabitants, and questions on marital status, occupation, religion, and others are usually included also. Collections of registration data are not censuses.

Though the census and registration practices of medieval Islam did not differ, some phenomena have been universal. In a Muslim nation's early census or registration records, females are undercounted. Children are also undercounted, and a person seldom knows his exact age, so age-specific data is incorrect. As education, economy, and experience with national statistics grow, these problems lessen.

With few exceptions, completeness and reliability of a nation's population statistics improve as time advances. Few Muslim nations have accurate historical statistics. For this reason, in Muslim nations historical demography depends on modern demography. Only by examining modern and accurate demographic data can an historical demographer gain the basic knowledge of fertility and mortality that he needs to evaluate historical records.

What follows are descriptions of the demography of nations with a Muslim majority or a large Muslim minority. They are arranged by geographic region and nation and two sorts of works are considered—government statistics and analytical/descriptive studies. Censuses are listed by year in which they were taken, not by issuing agency or publication year, for reasons of space. The articles and books cited deal with population and demography as a whole, not with specific subjects such as migration or fertility. Those interested in studies of specific demographic topics will find ample resources in the bibliographies of the works discussed below.

### I. Mediaeval Islam

There is no reliable demography of Medieval Islam. Materials from which demographic calculations could be made, such as tax registers and military payrolls [see DNWA] were kept by mediaeval Islamic governments, but have not survived.

Like the mediaeval Europeans, Muslims were little interested in population numbers for their own sake. Furthermore, the Muslim world felt no need to keep religious statistics, and so it possesses no analogues to the baptismal and marriage records of Western Europe. Though the great geographers and travellers of mediaeval Islam often mentioned the "great size" of cities, the "large number" of people in an area, or gave fanciful estimates of the size of armies, they did not often offer even rough estimates of population numbers. This was reasonable, because there was no way geographers, travellers or others could have known population numbers. No one had counted the population and, as has been proven by the multitudes of erroneous "estimates" of population made in all areas of the world, the only way accurately to know the size of a population is to count it. The enumerations needed for population analysis were not made in the Islamic world, or at least have not been found, prior to the second great period of Islamic expansion, the Turkish empires. In the empires, the keeping of population statistics was the province of the state. Beginning in the late 16th century, the Ottoman governmen began to keep accurate counts of households in the Empire for taxation purposes. Similar counts were taken by the emperor Akbar in Mughal India, and may have been taken in Safavid Iran.

Non-statistical sources. While demography is essentially a statistical study, non-statistical sources can be used to illuminate areas of population history for which statistics are unavailable. The most obvious area in which this is true is migration. Large-scale migration of Arabs, Mongols, and Turks in Islamic times were recorded by geographers and historians. The populations of cities can be at least roughly estimated through archaeological evidence and through measurements of contemporaries such as Ibn Battīţa, who simply measured the size of city walls to gain a picture of the city's size and (by analogy) its comparative population. (Much evidence of this sort is available in Le Strange, *Lands.* There are numerous quasi-statistical sources for specific demographic events. An example of this type of material is al-Makrizi on the plagues and famines of Egypt, whose material is analysed by Michael Dols (The Black Death in the Middle East, Princeton 1977). For a translation of al-Makrizi's work, see G. Wiet, in *JESHO,* v/1 (1962). Such sources give estimates of numbers dying, being born, or leaving a city or an area. It should be stressed that such sources can be used to gain an impression of the scope of demographic events, no more. Their population numbers are usually suspect. Much information may be available from analyses of geographers' accounts of the amenities of towns—baths, mosques, etc.—but this research remains to be done. As to accuracy, the Muslim commentators, who often knew well the areas of which they spoke, are much to be preferred to European sources.

One source of mediaeval Islamic demography is the system of records of Islamic law. The codes of the schools and fragmentary surviving judicial decisions can at least give an impression of what was religiously-accepted in marriage and divorce and in matters that affect fertility, such as lactation, polygamy, and contraceptives. Basim Musallam has made good use of this type of material in his work on contraception (Sex and society in Islam. The sanctions and medical techniques of birth control (dis., Harvard University 1973). Unfortunately, legal codes and court decisions do not necessarily reflect actual practice of the majority of Muslim society, and for
this reason legal matters have limited usefulness as demographic sources.

The fact that demographic evidence on mediaeval Islam is almost non-existent has not meant that estimates have not been made. Josiah Cox Russell has been in the forefront of those using materials such as estimates of city sizes and poll tax revenues to arrive at population totals. (See Late ancient and medieval population, Philadelphia 1958; Late medieval Balkan and Asia Minor population, in JESHO, iii/3 [1960], 265-74; The population of medieval Egypt, in Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, v [1966], 69-82; and others.) Russell's work is often based, however, on unverifiable secondary sources, vague estimates of army sizes and taxation by historians who lived centuries after the fact, the calm acceptance of population figures drawn without examination from sources such as La Grande Encyclopédie and Encyclopædia Britannica, and incredible logical jumps that conveniently provide estimates when not even poor data is available. Russell does show that estimates are possible from fragmentary evidence, but this evidence must be much more carefully analysed than he and those who have followed him have done.

The use of non-demographic evidence to find population totals seems to work better for urban than rural areas. A good example of this type of analysis, though for a later period than mediaeval Islam, is André Raymond's Signes urbains et étude de la population des grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane, in BEO, xxvii (1974), 183-93. Ch. Pellat has made a demographic study out of unusual material in Peut-on connaître le taux de natalité au temps du Prophète, in JESHO, xiv/2 (1971) 107-35, which shows that an exceptional amount of information can be drawn from limited data. Also, his Quelques chiffres sur la vie moyenne d'une catégorie de Musulmans, in Mélanges d'islamologie, Leiden 1974, 233-46, is a pioneering study in the use of biographical references for extracting demographic information.

(Many works on mediaeval Islamic history have uncritically used population estimates as part of their descriptions. For examples of this, see two studies by Eliyahu Ashott, Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'orient médical, Paris 1960, esp. 237, 239, 272, and 273, and A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1976, esp. 290 and 291, see also his Un mouvement migratoire au haut Moyen Age: migrations de l' Перс vers les pays méditerranéens, in Annales E.S.C. (1972/1), 183-214.)

II. OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The 16th and 17th century Ottoman population registers (defters) were among the first European state records that can be used as population sources. Since the records were not kept primarily as data on population, however, they must undergo considerable manipulation before they can yield total population estimates, and they do not provide information on other demographic variables, such as fertility and mortality.

The study of Ottoman defters was effectively begun by Ömer Lutfi Barkan, who analysed the records for the Ottoman Empire once again began to collect population statistics. Unlike the 16th and 17th century defters, the new registration was the base of a system of military conscription. Each male in the empire was to be recorded in population registers (tahnr-i nifus), at first by general age group ("youth" and "adult" or "youth", "adult", and "aged"-categories corresponding to one's availability for military service). By the 1840s, the registers were being kept, at least in some areas, in much greater detail; each male was recorded by age, household, and his relationship to the head of the household. The tahnir were periodically updated through "events" (waq'ah) registers in which were recorded births, deaths, conscriptions, and migration. During the reign of Abd al-Hamîd II,
registrations of females were kept, as well as those of males, but female registration was only successful in northern and western Anatolia and in the European sections of the empire (see Ender Ziya Kurral, Osmanlı imperatorlukta ilk nüfus sayımı, Ankara 1940; Fazlalı Rıdâ, 1831 tarihinde Osmanlı anadolu idarât taki- mat ve nüfus, in Belleten, xv, no. 60, 617-28; and J. McCarthy, Age, family and migration in nineteenth-century Black sea provinces of the Ottoman Empire, in IJMES, x [1979], 309-23).

The totals collected from the Ottoman registration system in provinces were published at intervals in the provincial yearbooks (sâl-nâmes), listing population by province, sub-province, and district, and often by religious group and sex. At various times the central government updated the data across the empire and published the data in what have been erroneously been called “censuses”. Three of the “censuses” have been translated and reproduced (Kural; Kemal Karpat, Ottoman population records and the census of 1881/82-1893, in IJMES, ix [1978], 237-74; McCarthy, International historical statistics: the late Ottoman empire, Boston 1981). It should be noted that the Ottoman population totals by province uniformly underestimate the number of women and children in the province, and thus totals must be adjusted by from 10% to 30%, depend- ing on the province.

The uses of Ottoman figures for the study of the historical population of the Middle East are obvious. Simply stated, no one but the Ottoman government counted the population and no one but the Ottoman government even remotely knew what the population was. Data on total population from sâl-nâmes and “censuses” is increasingly being used in population studies. It is, however, the archival records of popu- lation that hold the greatest promise. When these records are available and utilised, accurate studies on fertility, mortality, and population change in the Ottoman Empire will be possible.

The 19th century Ottoman registration system has been described by Karpal (Ottoman population) and S. J. Shaw (The Ottoman census system and population, 1831-1914, in IJMES, ix/3 [1978], 325-57). For examples of the uses of sâl-nâmes and “censuses” population records, see Vedat Eldem, Osmanlı imperatorluktan Mısır- daki sâl-nâmeler, hâkikât-ı nûfuslar (Ankara 1970); Leila Erder, From trade to manufacture in Bursa, diss., Princeton University 1976; and McCarthy, The Muslim population of Anatolia, 1878-1927, diss., UCLA, 1978.

Contemporary European sources on Middle Eastern population in Ottoman times will only be mentioned briefly here. Those that were accurate were drawn from Ottoman data, and thus are only valuable if they provide population statistics of areas for which the original Ottoman data is unavailable. The most valuable of the European sources are the books of Cuiinet (La Turquie d’Asie, 4 vols., Paris 1890-1; Syrie, Liban, et Palestine, Paris 1896). Cuiinet collected life and Ottoman popu- lation statistics, as well as data on the social and economic life of Ottoman Asia. No other European source can in any way compare with Cuiinet. (Those interested in European sources should consult N. Michoff, La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie au XVIII et XIX siècles, recherches bibliographico-sta- tistiques, 4 vols., Sofia 1919-35, and the various vol- umes of Die Besökerung der Erde, a supplement of Petermanns Mitteilungen, Gotha, especially vol. xi, 1901, 3-23.)

Nineteenth and early 20th century Ottoman geo-
the statistical histories of the three new nations diverged.

In Syria, the French mandatory powers made a population count in 1922, which they updated and published in 1926. This count cannot be called a census, since much of it was based not on actual enumeration, but on population totals given by village leaders. Its totals are too low, as were those of the first census of independent Syria in 1947, which did not count nomads. Modern censuses were taken in 1960 and 1970. (The Syrian government printed, in addition to the results of the census of 1970 itself, volumes of analysis of the census results by K.E. Vaidyanathan.) For an analysis of modern Syrian population and demographic variables, see Moussa Lâiliane Samman, *La population de la Syrie*, étude gio-demographique, Paris 1978; Samman makes extensive use of Izzat Nouss, *La population de la Syrie*, étude demographique, Paris 1951.

The population of Lebanon in the 19th century has been analysed by Youssif Courbage and Ph. Fargues, *La situation démographique au Liban*, Beirut 1974, ii, ch. I. European estimates are detailed in D. Chevallier, *La société du Mont-Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe*, Paris 1971. Both studies are marred by their lack of consideration of Ottoman statistics, except insofar as those statistics appeared in French works such as Guinet's *Syrie*, *Liban, et Palestine*. The bulk of the Courbage and Fargues' work is, however, a good study of modern Lebanese population. The French mandatory administration attempted to enumerate the population of Lebanon in 1921, 1932 and 1941. Even the best of these counts, that of 1932, was deficient and underestimated the Muslim population. For political reasons, no modern census has been taken, and only limited evidence exists on demographic variables such as fertility and mortality (see D. Yaukey, *Fertility differences in a modernizing country*, Princeton 1961). What data exist come from demographic surveys, which are described in *Available demographic data in the Lebanese Republic*, in *Population Bulletin* of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia, nos. 10-11 (Jan.-July 1976), 240-3. J. Chamie, *Religion and population dynamics in Lebanon*, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1977, has described the unusual religious-demographic situation in Lebanon.

In Palestine, the British took an incomplete census in 1922 and a more complete count in 1931. They also recorded migration, an important phenomenon in Palestine, but probably missed much Muslim population movement, especially that of Bedouin. Since the 1948 War and the division of Palestine, Israel has taken censuses in 1961 and 1972, begun a registration system in 1948 (often listed as "the Census of 1948"), and held numerous sample surveys of the population. Jordan has taken censuses in 1952, 1961, 1971, and 1979 and a fertility survey in 1976. The results of the 1952 Jordanian census are very deficient, and those that came from the 1948 Israeli registration count somewhat deficient.

Estimates and census data for Palestine have been presented in great detail by R. Bach, *The population of Israel*, Jerusalem 1976. Bach's volume, which is an extremely valuable source, must be used with care for the period 1880-1922. For that period, he avoids using actual Ottoman population statistics and substitutes British and other estimates without justification. Certain other events with large demographic implications, such as the 1948 and 1967 Wars, are also incompletely and, as regards demography, inaccurately covered. The book is very good, however, on the analysis of Israeli statistics. See also, D. Friedlander and C. Goldscheider, *The population of Israel*, New York 1979, and various analytical volumes published by the Israeli government as part of its census publications.

A. Thavarajah, *Mid-decade demographic parameters of Jordan and population growth*, in *Demographic measures*, 55-75, has adjusted results on population found in Jordanian censuses and registration records. He provides a good brief introduction to the problems of Jordanian data collection from 1952 to 1965. A much more detailed analysis comes in the Jordanian government's *Analysis of the population statistics of Jordan*, Amman 1966, which describes in detail the country's vital registration system, as well as its censuses, and the accuracy of both. "Irāk. M.S. Hasan wrote the first study of the population of *Irāk* in the 19th century, *Growth and structure of Iraq's population*, 1867-1947, in *Bulletin of the Oxford University Institute of Statistics*, xx (1958), 339-52. Hasan, however, accepted as accurate and reliable three types of data—Ottoman statistics as presented by Guinet, European estimates, and the *Irākī* census of 1947—and none of these can be considered accurate without extensive revision. Three Ottoman provinces made up the area of present-day *Irāk*—Mawṣil, Bagdād, and Baṣra. Only in Bagdād were Ottoman population statistics fairly accurate, and even in Bagdād there was a significant undercount of women and children, an undercount reflected in Guinet. European sources had no idea what the population was. Even the 1947 *Irākī* census was an undercount. As a result, Hasan's figures must be rejected. The best source of total population numbers for Ottoman *Irāk* is the series of estimates published by the Ottoman government in the sīl-mīmes of the *Irākī* provinces (McCarthy, *Population of the Ottoman Fertile Crescent*).

The *Irākī* government took censuses in 1927, 1934 and 1947. While the completeness of the censuses improved over time, each one produced an undercount. This was in part due to the use of census records as conscription records. K.C. Zachariah has found numerous errors in the early censuses, and a use of census data for estimating demographic measures of *Iraq*, in *Demographic measures*, 27-54. The censuses taken in 1957, 1975, and 1977 are more reliable. See also Fādīl al-Ansārī, *Sukkān al-*Irāk, Damascus 1970.

*Arabian Peninsula*. The best sources on the population of early 20th century Arabia are three geographic works: Shams al-Dīn Sāmīf Fraghī, op. cit.; *Al Jīdāwīd, Mawādīh-i ūzmāngīyin idnugrajfā bāghštī*, Istanbul 1895; and J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, Calcutta 1908-1915. The first two offer estimates based on the reports of Ottoman government officials, the third offers the estimates of British consular and intelligence officers, travellers, and merchants. None of the three is useful for anything but rough approximations of population numbers.

In 1947, Nello Lambardi published what he stated were population figures taken from Yemeni government records, *Divisioni amministrative del Yemen con note economiche e demografiche*, in *OM*, xxvii/7-9 (July-Sept. 1947), 143-62. The statistics appear to have been part of a tax register of men and animals. Women and children were surely undercounted, but no figures by age and sex were kept, so the extent of the undercount cannot be determined. The Yemeni data are the only data for South Arabia before the
1970s. The British did keep a register of births and deaths in Aden, but the undercount, especially of mortality, was great.


Turkey. Rather than continue the Ottoman registration system, the Turkish Republic decided to draw its population enumerations from a system of censuses which followed the Western model. In this it emulated the Balkan countries, each of which had taken a census when it became independent from the Ottoman Empire.

Turkey held its first complete census in 1927 and has held quinquennial censuses since 1935. (For a description of the Turkish censuses, see A critical review of demographic data obtained by Turkish population censuses, in Turkish demography: Proceedings of a Conference, ed. C. Shorter and Bozkurt Güvenc, Ankara 1969.) The 1927 census is deficient, especially for the eastern provinces of Turkey, but provides useful information and can be adjusted (McCarthy, Muzlim population, 185-223). From 1935 the Turkish censuses are, along with the Egyptian censuses, the best source of demographic information in the Middle East. Turkey has also held a series of sample demographic surveys, of which the most valuable is the Turkish Demographic Survey. See Nusret Fişek, Demographic surveys in Turkey, in Turkish demography, l-18, and the volumes of the Turkish Demographic Survey, Ankara 1963-5. The modern Turkish registration system has only produced published statistics for births, deaths, and marriages in the central cities of provinces and these are incomplete due to under-registration and migration.

The best short introduction to Turkish demography is an article by Shorter, Information on fertility, mortality, and population growth in Turkey, in Turkish demography, 19-42, and in Population index, xxxiv/1. More detailed coverage is in Figen Karadayi et alii, The population of Turkey, Ankara 1974. Turkey's demographers have produced a large and detailed literature in Turkish, French, German and English on Turkish demography. This work is listed and sometimes annotated in the fine bibliographies edited by Behire Bulutoglu, Türkçe nüfus bilbiyografları, Ankara 1967, continuing. See also Necdet Tunçdilek and Erol Tümererkin, Türkiye nüfus, Istanbul 1959; Yakut Bulutoglu, La structure par âge et la mortalité de la population de la Turquie, Paris 1970; and İh不同 Tekeli, Evolution of spatial organization in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic, in From Malta to Metropolis, ed. L. Carl Brown, New York 1975.)

Iran and Afghanistan. There are no reliable demographic statistics extant for Iran until well into the 20th century. In fact, the only contemporary statements on Persian population before World War I that have been published are European estimates, mainly dating from ca. 1900. The Şafawī and Kādjar registers have not been found, or at least not analysed and published. However, G.G. Gilbar has studied critically European estimates of the population of Kādjar Iran and the effects of epidemics and wars on the population and has made projections of population size, in his Demographic developments in late Qajar Persia, 1870-1906, in Asian and African Studies, xi (Haifa 1976), 125-56. See the comments and reports on Iranian population by Issawi in his Economic history of Iran, 1800-1914, 26-53, and in his Population and resources in the Ottoman Empire and Iran, in Studies in eighteenth-century Islamic history, ed. T. Naff and R. Owen, London 1977, and J. Bharier, A note on the population of Iran, in Population Studies, xxii, 274-5.

The Iranian government made unsuccessful attempts at population registration from 1928 onwards, and carried out an urban "head count" between 1939 and 1941 in 25 cities (B.D. Clark, Iran: changing population patterns, in Clarke and Fisher, 68-96). Censuses were held in 1956 and 1966, but the censuses, while providing the first fairly reasonable population data on many parts of Iran, included significant undercounting of women and of certain geographic areas and minority groups, especially nomadic Kurds and Turks.

Bharier has projected the population of Iran from 1900 to 1970 in his Economic development of Iran, 1900-1970, Oxford 1971, 24-8, which incorporates material from his A note and other articles by Bharier. Djamchid Momeni, The population of Iran, a dynamic analysis, Tehran 1975, 25-30, gives a slightly different set of estimates for the same period. Of the two, Bharier’s analysis and estimates are superior. His estimates of total population size, rural and urban populations, and migration give a broad idea of population change in Iran from 1900. Given the paucity of the data, no more can be expected.

The following can serve as an introduction to the modern population and demography of Iran: The population of Iran, a selection of readings, ed. Djamshid A. Momeni, Honolulu 1977; Djamchid Behnam and Mehdi Amani, La population de l'Iran, Paris 1974; and various publications of the Institute for Social Studies and Research in Tehran.

Afghanistan’s geographical features and the nomadic nature of many of its people have made even the rough estimation of population in Afghanistan a great task. Population sample surveys of Afghanistan were taken in Afghanistan in 1960 and 1968-9, the latter providing detailed information on demographic variables.

These surveys have been described by L. Dupree, Population review 1970: Afghanistan, in American Universities Field Staff Reports, South Asia Series, xv/1 (Dec. 1970), and Hamidullah Amin and Gordon B. Schilz, A geography of Afghanistan, Omaha,
Nebraska 1976, 153-64. Amin and Schilz print useful results of the surveys, but they too readily accept survey and registration data in questionable areas, such as records of female population and completeness of registration, and thus their work must be used with care.

Afghanistán conducted a more complete sample survey of sedentary population in 1971-3 (National Demographic and family guidance survey of the settled population of Afghanistan, 4 vols. 1975). The survey provided the first accurate data on the majority of the population. It was followed by a census in 1979, the results of which are not available. Government registration of males was begun in Afghanistan in 1932, but has produced no useful statistics and is surely incomplete. The best analysis of the Afghan population appears in the analytical volumes (1, 2, and 4) of the 1971-3 National Demographic and Family Guidance Survey. See also two articles by Dupree, Population dynamics in Afghanistan, in Field Staff Reports, South Asia Series, xiv/7 (April 1970), and Settlement and migration patterns in Afghanistan: a tentative statement, in Modern Asian Studies, ix/3 (July 1975), 397-413. J.-Ch. Blanc, L'Afghanistan et ses populations, Brussels 1977; J. Trussel and Eleanor Brown, A close look at the demography of Afghanistan, in Demography, xi/1 (Feb. 1979), 127-51. For Russian articles on Afghanistan, see T. I. Kukhina, Bibliografía Afganista, Moscow 1965.

IV. NORTH AFRICA


Unlike the Middle East, there are few good sources of historical population statistics for the Maghrib. Those that do exist do not go farther back than the 19th century, though one can hope for the future discovery and use of Ottoman registers for earlier periods.

Morocco. The political and statistical situation of colonial Morocco was so fragmented that no reasonably accurate statistics for the entire country exist before 1960. Prior to Morocco’s independence and unification in 1956, the Spanish colonial power only attempted one census, in 1950, while the French in their zone took counts in 1921, 1926, 1936, 1947, and 1951-2. All except the French 1947 “census” were undercounts. In 1947 the government counted ration cards to establish population numbers, and war-time illegibilities seem to have caused an actual overcount, see G.H. Blake, Morocco: urbanization and concentration of population, in Clarke and Fisher, 404-5. The Moroccan censuses of 1966 and 1971 gave more reasonable totals, and the undercount of women and children seen in other censuses of Muslim countries was slight in Morocco in 1971. Two sample surveys of Moroccan population have been held, in 1961-3 and 1971-3.

La population rurale du Maroc by D. Noir (2 vols., Paris 1970) gives full analyses of all demographic phenomena, including historical estimates of the population and an excellent bibliography. The work is essential to an understanding of Moroccan demographic and demographical history. K. Kerkti and R. Beausjou have assessed the accuracy of Moroccan population statistics and arrived at revised figures in La population marocaine: reconstitution de l'évolution de 1950 à 1971, in Population, xxx/2 (March-April 1975), 335-67. La population du Maroc (by the Institut National du Statistique et d'Économie Appliquée of Morocco, Rabat n.d.) is a reasonable summary of basic demographic measures on Morocco, but is disappointing in its lack of detailed analysis or bibliography.

Algeria. Algeria has one of the longest series of censuses of any developing country. The French began enumerating settled Algerian population and nomads (by “tent”, not by person) in the entire country in 1856. Before 1886, a certain amount of estimation was used for remote areas, and it was only in 1886 that the French attempted actually to count the entire population. Even then, however, distrust of the colonial government and the difficulties of counting nomads and certain other parts of the population produced a serious under-enumeration; see G. Negadi, Les sources de la démographie en Algérie, in La population de l’Algérie, Algiers 1974 (?), 1-3. From 1886 to 1911 and from 1921 to 1936 the French held quinquennial censuses of Algeria. After the Second World War, censuses were taken by the French, then by the Algerian government in 1948, 1954, 1960, 1966, and 1977.

Despite their long series, the Algerian censuses only gradually improved in completeness and produced significant undercounts in all censuses prior to 1966. Added to the ubiquitous problems of under-enumeration of women and children, censuses-takers in Algeria experienced special problems with nomads and with migration to Europe. (For a detailed description of the first reasonably-accurate Algerian census and the problems mentioned above, see Abdelaziz Bouisri, Technique, méthode, et résultats du recensement de la population Algérienne, in Revue Tunisienne, vi/17-18 (June 1969), 95-125.)

Algeria’s vital registration system was begun by the French, but under-registration was extremely high, perhaps 30 %. Since independence this figure has improved to 10-15 % of vital events unregistered; see M.L. Fares, Population growth and socio-economic development in Algeria, in Demographic aspects, 396-9). The country took a major National Demographic Survey in 1969-71 which has provided the best estimates of fertility and trends available.

In addition to the articles mentioned above, the following can be consulted as basic descriptions of Algerian population and demography: A.M. Bahri Population et politique en Algérie, in Revue Tunisienne, vi/17-18, 65-88; Zachariah, Basic demographic measures of Algeria, in Demographic measures, 1-25; A. Bousri and F. de Lamaze, La population d’Algérie d’après le recensement de 1966, in Population, xxvi, numéro spécial (March 1974), 25-46; G. Negadi et alii, Situation démographique de l’Algérie, and the other articles and the bibliography in La population de l’Algérie, in Population, xxvii/6 (Nov.-Dec. 1973), 1070-1107.

Tunisia. Both the Ottoman government and the Tunisian Bevlik kept registers of population, mainly as taxation records. J. Ganiage has examined these registers and deduced from them the population of Tunisia ca. 1860; see La population de la Tunisie.
vers 1860. Essai d'évaluation d'après les registres fiscaux, in Etudes Maghrébines, Paris 1964, 165-98, and in Population, xxxi/3 (Sept.-Oct. 1966), 857-62. As is usually the case, the local records are far superior as sources of demographic information than any estimates by travellers or consuls. (For a brief summary of early estimates, see Mahmoud Sekiani, La population de la Tunisie, Tunis 1974, 13-22.)

The French government of Tunisia and later the Republic held censuses in 1921, 1926, 1931, every ten years from 1936 to 1966, and in 1975. (Censuses of the European population of Tunisia were held earlier than 1921.) The first census seems to have under-counted the population due to the enumerators' dependence on tax registers (Clarke, Tunisia: population patterns, pressures, and policies, in Clarke and Fisher, 350; Sekiani, op. cit., 18-19), so it is perhaps not proper to call it an actual census. The latter censuses have shown the usual undercount of women and younger children. Various surveys have provided a more detailed demographic picture than seen in the censuses, especially the Tunisian Demographic Survey of 1968 (J. Vallin and G. Paulet, Quelques aspects de l'enquête nationale démographique tunisienne, in Revue Tunisienne, vii/17-18, 225-37).

Though death registration in Tunisia is very incomplete, since 1958 births seem to have been better recorded; see S. Zaghloul, Demographic parameters of Tunisia, in Demographic measures, 231, 233.

Tunisia has a well-developed statistical system. M. Picouet describes the system and gives an overview of available data in Les sources de la démographie tunisienne à l'époque contemporaine, Tunis 1972. The population itself is described, from the 19th century to 1990, in Sekiani, La population de la Tunisie. See also: Hachemi Chtioui, La croissance de la population et des ressources en Tunisie pendant la période coloniale, in Reue Tunisienne, vii/17-18, 53-64; A. Marcoux, La croissance de la population de la Tunisie, in Population, xxvi, numéro spécial (March 1971), 105-24; and the various publication of the Centre d'Études et de Recherches Économiques et Sociales of the University of Tunis and of the Tunisian Institut National de la Statistique.

Libya. The first population statistics for Libya were the Ottoman registration (males only) records for the Provinces of Benghazi and Tripoli. The Italians took censuses in 1931 and 1935 which under-enumerated the nomadic population, but counted the city regions with greater accuracy, see Pan Chia-Lin. The population of Libya, in Population Studies, iii/1, 100-25. Independent Libya has held three censuses: 1954, 1964, and 1973. Statistics have improved with time, and an undercount in 1954 had greatly improved by 1973, though the 1973 census was still probably incomplete in coverage of nomads.

Compared to the other North African countries, very little has been written on the demography of Libya. R.G. Hartley, Libya: economic developments and demographic responses, in Clarke and Fisher, 315-47, describes population and economy, but provides very little analysis of Libyan demographic data. The best descriptions of the Libyan demography are the short Demographic parameters of Libya, by S. Zaghloul, in Demographic measures, 115-36, and a monograph by the Libyan census department, Population growth, fertility, and mortality based on the 1972 Populations Census, Addis Ababa (UNECA) 1979.

Egypt. Egyptian population before 1800 has been estimated on the basis of taxes paid, land cultivation, and contemporary statements on city sizes, none of which have resulted in anything but very rough approximations. On these estimates, see W. Cleland, The population problem in Egypt, Lancaster, Penn. 1936, 3-6. The first attempt at scientifically counting the Egyptian population was made by members of the French Expedition in 1800. It was followed by an enumeration, based on tax registers, made by Muhammad 'Ali in 1846, this time drawn from household registers similar to those mentioned above for the Ottoman Empire in the same period. A census along modern lines was taken in 1882, but its figures were once again too low. See J. McCarthy, Nineteenth century Egyptian population, in Middle Eastern Studies, xii/3 (Oct. 1976), 1-40, which includes correction factors for the 1882 figures.

The British took decennial censuses from 1897 to 1947. Except for a large undercount in the 1917 wartime census, the British censuses are good population records. The amount of undercounting diminished as the census series went on. Attempts to take a census of the new Egyptian Republic were frustrated in 1957 by war conditions, though preliminary results were reported. The Egyptian government carried out successful censuses in 1960 and 1976, and a sample census in 1966. Registration of births and deaths has been done since the middle of the 19th century and, though it has never been complete, the registration of vital events in the 20th century has been accurate enough to provide a general picture of fertility and mortality patterns. By the standards of the developing world, Egypt has an excellent series of demographic statistics.


The general works on Middle Eastern population cited above usually include the demography of Egypt among their studies. Many monographs on the populations of the Middle East and Egypt are published by the Cairo Demographic Centre.

V. SUB-SAHARIAN AFRICA

Islam is dominant across North-Central Africa from Mauritania to Somalia, and there are significant Muslim minorities in both East and West Africa. Demographic knowledge of this area only begins with the period of colonial domination. Though a few traveller's accounts of the populations of small areas exist for an earlier period, there are no accurate
figures for the total populations of large areas until well into the 20th century.

The type of demographic statistics available for sub-Saharan African countries depends on whether the colonial ruler of a nation was England or France. England was generally able to take more reliable censuses than was France. Only at the very end of colonial rule, though, were the English censuses remotely successful counts of population. Before that time, numerous censuses were taken of the non-native populations, or of the populations of cities, or of selected areas, but the first actual censuses of entire countries were only taken after World War II.

Before the War the British did produce a wealth of estimates of African population. These range from simple estimates based on observation to complex approximations made by comparing the characteristics of areas that had been enumerated with those that had not and estimating that similar areas had similar population numbers. Both estimates and censuses made in British Africa are considered in detail and thoroughly analysed by R.R. Kuczynski, Demographic survey of the British Colonial Empire, 2 vols., Oxford 1948. Kuczynski collected censuses, estimates, and other data and drew from them accurate estimates of total population, fertility, mortality, and migration. While more recent studies have questioned certain sections of his analyses, Kuczynski’s work still stands as a monument to careful scholarship.

The first reliable population data from East African censuses come from the British East African censuses of 1948. These were followed by censuses taken in Kenya in 1962, 1969, and 1979, in Tanzania in 1957-8, 1967, and 1978, and in Uganda in 1959 and 1969. Sample surveys have not been as important in East Africa as in West Africa and the Sahel and population registration has not proved effective.


In West Africa, no complete census was ever taken in Nigeria, Ghana, or Sierra Leone while they were under British colonial rule, though in-exact censuses were taken in Ghana in 1948. Ghana has held decennial censuses since 1960 and Sierra Leone censuses in 1963 and 1974. In Nigeria, following upon a series of population estimates and partial censuses beginning in 1866, the British took a census in 1952-3 that was relatively reliable. Since then, each Nigerian census has proved to be more unreliable than the last. See R.K. Udo, Population and politics in Nigeria, in Caldwell and Okonjo, 97-105. Nigeria has held censuses in 1952-3, 1962, 1963, and 1973.

Unlike Nigeria, the censuses of Ghana and Sierra Leone have proved to be reliable. Sierra Leone censuses have exhibited only a slight, ca. 5%, undercount and the Ghana censuses are of a similar level of reliability. See T.E. Dow Jr. and E. Benjamin, Demographic trends and implications, and S.K. Gaisie, Population growth and its components, in Population growth and socioeconomic change in West Africa, ed. Caldwell, New York 1975, 427-54, and 346-46.


P.O. Olumuyiwa has briefly summarised historical and modern data on Nigeria in his Population growth and its components: the nature and direction of the population, in Population change, 254-74. It is symptomatic of the deficiencies of the Nigerian census system that the only general book on Nigerian population is mainly a study of sample surveys (F.L. Mott and Olumuyiwa, The demography of the Sudan, Uppsala 1978, 169-93. The most complete picture of what is known of Sudan’s population comes from demographic analyses of defective data. For such analyses, see especially P. Demeny, The demography of the Sudan, in W. Brass, et alii, The demography of Tropical Africa, Princeton 1968, 466-514, and Zacharias, Use of population and housing survey data of the Sudan for estimating its current demographic measures, in Demographic measures, 169-93. The most complete picture of the Sudanese population is given in The population of Sudan, Khartoum 1958, but the book too often relies on defective data from the 1955-6 survey and even this data is out-of-date. The articles listed above and K.S. Seetharam and A. Farah, Population trends
and economic development in Sudan, in Demographic aspects, 149-69, give a more accurate picture of the population. That the French in Africa were not as active as the British in taking censuses was largely a function of the French colonial census. The countries of the Sahel—Chad, Niger, Mali, and Mauritania—are ones in which holding an accurate census historically proved to be near impossible. Complete counts of population were hindered by the problems of counting nomads, lack of trained census takers, and the prohibitively high costs of censuses in what were extremely poor nations. Chad has never had a census, and the other three countries only held their first censuses in 1976-7, with uncertain results. Instead of censuses, demographers of the Sahel have relied on “sample censuses” of 5 to 10 % of the population. These have yielded the only fairly reliable data on fertility and mortality of the area. See S.P. Reyna, Chad, and Issaka Pankoussa, et ali, Niger, in Population growth. A similar, though more statistically reliable, set of sample surveys and post-1975 censuses has been held in other areas of formerly French Africa. Pre-independence “censuses” of French Equatorial Africa were actually either estimates or what were called “administrative censuses.” The latter are counts drawn from tax registers, administrative records, or attempts to assemble the population at market towns to be counted and have proved to be uniformly incorrect.

L. Verrière has described Senegal in 1965 (La population du Sénégal, Dakar 1965), basing his work on the 1960-1 sample survey, which was highly deficient. See also P. Meige, Le peuplement du Sénégal, Dakar 1966. The work of B. Lacombe, B. Lawry, and J. Vaugelade, Sénégal, in Population growth, 701-19, is a better description of the population. A. Podlewski has described the population of Cameroon in Population growth, 543-64, but little else has been written on the country’s population. See also J.-M. Cohen et ali, Afrique Noire, Madagascar, Cameroun—Demographie comparée, Paris 1967; Demographic transition and cultural continuity in the Sahel, ed. D.I. Pool and S.P. Coulthard, Ithaca, N.Y. 1977.

Historical demography of Africa is necessarily hindered by the lack of sources. Unfortunately, the Muslim areas of Africa are often those with the most potential for historical population statistics, since no “parish registers” or missionary records of conversions exist for African Muslims. Nevertheless, the application of sophisticated techniques of demographic and historical analysis is producing data on African Muslim populations of the past, particularly in the 19th century. An example of scholarly effort on African population, African historical population, Proceedings of a Seminar at the University of Edinburgh 1977, includes studies on the Sudan, the Ivory Coast, and French Equatorial Africa, all areas of significant Muslim population, and analyses of population statistics of East and West Africa. G. Ayoub Balamoan, Migration policies in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1884-1956, Cambridge, Mass. 1977, has demonstrated that limited African data can be used to establish sound historical knowledge on migration, demographic change, Muslim topics such as the Pilgrimage, and even political events. Many of the works mentioned above on modern demographic studies have sections on historical demography as well. The volumes by Kuczynski are particularly important for identifying historical statistics and their sources.

Most of the new nations of Africa have taken censuses since independence. F. Gendreau has published a list of censuses, and sample surveys, taken in all the countries of Africa between 1946 and 1973, see La démographie des pays d d’Afrique, revue et synthèse, in Population, xxxii (4-5) July-Oct. 1977. (Some of the censuses listed by Gendreau were not complete or accurate enough to be listed as censuses by the United Nations.) More recent censuses are listed in the United Nations Demographic yearbook (described below).

There are not many general works on the demography of sub-Saharan Africa. The demography of Tropical Africa, ed. Brass et ali, Princeton 1968, is a pioneer work, not only in African demography, but in the study of the populations of developing nations. E. van de Walle’s Characteristics of African demographic data in the volume (12-87) is an excellent summary of the types of errors found in African censuses and surveys. Gendreau lists the populations of cities and countries in his article La démographie, and considers the accuracy of various types of data-gathering techniques—censuses, administrative censuses, and surveys. For a geographic approach to African population, see W.A. Hance, Population, migration, and urbanization in West Africa, New York 1970. The best source on West Africa is Population growth and socioeconomic change in West Africa, the articles of which consider first the demographic variables for the region as a whole, then for specific nations. Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Ghana are particularly well represented.


VI. CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL ASIA

There are no accurate statistics of the number of Central Asian Muslims in what is today the U.S.S.R. until the 19th century. Barthold, Turkestan, ch. 1, mentions a few Chinese and Arab statements on the populations of cities and numbers in armies, but these are no more than improbable guesses, e.g. the city of Samarkand having 500,000 citizens. In the late 19th century, travellers such as Curzon (Russia in Central Asia, London 1889) and Schuyler (Turkestan, New York 1877) occasionally reported city sizes, taken from Russian records, fairly accu-
The first complete census of Russian (Soviet) Central Asia was conducted in 1926, followed by censuses in 1939, 1959, 1970, and 1979. Official estimates of the Central Asian population were also made by the imperial government in 1911 and the Soviet government in 1956. Since the Soviet state is atheistic, it does not recognize religious distinctions and the category "Muslim" does not appear on the Soviet censuses. A student of Muslim population in the Soviet Union must consider instead the population of multitudinous "ethnic groups" whose ancestors were Muslims. Comparison of Imperial statistics on Muslims with Soviet statistics on "ethnic groups" is very difficult, as is analysis of Soviet Muslim population. Most demographic analyses of Central Asia or the Caucasus are done by region or republic, i.e., multi-ethnic or multi-religious subdivisions, or by ethnic or linguistic groups, not religion.

I.M. Matley's *The population and the land, in Central Asia: a century of Russian rule*, ed. Allworth, New York and London 1967, is a good general article on Imperial and Soviet Central Asian population, as is *Demography*, of Krader's *Peoples of Central Asia*. General volumes such as *The nationality question in Soviet Central Asia*, ed. E. Allworth, New York 1973, 131-8. Estimates of the population of Bukhara and Khiva have been discussed and analyzed by F. Lorimer in *The population of the Soviet Union: history and prospects*, Geneva 1946, 129, and more completely by L. Kroder, *Peoples of Central Asia*, Bloomington, Ind. 1963, 172-3. Like all censuses of traditional areas, the 1897 census figures are incomplete, especially for Muslim women and young children. Nevertheless, its data are excellent when compared to the type of poor estimates that must serve for previous periods.

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After independence, the Indian and Pakistani governments continued the censuses. India kept to the British decennial census plan and held censuses in 1951, 1961, and 1971, and is planning a 1981 census. Pakistan took censuses in 1951, 1961, and 1972; Bangladesh in 1974. Of the three countries, India's of the Indian statistical tradition, population, and economic development, the country most studied by demographers. Hundreds of articles are written each year on facets of Indian demography, and it is impossible to consider this vast literature here. Kingsley Davis's volume, mentioned above, is a good introduction to the demography of India up to independence. The Indian Registrar General's Office has published a general introduction to Indian population, The population of India, Delhi 1974, and a Bibliography of census publication of India, Delhi 1972. For a more complete review of the Indian statistical tradition, population, and demography, see Asok Mitra, India: population, economy, and society, New Delhi n.d., gives a detailed view of the Indian censuses. All three countries have held sample surveys which have been especially valuable in evaluating fertility. See, for example, Bangladesh, Census Commission, Report on the 1974 Bangladesh retrospective survey of fertility and mortality, Dacca 1977, and World Fertility Survey, Pakistan fertility survey, First report, Karachi 1976.

India's size and economic situation, as well as its long series of available statistics, makes it the developing country most studied by demographers. Asok Mitra, The population of India, 2 vols., New Delhi 1978. See also R.H. Cassen, India: population, economy, and society, New York 1978.

Information on modern censuses and surveys of Pakistan and its demography is well summarised in Mohammad Afzal, The population of Pakistan, Islamabad 1974. L. Bean has written a short introduction to the subject in The population of Pakistan, an evaluation of recent statistical data, in MEJ, xxvii/2 (1974), 177-84. Though the area of Pakistan has been included in studies on the historical demography of India, studies of purely Pakistani historical demography have been done as well: A.S.M. Mohiuddin, The population of Pakistan: past and present, diss., Duke University 1962, and Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, District Boundary changes and population growth for Pakistan, 1881-1961, Dacca n.d. Earlier studies of Pakistan demography all include Bangladesh as East Pakistan.


VIII. SOUTHEAST ASIA

Indonesia. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, European colonial agents estimated the population of Java, basing their figures on records of the Dutch East India Company. These estimates, the first of their kind, were gross underestimates. The first attempts at accurate enumeration of the population were made by the British during their brief role in Indonesia (1811-16), when population registers were kept. The Dutch seem to have maintained these registers fitfully until 1880. At that time they enforced more complete registration, to be used as conscription records for compulsory labor. Probably because all who could do so naturally avoided such a registration, these registers also produced a large underestimate of population. Widjojo Nitisastro has analysed early material on the population of Indonesia in his Population trends in Indonesia, Ithaca and London 1970, and has concluded that the Dutch figures on total population are generally useless. Their main use should be as part of complete analyses of small demographic areas. Bram Peper has concurred in Widjojo Nitisastro's analysis and has used alternative demographic methods to calculate the population of 19th century Java; see his Population growth in Java in the 19th century, in Population Studies, xxiv/1 (March 1970), 71-84.

The Dutch colonial government took a census in 1920 in Java, but included few other areas of Indonesia and undercounted Java. Another colonial census was held in 1930, with wider coverage and better results. Independent Indonesia has taken censuses in 1961 and 1971. Some areas were estimated rather than enumerated in 1961 and the 1971 census is superior. A number of sample surveys have also been taken in the 1960s and 1970s. Widjojo's volume is the most complete description of the Indonesian population (to 1970, but it must depend on the 1961 census. The population of Indonesia by the Demographic Section of the University of Indonesia (Lembago Demografi) is more complete for the later period. G. McNeill and Si Gde Made Manus, The demographic situation in Indonesia, Papers of the East-West Institute, no. 28, Honolulu 1973, accurately summarise the available demographic information on the country.

See also J.M. van der Kroef, The Arabs in Indonesia, in MEJ, viii/3 (Summer 1953), 300-23 (Van der Kroef too readily accepts Dutch colonial estimates of population as accurate); J.N. Bhatta, A social science bibliography of Indonesia, Djakarta 1965; N. Islamdari, Some monographic studies on the population of Indonesia, Djakarta 1970; and Masi Singarambun, The population of Indonesia: a bibliography, Yogyakarta 1974.

Singapore-Malaysia. The British began to take population counts in the areas of Singapore-Malaysia in 1824, and made 14 enumerations between 1824 and 1860, none of which can be called reliable. Modern censuses were taken in Singapore in 1871 and 1881 and in both Singapore and the Malay territories decennially from 1891 to 1931. As British colonial power expanded over new areas of Malaysia, the new areas were brought into the census; see Saw Swee-Hock, The development of Population statistics in Singapore, in Singapore Statistical Bulletin, 1/2 (Dec. 1972), 87-93. After World War Two, the British took censuses in 1947 and 1957. The independent federation of Malaysia held a census in 1970, and Singapore, which had seceded from the federation in 1965. Though registration of deaths and births in Malaysia has only been reasonably complete since ca. 1970, the census results since 1921 have been reliable. On registration data, see J.A.

General Bibliographies. The best source of recent demographic statistics on a country is usually the published census, sometimes updated by intercensal estimates in the nation's statistical yearbook. The United Nations Demographic yearbook (New York, annual) summarizes statistics on population, fertility, mortality, and other demographic topics for all nations. Each year's edition of the Demographic yearbook also features detailed statistics on special topics such as marriage or international migration. See also the United Nations Population and Vital Statistics report, published quarterly (New York), which contains topical information.

The populations of Muslim lands have been included as part of the estimates in works on world historical population. The more detailed volumes, such as A.M. Garr-Saunders' World population: past growth and present trends, Oxford 1936, or M. Reinhard's Histoire générale de la population mondiale (with A. Arne), and J. Dupauquier, 3rd ed., Paris 1968, contain fairly extensive statements on the populations of Muslim lands. It must be remembered that these estimates have mainly collected and reproduced scholarship that has been done on the various geographic areas of the world by others, so that researchers might be better served by consulting the more primary works, which contain more detailed analyses. The authors of studies of world population history are forced to provide estimates for regions and times for which population numbers are actually unknown. As has been seen above, Muslim lands are often among those whose historical populations are unknown, so estimates of the populations of those lands in world population books must be used with caution. In addition to Garr-Saunders and Reinhard, see the summary article by J.D. Durand, Historical estimates of world population: an evaluation, University of Pennsylvania Population Studies Center, Philadelphia 1974, and United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, The determinants and consequences of population trends, 1, New York 1973, ch. 2 (vol. ii is a bibliography on world population).

General Bibliographies. Many articles on the demography of the Islamic World do not appear in the standard bibliographies on Islam, such as Index islamica, since the bibliographies do not usually include technical demographic journals within their purview. The best source of information on works on any facet of demography is Population index (Princeton, quarterly), one of the most thorough and valuable bibliographies in the social sciences. In addition to hundreds of journals, the Index examines all relevant bibliographies from other disciplines for materials on demographic. See also Bibliographie internationale de la demographie historique (Paris); Review of population reviews (Paris); and International population census bibliography, 6 vols. and suppl., Austin, Texas 1965-8, new vols. in preparation.)

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to Sicily, where he was assassinated in 668. That the Arabs failed immediately to follow up this triumph, and did not attack Constantinople itself until Mu‘awiyah’s reign (in 58-64/672-8), was probably the consequence of mounting fitna within the caliphate, culminating in U‘mar’s murder in 566/656 although they were able to sack Rhodes in 53/663-4, just after Dhiyāt al-Sawwārī, if we adopt the earlier chronology for the battle.


(C. E. Bosworth)

**DHIKRIS,** Zikrīs, a Muslim sect of southern Balīcīstān, especially strong amongst the Balīcīs of Makrān [q.v.], but also with some representation amongst the Bahāris of further north. The sect’s name derives from the fact that its adherents exalted the liturgical recitations of formulae including the name and titles of God, e.g. dhikr [q.v.], above the formal Muslim worship, the salāt or namāz.

The Dhikrīs were believed by Hughes-Buller to stem from the North Indian heterodox movement of the Mahdawīyya, the followers of Suyyid Muhammad Mahdī al-Dāmpūr (847-910/1443-505), who claimed to be an ināmī with a revelation superseding that of Muḥammad the Prophet [see al-Dāmpūrī and al’I. art. MAHDAWĪ]. Adherents of the Mahdawīyya would have brought their doctrines to the remote region of Makrān via Fārāb in eastern Afgānīstān, where Muhammad Mahdī al-Dāmpūrī was buried. The rise of the Dhikrīs in Makrān is apparently contemporaneous with that of the local line of Bohēdāy Balīcī mahdīs in Makrān (early 17th century); both they and their successors after ca. 1740, the Gīkīs, were strong adherents of the Dhikrīs, and their heterodoxy brought down upon them several attacks by the orthodox SunnīKhān of Kālāt, Mīr Nasīr Khān (d. 1795) [see KHĀT and G.P. Tate, History of the Ahmadzai Khans of Kalāt].

Because, as with other unorthodox sects in Islam, its opponents spread slanderous reports about the immorality of the Dhikrī sect (incestuous practices, community of goods, etc.), the Dhikrī adherents were often driven to practice dissimulation in religion or tokhiba [q.v.], and it is accordingly not easy to obtain a clear picture of their doctrines and practices. It seems that these were consolidated in the early 18th century by Mūllā Gīkī and that they included the idea of to’ell of the Kur‘ān by the Mahdī, whose interpretation had replaced Muhammad of Mecca’s literal one; the non-necessity of observing the Ramādān fast; and the superiority of dhikr over salāt. These formulae of dhikr are to be recited six times daily in special huts called zikrānas which are not orientated towards the kibla. Instead of pilgrimage to Arabia, the Dhikrīs established a Ka‘ba or shrine of their own at the Koh-i Murdā near Turbat, in the district of Kīt in central Makrān, with a sacred well of its own, the cāhib-i zamān. British observers noted that the mualla of the Dhikrī communities had considerable influence.

Hughes-Buller’s information relates to the first decades of this century, when he noted that the sect seemed to be on the decline, and it is difficult to ascertain the present status of the sect, if indeed it survives at all in Balīcīstān now; the 1961 Pakistan population census reports mention the existence of Dhikrīs in Makrān and Las Bēlā [q.v.], but they may be repeating information stemming from British Indian times.

**Bibliography:** R. Hughes-Buller, Baluchistan District gazettes series. vii, Makrān, Bombay 1906, 48-50, 116-21, 304; Imperial gazeteer of India, vi, 276-80; and see M. Longworth Dames, El art. Bolīcīstān. Religion, education, etc. (C.E. Bosworth)

**DICTIONARY** [see KAMĀS, MU‘QAM].

**DIGITAL COMPUTER** [see IBN AL-‘Aḏ].

**DIḴE** [see MĀ].

AL-DIKDĀN, a fortress situated on that part of the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf called the Sīr ‘Umāra, not far from the island of Kayṣ [q.v.], and famous in the 4th/10th century. It was known under three designations, Ka‘laf al-Dikdān, Ḥān Ḵẖbāya and Ḥīn Ḫīn ‘Umāra, as well as the Persian one Dīz-i Pisarti ‘Umāra (Ḫudūd al-‘alam, tr. 126). It stood guard over a village of fishermen and a port which could shelter some 20 ships, and according to Ibn Ḥawkal (tr. Kramera and Wiet, 268-9), following Ḭīṣṭḵār (140), no-one could get up to it unaided, since one had to be hoisted up by means of cables and a kind of crane or hoist. He adds that it was, for the Banū ‘Umāra, an observation post from which they could watch the movement of ships on the sea: “when a vessel approaches, they bring it to a halt and demand a percentage of its cargo”. The name of this fortress (= “tripod”, “trivet”, see Ibn Ḫūrwr- Ḽḏāḥbīh, Glossary, 211), which al-Mās‘aḏī considered as one of the wonders of the world (Mawād, ii, 69 § 501), is to be explained by the configuration of the land on which it was perched.

The geographers connect it with al-Dulandā b. Kan‘ān [Ibn Hawkal] or K.r.k.r (Ḫudūd, tr. 143; cf. Abu 1-Kasīm al-Azḏī, Ḵẖbāya, 130 l. 2.; but it is probable that these two names are a deformation of al-Muṣṭḵār, see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 216 and ii, 264). The Banū ‘Umāra claimed to be descendants of al-Dulandā and stated that their ancestors had established themselves in the district in the time of Moses. Now al-Dulandā and his family are known to have been kings in Yemen (Muḥammad b. Ḫabīb, Muḥtabār, 265, 266; Ibn Ḭaḏḡar, Ḫabā, No. 1295; M. Hamidullah, Le Prophète de l’Islam, index; etc.); on this basis, they levied dues on all merchandise and probably indulged too in piracy, since the Kur‘ānic verse (XVII, 78-79) “. . . a king who was behind them, taking every ship by force” was applied to them. In reality, the Banū ‘Umāra were probably a family of the Āḏ [q.v.] of ‘Umān who had settled in Fārs at an unknown date and who con-
trolled the Sif 'Umara during a period difficult to define precisely. Yâkût (ii, 711) certainly states that the Āl al-Djulandâd (the name of several lords of Fârs) were still powerful in his own time, but he only cites (ii, 966), after al-Mas'ûdî (loc. cit., 'Abd Allâh b. 'Umara who died in 399/921-2 after having reigned over the island of Zîrîbâdî for 25 years; his brother (?) Dja'far b. Hanza who reigned six months; and his son Bâtîl b. 'Abd Allâh who succeeded his uncle (?), who had been assassinated by his râhîm. At all events, the fortress was in ruins at the time of al-Kâlkashânî (Subh, iii, 214).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the sources mentioned above, see Marquart, Erânîshân, 45; Schwarz, Iran, 77; Le Strange, 256-7; Barthold and Minorsky, Hâdîd-d'l-'alam, 39-40, 377, 396.

**(Ch. Pellat)**

**AL-DILA', an ancient place in the Middle Atlas region of Morocco which owed its existence to the foundation in the last quarter of the 10th/16th century of a zâwiyâ [q.v.], a "cultural" centre meant for teaching the Islamic sciences and Arab letters, and at the same time spreading the doctrine of the Shâdhîliyya [q.v.] order, more precisely the branch known as the Dja'zilîyya [see al-Gozûlî, Abî 'AbdAllâh Muhammad]. It also sheltered the needy and travelled people. In 1048/1638, the zâwiyâ dîlîyya or bâkriyya (from the founder's name, Shaykh Abî Bakr Ibn Muhammad al-Muhammad) was moved a dozen kilometres and gave birth to a new complex, enjoying a certain importance, in a spot now occupied by the zâwiyâ of the Ayt Ishak, 35 km. southwest of Khenifa and 64 km. northeast of Kâsbât Tâdla. Impelled by the founder's drive, who belonged to a family possessing vast estates and rich revenues, the zâwiyâ developed considerably, especially after 1012/1603, for during the troubled period which followed the death of the Sa'dîd sultan al-Ma'nsûr [q.v.], it provided a safe haven for students coming from the traditional urban centres and, thanks to its library and to the members of the Dîla'iyyîn family, aided by scholars from outside seeking refuge and staying at al-Dîla', intellectual resources which were quite appreciable. The subjects taught there comprised, in addition to Şû'ûn, the Korânic readings, hadîthî, famous logic, grammar, hadîth, jikh, mathematical and astronomic tables. Al-Dijâm al-Djilânî [q.v.], the author of several works which were in some demand in their time, amongst which have been preserved al-Mudahîl al-munâtikîl šîr ma'rûnî al-wâmisât (fêk, Ms. Rabat 276 K), Natî'î'î al-tâhîl fi šîr al-Tâshi'î (of Ibn Mâlik; grammatical commentary in 4 vols. known as far as Egypt), Fâlîk al-Lajîf 'âšî al-tâhîl wa 'l-tâfîl fi 'l-tâfîl al-munâtikîl fi tamârân, and various works (of A. Jâhiz, in Hespèris, xlvii [1956], 215-16). This grammatical manuscript survived the destruction of al-Dîla' and died in Fâs in 1089/1678. Two other members of the family became especially well-known in Fâs. The first, Abî 'Abd Allâh Muhammad al-Ma'sânîwî b. Muhammad al-Ma'sânîwî b. Abî Bakr b. Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Ma'sânîwî b. Abî Bakr (1072-1136/1661-1724), was a preacher and imâm at the Abî 'Inâniyya madrasa, muftî and shaykh al-qâ'îma (i.e. dean of the professors). He has left behind several works, notably a genealogical treatise on the descendants of 'Abd al-Kâdir al-Dîlânî [q.v.], the Nâjîgât al-tâbîkhî fi bîd al-gharîf al-'awdlîh (fêk, Fâs 1309/1891; ed. Tunis 1296/1879; partial Eng. tr. T. H. Weir, The first part of the Nâjîgât al-tâbîkhî, Edinburgh 1903; his output comprises, in addition to treatises on genealogy, law and mysticism, a poem of 40 verses written just before his death in order to seek God's pardon and recite at Fâs at burials, and finally al-Mu'âmâla al-fîshâyî fi mu'dâsîn al-zâwiyâ al-bâkriyya (see Lévi-Provençal, Chorfa, 301-2; M. Lakhdar, Vie littéraire, 152-8 and bibl.). The other Dîla'î worthy of note is Abî 'Abd Allâh Muhammad al-Hâdîdî b. Muhammad b. Abî Bakr, who died accidentally advantage of the decadence of the Sa'dîdîs [q.v.]. Operations began in 1048/1638, and the head of the zâwiyâ combatted, in this same year and on the banks of the wâdî al-'Abîdî, a Sa'dîd army sent from Marrakesh. Two years later, after various adventures, he had managed to establish his authority over the northwestern quarter of Morocco and, on 1056/1646, he reached as far as Taflîlît. In 1061/1651 he proclaimed himself sultan of Morocco and established diplomatic relations with various European powers. However, countermovements soon followed in various towns, and after some successes over other claimants to power and over the Spanish, he was finally beaten in 1079/1668 by the Alawi sultan Mawlay al-Raşîd [q.v.]. He was forced to submit to the latter, who indeed the death of the Sa'dîd sultan al-Ma'nsûr [q.v.], Ahmâd b. 'Abd Allâh (d. 1091/1680) tried in 1089/1678 to recover the lost Zalib and bring the centre meant for teaching the Islamic sciences and Arab letters, and at the same time spreading the doctrine of the Shâdhîliyya [q.v.] order, more precisely the branch known as the Dja'zilîyya [see al-Gozûlî, Abî 'AbdAllâh Muhammad]. It also sheltered the needy and travelled people. 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between Mecca and Medina after having made the Pilgrimage (1141/1729). Several of his works have been preserved: poems glorifying the Prophet; Zahir at-hadd’ik [ms. Rabat 306 K] and al-Zahir al-nadi fi l-ghubuk al-muhammadi (ms. Rabat 157 D), an arzūzā on the Chorfa Durrat al-tīdīq (ms. Rabat 496, 522, 1180, 1244 K; lith. Fas), etc. (see Lakhdar, 166-8).

**Biography:** The basic Arabic sources are still unpublished: Yāzīqī, Ḥadd’ik at-ṣāḥīr al-nadiyya fi ʿtārīf bi-ahl al-ṣāḥīr al-dīlīyya al-bakriyya (arzūzā; ms. Rabat 261 D). Tāzī, Nīzhāt at-ṣāḥīr al-arzūzāyīn fi manadhīk al-ṣāḥīr al-dīlīyya al-bakriyyīn (ms. Rabat 1264 K). Hawāwī, al-Buhār al-dīlīyya fi ʿtārīf bi-l-sadāt al-ṣāḥīr al-dīlīyya (ms. Rabat 261 D). These sources, the Moroccan historians in general and the documents of various origin which are concerned with the political, diplomatic and military events, during the period of Muhammad al-Ḥadjīj, have been utilised by M. Ḥajdījī for his excellent monograph, al-Ṣāḥīr al-dīlīyya wa-dawruhd al-dim wa ‘l-ilmi wa ‘l-siyāsī (ms. Rabat 1494, 1964) which very quickly brought him wide celebrity, even beyond the ranks of the Muslims, due to the extraordinary number and quality of his graphic works, which tourists are still today invited to visit (see Guides Bleus, Algérie, s.v. Bou Saada); the house there completed on 6 September 224 was his birthplace (24 December 1929). His funeral took place on 28 December at the Great Mosque in Paris (in whose foundation he had himself been concerned) and which tourists are still today invited to visit (see Guides Bleus, Algérie, s.v. Bou Saada); the house there has lived has been made into a salon by Sliman ben Ibrahim.

This highly-talented painter of oriental topics deserves a notice in the Encyclopaedia of Islam not only because he died a Muslim, but also because he can be considered as a fervent apologist for the faith which he had assumed. Several of his written works have been published in France during his stay in Arabia, there appeared magnificent plates showing scenes of the Pilgrimage as illustrations for the title which appeared in French from “El Hadj Nacir ed-Dine E. Dinet et El Hadj Sliman ben Ibrahim Baemer” and with the double title al-Ḥadajjī ilī Bayt Allah al-Harīm (in Arabic script) and Le Pèlerinage à la Maison Sacrée d’Allah, together with the date 1347. In fact, this narrative, written on the return from the pilgrimage of 1347 and completed on 6 September 1248 (see Dirar b. Camr 225) Rabī’ II 1348/30 September 1929, came off the press in Paris at the beginning of 1930 (2nd edn. 1962), just a few weeks after its principal author’s death (24 December 1929). His funeral took place on 28 December at the Great Mosque in Paris (in whose foundation he had himself been concerned) and which tourists are still today invited to visit (see Guides Bleus, Algérie, s.v. Bou Saada); the house there has lived has been made into a salon by Sliman ben Ibrahim.

His artistic output, considerable in quantity and of high quality, comprises mainly Algerian and Arab scenes and landscapes, which very quickly brought him wide celebrity, even beyond the ranks of the Société des Orientalistes founded in 1887 by Leonce Grimme, Margoliouth, etc., which was subsequently to be extensively used by the Azharf shaykh cʿAbd al-Shark kamd yardhu al-Gharb. This last is a very detailed critique of the studies of Lammens, Hijjlī dīlīyyat al-Shubbdn al-Muslimm, the latter part of his Pèlerinage, and ʿUmar Fakhūrī was to issue at Damascus in, Ard gharbatī fi masʾīlī gharbatī, a version of his L’Orient vu de l’Occident (Paris n.d.) under the title al-Ṣāḥīr ilī Bayt Allah al-Harīm. The last is a very detailed critique of the studies of Lammens, Nöldeke, De Goeje, Sprenger, Snouck Hurgronje, Grimme, Margoliouth, etc., which was subsequently to be extensively used by the Azharf shaykh cʿAbd
al-Halim Mahmūd in the substantial introduction prefaced to his translation of La Vie de Mohommed, Prophète d’Allah, made, in conjunction with his son Muhammad, from the original edition as Muhammad Rastil Allāh (Cairo 1956). It is rather surprising that Dinet’s Sīra which, as we have seen, had a lively success among French-reading circles, did not draw the attention of the Egyptians during the 1930s, at a time when Haykal was in part inspired, in his Sīra halabīyā, by La Vie de Mahomet of E. Der- menghem published at Paris in 1929; possibly, like Dinet’s principal Islamological works seem to have as their aim less a scientific translation appeared in 1958. The translator analyses Nāṣir al-Dīn’s apologetical methods and, basing himself on the latter’s writings, demonstrates the superiority of Islam over Christianity. As opposed to the works of the Arabists whose researches tend only to set forth the reality of Islam, without any polemical intentions, Dinet’s principal Islamological works seem to have as their aim less a scientific study of his new religion than a glorification of it and an encouragement to the whole world to follow his example. His viewpoint is very clearly summed up in a paragraph of his Fēlerintage, where he affirms that Islam responds “to all the aspirations of different kinds of believers. Having a supreme simplicity with Mu’tazilism, wildly mysticaL with Sufism, it brings a sense of direction and a consolation to the European or Asian scholar, for whom “time is money”, as much as that of the deist philosopher, and that of the contemplative of the East as much as that of the Westerner carried away by art and poetry. It will even seduce the modern medical man by the logic of its repeated abductions and the rhythm of its bowings and prostrations equally salutary to the care of the body as to the health of the mind. The freethinker himself, who is not inevitably an atheist, will be able to consider the Islamic revelation as a sublime manifestation of that mysterious force called “inspiration” and will admit it without difficulty, since it contains no mysterious element inadmissible by reason”.

**Bibliography:** F. Arnaudies, É. Dinet et el-Hajjī Sultan ben Ibrahim, Algiers 1933; J. Dinet-Rodier, “The painter’s sister”, La vie de E. Dinet, Paris 1935, translated by a Sudanese negro whom it snatches away from the superstitious worship of fetishes. It exalts the soul of the practically-minded English merchant, for whom “time is money”, so much as that of the deist philosopher, and that of the contemplative of the East as much as that of the Westerner carried away by art and poetry. It will even seduce the modern medical man by the logic of its repeated abductions and the rhythm of its bowings and prostrations equally salutary to the care of the body as to the health of the mind. The freethinker himself, who is not inevitably an atheist, will be able to consider the Islamic revelation as a sublime manifestation of that mysterious force called “inspiration” and will admit it without difficulty, since it contains no mysterious element inadmissible by reason”.

**Dinet** (Ar. and Fr. texts, numerous ills.) was published in Algiers in 1977. (CH. PELLAT)
that God creates (khādākā) everything including man's actions, but he also insisted that man, in order to be responsible for his actions, simultaneously does them himself, either immediately or through "generation" (ta'addūd). In order to describe man's share in them, he used the Kur'anic term kasabah or iktisabah which does not yet mean "acquisition" here, but rather the mere performance of acts (cf. A. M. Schwartz in Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition, essays presented to R. Walzer, Oxford 1972 367 ff.; he stressed man's freedom of choice (iğhād) by assuming a capacity (istittādī) already before the act. The concept is clearly synergistic; Dirār openly talked about two "agents", God and man. This is where Abu 'l-Hudhayl and Bīshr b. al-Mu'tamir saw a sin against the spirit of the school; they eliminated the idea that God "creates" anything in human actions. Dirār could, however, argue convincingly with an example like the Kur'ān: when somebody recites the Kur'ān, not only his recitation, kur'ān, is heard, but also the Kur'ān as created by God. The equivocality of the word (kur'ān and Kur'ān) added to the suggestedness of the theory.

Outside the sphere of man, Dirār supported God's omnipotence by an elaborate metaphysical system based on the exclusively accidental structure of the corporeal world (i.e., God did not create man and later replaced the latter with a new one (cf. K. al-Tahnsh wa'l-īghra3', he had pointed to the plenitude of His essence, but its immediate intention may be explained through this process; here Dirār and his adherents seem to have absorbed certain Aristotelian ideas, especially the concept of ʿāllāḥiyya (istittādī, cf. Ist., xliii (1967), 254 ff.). The entire model is, of course, not Aristotelian; Dirār criticised Aristotle for his doctrine of substances and accidents in a separate treatise (cf. Fihrist, ed. Flick, in Shafi'i comm. volume, 69, title no. 14). The system does not allow for any self-determining and independent nature of things (tābīʿī; this is why it was rejected offhand by Dirār's contemporaries and later on by an-Nazgām, who joined a tradition which was more coloured by Stoic ideas [see kumos]. The consequences were especially visible in the definition of man: he is a conglomerate of "colour, taste, odour, capacity, etc.", but there is no independent and immortal soul.

Using two surprisingly elaborate philosophical terms which were never applied again by the Mu'tazilis, Dirār differentiated in everything which exists between its annīyya "existence" and its maḥīyya "quiddiyā". Opposition arose when he transferred this distinction to God: we know God's annīyya, but we ignore the plenitude of His maḥīyya. For we can infer the aspects of his essence only through rational conclusion; but we know from ourselves that an outsider is never able to explore the hidden sides of our nature to the same extent that we are aware of them ourselves. This is why we must be satisfied with negative theology: "God is omniscient" merely means that He is not ignorant. Full knowledge will be attained only in the Hereafter; then God's essence is possessed, not created through "mū'ā bi 'l-ābādīr as many non-Mu'tazīlī theologians believed, but through a sixth sense created for this purpose by God. This theory seems to have been prepared by Abū Ḥanīfa and was taken over by a number of Hanafis during the following two generations. Later Mu'tazīlis may have seen in it too strong a limitation of revelatory evidence and of the intellectual potential of kalīm; the theory still depended on 'I Ḥām's concept of the total transcendence of God.

They may have felt more familiar with Dirār's idea to differentiate between two aspects of God's will: "God's will" may be identical with what happens, but also with what He only wants to happen, in His commandments. The latter alternative leaves room for man's iktsībū; sin, the crucial problem of Dirār's theory of the two "creators", seems to have been explained by him through ʾaḥrāfū, "abandonment"; by contrast about the nocturnal ascension (mū'addī) of the Prophet or about the martyrs entering Paradise immediately after their death.

This latter point, however, did not bother him very much: he did not accept isolated traditions (ʾaḥārū ʾaḥhād) as a proof in theological questions (ahkām al-dīn), and in his time most aḥādītī still had this character of ʾaḥhād. The only epistemological criterion which, besides the Kur'ān, he found safe enough to base upon it religious truth after the death of the Prophet, was consensus (ṣīmā'); in this he was followed by al-Asamm (i.e.), who took over the Mu'tazīlī circle in Baṣra after him. Dirār's attack against ṣūdīhī had been formulated in his K. al-Taḥārī wa'l-īghrāh; he had pointed to the
fact that all sects used to rely on different and mutually contradicting ahâdith. It is possible, though improbable, that the beginning of Ibn Kutayba's Ta'wil muhkamât al-hadith reflects Dirâr's argumentation (cf. Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift O. Spies, Wiesbaden 1967, 184 ff.).

Belief was according to Dirâr, closely linked to intellectual understanding; it begins therefore only with mental maturity (kâmâl al- 'âlim). Simple people who do not rationalise their convictions may always live in unrecognised unbelief (cf. Agh'âri, Makâtibât, 282, II, 2 ff.). But true belief from a Nabataean counts higher than from an Arab, because the Arabs were distinguished by the fact that the Prophet was elected from among them, whereas the Nabataeans always have to transgress the barrier of contempt for not having produced any prophet. If a Nabataean therefore ever entered into competition with a Kurashî concerning the caliphate, preference should be given to the Nabataean as the more appropriate (afdal) candidate. This would have the additional advantage that a Nabataean does not have a powerful clientele and could therefore more easily be deposed if necessary. The Kurashî thus do not possess the monopoly of the caliphate, according to Dirâr, long before him the superiority of neo-Muslims had been defended by mutual arguments (cf. A. Noth in Isl., xxvii (1971), 178 ff.). Nevertheless, Dirâr did not doubt that the first four caliphs were afdal in the moment of their election. Judgment becomes difficult only with the Battle of the Camel. In this case, renowned Companions with equally good reputation stood against each other. The result was that both factions for ever entered into competition with a Kurashî having produced any prophet. If a Nabataean there-
DJIWÂN-BEGI — DJABAL SAYS

Pamyatniki Vostoka 1968, Moscow 1970, 55; Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, in Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye, v [1948], 147). Russian ambassadors in Bukhârâ in 1669 also describe the diwan-begi as the second high-ranking official after the atalik and mention that he received the credentials from the ambassadors and passed them to the khan (see Nakaz Bori i Semeni Pachâkhîni ... , St. Petersburg 1894, 49, 55, 76). The Aghtakhânî chronicles confirm that one of the duties of the diwan-begi was the reception of ambassadors (see Târîkh-i Mâkîn-Khânî by Muḥammad Yûsuf Mundûr, Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, Taşkent 1956, 89). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, under the Mangît [q.v.] dynasty in Bukhârâ, the diwan-begi had similar functions, though he was now the second figure after the koh-begi [q.v.], and not the atalîk. He was called also koh-begi-yi pâyân ("the lower koh-begi"), because his residence was at the foot of the ark (the citadel) of Bukhârâ, and zakâtî-yi kalan ("head of the collectors of zakât") [q.v.]. He was the deputy of the "great koh-begi" (kull-i koh-begi), and in the absence or during an illness of the amir he governed the country together with the koh-begi. Both under the Aghtakhânîs and the Mangîts, besides this diwan-begi residing in Bukhârâ, there were also diwan-begis of main provincial rulers, such as those in the Bâlâq and Gârdî, who were in charge of local financial functions. Under the Mangîts, the honorary rank of diwan-begi (the third from the top in the hierarchy of Bukhârâ) was given also to various officials not necessarily connected with financial affairs, such as governors of some towns. In Karatigin [q.v.], both under the independent ġâhs and under the domination of Bukhârâ, diwan-begi was the first deputy of the ruler, and he was in charge of state finance as well as of the ruler's estate (see N.A. Khazâkî, Ocherki po istorii karategina, Stalînabad-Leningrad 1941, 183). In the semi-independent principality of Ura-Tubâ [q.v.] in the 19th century, diwan-begis were local tax-collectors, subordinate to the sârkâr, who was in charge of the collection of kâramdâ and of irrigation in the principality (see A. Mukhtarov, Ocherki istorii Ur-Tubinskogo vladeniya v XIX v., Dushânbe 1964, 53). The title diwan-begi could be given also to supervisors of finance in large private estates, such as those of the Qâbârâhârâkân and the Châtînâs in the 17th century (cf. P.P. Ivanov, Khazmaggite dîwân-begihk, Moscow-Leningrad 1954, 60).

In the Khânate of Khiwa, the post of diwan-begi was probably established only in the early 19th century. In any case, neither the local historian Mu'nis [q.v.] in his Firdaws al-ikbâl nor other sources mention this title earlier, and it is not included in the list of 34 dignitaries (amâldâr) established by Abu Yûsuf Khân [q.v.] (cf. Firdaws al-ikbâl, MS of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, 65b). This title is mentioned by Mu'nis for the first time in his account of the events of 1222/1808, when the two diwan-begis appear simultaneously [ibid., f. 272a]. Also later, there were at least two diwan-begis in Khiwa. They are mentioned among the high officials of the state along with the koh-begi and the mehter [q.v.]; they were usually of mean origin, often Persian slaves. N. Murâv'yev (1821) mentions diwan-begis as unimportant officials subordinate to the koh-begi and the mehter (see N. Murâv'yev, Puteshestviye v Tartemeniye i Khiwâ, Moscow 1822, ii, 63); none of other Russian descriptions of the khânate compiled in the first half of the 19th century mentions them at all. In the reign of Allah-Kuli Khân (1240-58/1825-42), the chief diwan-begi was entrusted with the collection of zakât and customs (see N. Zalesov, in Vosknity sbornik, xxii [1861], No. 11, 65), and it remained his main duty till the end of the 19th century. Besides him, there was a diwan-begi in charge of the khân's estates and a diwan-begi of the governor of Hazârâsp (a senior relative of khân at his heir). In the reign of Sayyid Muhammad Rabî'î Khân II (1281-1328/1864-1910), the chief diwan-begi Muhammad Murâd ("Mat-Murâd" of Russian sources) became the most influential person among the Khîwan dignitaries and was considered as a first minister by Western observers (cf. e.g. H. Moser, A travers l'Asie centrale, Paris 1885, 238).

In the Khânate of Khokand [q.v.], the title diwan-begi is also attested, though no explanation is available about the duties of its bearer. It seems, however, that it was more a rank than an administrative post, and its position was the same as that of diwan-begi in the hierarchy of Bukhârâ (between the ranks of parâwânî [q.v.] and atalîk). Radžâb Djîwan-begi, executed in 1236/1820, is said to have had the highest title in the khânate, wâzîr al-sawârî (see V.P. Nal'ivkin, Histoire du khanat de Khokand, Paris 1889, 140-1), which indicates, apparently, that he was considered the head of the civil administration; but before that he is mentioned as a governor (kâhâm) of Taşkent (ibid., 125, 135).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see: A.A. Semenov, in Materiali po istorii tadžikov i uzhekho Sredney Azii, ii, Stalînabad 1954, 57, 61, 66; M. Yu. Yul'dashev, Khiva khâniqmâd fodal yor egalliy va duxlat tashlîhî [in Uzbek], Taşkent 1939, 263-4. [Yu. Bregel]

DJABAL SAYS, the name of a volcanic mountain in Syria situated ca. 105 km. southeast of Damascus. Around its west and south sides runs a small valley opening to the southeast into a large volcanic crater. In years with normal rainfall, this crater is filled with water for about eight months. A reservoir near its centre makes Djabal Says one of the few secure waterplaces in the region, where sometimes more than a hundred nomad families camp in autumn. At the mouth of the valley on the southeast-slope of Djabal Says and opposite to it, on the fringe of another slope, remains of numerous buildings are preserved. The site was first visited in 1862 by M. de Vogüé and excavated from 1962 to 1964 by K. Brisch. The ruins consist of a considerable number of houses, a mosque, a church, a hammâm, some storehouses for provisions, khâns and/or barracks, and a palace.

The palace is situated on the south side of the valley. It consists of a rectangular enclosure, ca. 67 m. x 67 m., from which eight towers (four at the corners, one in the middle of each side) project. Entrance is given through a door in the central tower of the north side. Behind the door one enters a vaulted vestibule at the back of which is a doorway, opening into a great entrance hall which leads to a courtyard, ca. 31 m. x 31 m. This courtyard is surrounded by ranges of rooms (54 excluding the small rooms in the hollow towers and the entrance hall) most of which are organised into eight groups (bayât) of five or six rooms. In addition to this, there are three pairs of rooms and four isolated rooms, two of which served probably as staircases. An arcade ran around the paved courtyard in front of the rooms. In the centre of the courtyard is a cistern. The lower parts of the walls consist of basalt blocks on the inner and outer faces with fillings of lumps of basalt and mortar rising up at
some places to a height of ca. 2 m. The upper parts of the walls were built of mud bricks. An exception is the entrance tower, the upper parts of which are also of basalt. Most of the basalt sections and some of the brick sections of the walls are preserved. The entrance tower, the upper parts of which served. No traces of ceilings were found. De Vogue, some of the brick sections of the walls are pre-agogo, saw brick vaultings. The building had originally two floors and is stylistically linked with two figures 16 m. x 17 m. It consists of a large eastern room of burnt brick. All rooms with the exception of the west room seem to have been covered by vaultings or domes of burnt brick. The west room was probably not covered at all. The building resembles closely Hammam al-Šarākh [q.v.] in Jordan.

The mosque, ca. 70 m. west of the palace, is a square building measuring ca. 9.5 m. x 9.5 m. The preserved lower sections of its walls are built of basalt. It can be entered by two doors from the north and the east. The interior of the building is divided into two equal parts by two arches running east-west and resting on a pier in the centre and on wall piers. Here, as in the palace, the upper parts of the walls seem to have been built of mud bricks. If this was the case, they could only have carried a wooden roof.

Other buildings. Probably the most interesting feature of Djabal Says is that, in addition to the above-mentioned buildings, a considerable number of more modest structures is preserved. At the south-side of the valley in an area stretching from the hammām (the easternmost structure), ca. 300 m. to the west, the traces of more than 15 other buildings can be seen. The majority of them are of almost square shape and consist of ranges of rooms around three or four sides of a central courtyard. They are of poorer architectural quality than the palace, the hammām and the mosque. Some of these buildings were doubtlessly built at the same time as the palace and served as storehouses and barracks or khāns, whereas some are obviously later. The latter seem to be contemporary with a few smaller buildings whose plans resemble those of simple farmhouses (one range of rooms with a courtyard in front of it). Opposite the valley, at the southeastern foot of Djabal Says, in an area stretching ca. 400 m. from southwest to northeast and ca. 100 m. from southeast to northwest, some thirty other buildings are to be found. Almost all of them have courtyards with rooms at one, two, three or four sides. The most conspicuous structures among them are: a building with towers at its corners looking like a palace in miniature, a structure next to it, which Brisch thinks was a mosque, and a one-room church resembling the large room of the hammām.

Literary sources (al-Bakrī and Yāqūt) tell us that the caliph al-Walid (80-96/705-15) had a residence at Usays, a waterplace east of Damascus, which is doubtlessly identical with our site. This conclusion is supported by inscriptions found on the spot. One of them bears the name Usays, in some others the names of sons of al-Walid are mentioned. Hence the palace, the hammām, the mosque (which Brisch thinks is later than the palace) and some of the buildings next to the palace can be attributed to al-Walid. Some of the buildings were seen by De Vogue, who visited Djabal Says more than a hundred years ago, saw brick vaultings. The building had originally two floors and is stylistically linked with two other palaces, Minya (see EdRbat al-Minva) and Kharrānā [q.v.]. The Hammām al-Šarākh [q.v.] in Jordan.

In the reign of the emperor Justin (518-27), Djabala came into prominence, now as the king of the Ghassānids and his seat in the Djawlan. By that time, the Ghassānids had been won over to Monophysite Christianity and had become its staunch supporters. However, the return of Byzantium to the Chalcedonian position and Justin's expulsion of the Monophysite bishops alienated the Ghassānids and their king, who consequently would not take part in the defense of the oriental provinces against the Persians and their Arab allies, and could not come to the succour of their coreligionists in South Arabia during the reign of Yusuf Dhu Nuwas [q.v.]. But in all probability, it was he who enabled al-Aws and al-Khazraji of Medina to achieve an ascendancy over the Jewish tribes there, Abū Djablaya of the Arabic sources being none other than Djabala himself or one of his relatives.

With the accession of the emperor Justinian (527-65), there was a reconciliation with the Monophysites; the Ghassānids under Djabala returned to service to fight the wars of Byzantium against the Persians and the Lakhmid, but Djabala was not destined to live much longer. His more illustrious son, al-Hārith b. Djabala, is attested as king already in 529, and the presumption is that Djabala died at the battle of Thannuris in Mesopotamia in 528, commanding the Ghassānids contingent in the
Byzantine army against the Persians; the Syriac authors remember him under the nickname of Asfar. In the list of Ghassânid buildings, three are attributed to Djabala, sc. al-Kanāţir, Ashrūt, and al-Kastal.

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[Djâbir b. 'Abd Allâh b. Kâb b. Ghann b. Salama, Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Álî (or Abû Muhammad) al-Salamî al-Khaṣrâdî al-Ansârî, Companion of the Prophet. His father, 'Abd Allâh, was one of the seventy men of Aṣwâ and Khazrajî who gave the oath of allegiance at the Akaba Meeting. His father, Abû 'Abd Allâh, was one of the seventy; Djabir himself had attended the Meeting as a very young boy, and is therefore counted in the list of “the Seventy” and in the honourable list of those who embraced Islam together with their fathers. His father prevented him from taking part in the two encounters at Bādhr and Uḥūd, leaving him at home to look after his seven (or nine) sisters. A report according to which he attended the battle of Bādhr and drew water for the warriors is denied authenticity by al-Wâkidî and marked by him as an ‘Irākî tradition. On the Day of Uḥūd, Djabir lost his father, his mother’s brother ‘Amr b. al-Djamûh and his cousin Khâlîlād. Djabir’s father distinguished himself in the fight and was the first Muslim warrior killed in this battle. The Prophet did not object to Djabir mourning for him, and gave him permission to uncover his face. ‘Abd Allâh was buried according to the Prophet’s ruling as a martyr on the spot where he fell, clad in his garment, with his wounds still bleeding. The Prophet personally suggested that he should act as father to Djabir and put ‘Aṣgha in his mother’s place. On the day following the battle of Uḥūd, Djabir asked, and was granted permission to join the force dispatched by the Prophet to al-Hamāra al-Ásâd. After that, Djabir accompanied the Prophet on 18 or so expeditions. The Prophet showed great concern for Djabir and his family and often came to his dwelling. Djabir’s family, who were familiar with his tastes, used to prepare for the Prophet his favourite kind of meal. On one such visit the Prophet blessed the family of Djabir and their abode, on another he cured Djabir of fever by sprinkling on him water which he had for ablation. The Prophet gave his approval for Djabir to marry a woman who was not a virgin, and who would take care of his sisters. By his blessing, he helped Djabir to pay a debt which his father owed to the Jew Abû Shâhîm, and he invoked God’s forgiveness for him when he bought his camel (laylat al-ba’t).

After the death of the Prophet, ‘Umar appointed Djabir chief (ṣafîn) of his clan. During the military operations of the conquest of Damascus he was sent as a member of an auxiliary force dispatched to Khâlid b. al-Walîd. On another occasion he was dispatched by ‘Umar with a small group to al-Kūfâ. When the rebellious Egyptian troops advanced to Medina in order to besiege the house of ‘Uthmân, Djabir was among the group sent by the caliph to negotiate with them and appease them. He is said to have fought on the side of ‘Ali at Sīflîn (37/657) and then to have returned to Medina. During the expulsion of Busr b. Artâf (40/660), Djabir was compelled to swear allegiance to Mu’awîya; this he did in precautionary dissatisfaction (takiyya q.v.), after having consulted Umm Salama, the wife of the Prophet. This is a new trait of character, indicating Shi‘i sympathies, and is one of the earliest cases of takiyya mentioned in the texts. As an indication of Djabir’s attachment to Medina and to the relics of the Prophet, one may adduce the report that he and Abû Hurayra prevailed upon Mu’awîya to leave the minbar of the Prophet in Medina and not to transfer it to Syria. He is said to have visited the court of ‘Abd al-Malik and to have asked him for some grants for the people of Medina. When the force sent by Yazíd b. Mu’awîya against Medina (63/683) entered the city, Djabir opened his voice his objection, circulating an utterance of the Prophet about the punishment which would befall people who allowed the city. He was saved from death by Marwân when a man, enraged by his words, attacked him intending to kill him. After the victory of al-Hâdîjâdî over Ibn al-Zubayr (75/692), al-Hâdîjâdî ordered the hands of some of the opponents of the Umayyad rule to be stamped in the same way as was done to the dhimmis and Djabir was among those opponents. Djabir’s sharp criticism and unkind words with regard to the rulers, especially al-Hâdîjâdî, provoked the latter’s caustic remark that Djabir displayed the same pride as the Jews by which, of course, the Ansâr were meant.

Djabir died at 78/697 at the age of 94 (other reports, however, give varying dates). He is said to have been the last survivor of the group of 70 Ansâr who attended the ‘Akaba Meeting, thus fulfilling a prediction of the Prophet. The prayer over his grave was performed by the governor of Medina, Abûn b. Uthmân, and according to another tradition, by al-Hâdîjâdî b. Yusuf when he came to Medina after his victory over ‘Abd Allâh b. al-Zubayr. Djabir is noted as a most prolific narrator of traditions from the Prophet. The number of those going back to him is estimated at 1,540; al-Bukhrâî and Muslim recorded 210 ḥadîth transmitted by him in their compilations, and the subject-range of his transmission is extremely wide. Of special interest are Djabir’s reports about events which he witnessed and details furnished by him about conditions in which he took part. Djabir was highly respected by the scholars of ḥadîth and is counted in the lists of reliable transmitters and the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth. He used to recite his traditions in the mosque of Medina; his sessions of ḥadîth-transmission were attended by a wide circle of students, who would discuss the traditions of their master after leaving the mosque. A composition known as sūfiyat Djabir contained a great number of traditions recorded by him. Scholars of ḥadîth were eager to circulate traditions on his authority, without always observing the necessary rules of ḥadîth transmission. Even a distinguished pious scholar like al-Hasan al-Baṣrî was suspected of reporting some traditions on the direct authority of Djabir, although he never was
disciple. The impressive list of those who transmitted his traditions includes the names of three of his sons: `Abd al-Ra¿mân, `Aºf and Muhammd. His descendants are said to have settled in North Africa, in a place called al-Ansâriyya. In Shi'î tradition, Djabir was granted an exceptional high rank. The hadiths recorded in Shi'î sources on his authority touch upon the fundamental tenets of Shi'î belief: the mission of 'Ali, his qualities, his authority over the believers, the graces granted him by God, the divine virtues of his descendants and the duties of allegiance and obedience incumbent upon the believers. It was the imâm al-Bâkîr who asked Djabir about the Tablet which God sent down to Fâtima and which Djabir got permission to copy. In this Tablet God named the imams and established their order of succession. It is noteworthy that, according to some versions, the imâm compared the copy of Djabir with the Tablet in his possession and stated that the copy is a reliable and accurate one. In another story, Djabir confirms the accuracy of the unusual report about the hidgâ as told him by the imâm. Djabir is credited with the hadith about the appointment of 'Ali as wâli, which forms the base of the Shi'î interpretation of Sûra LIII, 1-4. It was he who reported the utterance of the Prophet that 'Ali is the sîrît mustakîm, the right path to be followed. The imâm al-Bâkîr stressed that Djabir was privileged to possess knowledge of the correct interpretation of Sûra XXVIII, 85, which, according to him, refers to the nâjî'a, the re-appearance of the Prophet and 'Ali. Among further Shi'î traditions reported on Djabir's authority is the one which states that there are two weighty things left by the Prophet to the Muslim community; the Kur'an and his Family (al-`ula). Another tradition has it that the angel Dîjîrî bade the Prophet proclaim the vocation of 'Ali and his descendants, the imâm and, tell the Muslim community about 'Ali's distinguished position on the Day of Resurrection and in Paradise. The Sunni version of Djabir's report that the first thing created by God was the Light of Muhammad had its Shi'î counterpart, traced back to Djabir, which said that this Light was split into two parts: the Light of Muhammad and the Light of 'Ali, and that it was later transferred to the succeeding imâm. It is on the authority of Djabir that the significant tradition which states that the last persons to be with the Prophet when he died were 'Ali and Fâtima is reported. Some of his traditions relate the miracles of 'Ali, 'Ali ascended to Heaven in order to put down the rebellion of the wicked djinn, who denied his authority and a luminous angel prayed in his place in the mosque. Another miracle happened when 'Ali walked with Djabir on the bank of the Euphrates: a very high wave covered 'Ali; when he reappeared completely dry after a short time, he explained that it had been the Angel of the Water who greeted and embraced him. Djabir is distinguished in the Shi'î tradition by a significant mission entrusted to him by the Prophet: he was ordered to meet the imâm al-Bâkîr and to convey to him the greetings of the Prophet, which he did. This created a peculiar relationship between the elderly bearer of the good tidings and the young recipient, the imâm al-Bâkîr. According to tradition, the two used to meet, and some of the traditions transmitted by al-Bâkîr are told on the authority of Djabir and traced back to the Prophet. It is evident that the idea that the imâm might have derived his knowledge from a human being is opposed to the principles of the Shi'a. It had thus to be justified that it was merely done in order to put an end to the accusations of the Medinans, who blamed al-Bâkîr for transmitting hadiths on the authority of the Prophet, whom he had never seen. As the traditions reported by Djabir and those independently reported by the imâm and revealed to him by God were in fact identical, the insertion of Djabir's name between the name of the imâm and that of the Prophet was quite a formal act, with no significance. A few traditions are indeed reported with names of some traditions inserted between the imâm and the Prophet. In one of the traditions it is explained that this insertion may make the hadith more acceptable to people, although it is obvious that the imâm knew more than that Companion whose name was inserted between the imâm and the Prophet. The close relationship of Djabir with the family of 'Ali is also exposed in the story relating that Fâtima bint 'Ali asked Djabir to intervene and to persuade Zayn al-`Abîdîn to cease his excessive devotional practices which might be harming for his health. It was a sign of respect and faith that, when Husayn asked his enemies on the battlefield of Karbalá to save his life, quoting the utterance of the Prophet that he and his brother were the lords of the youths of Paradise (sayyidah `uthâb atîl-djânn), he referred to Djabir who would vouch for the truth of the utterance. Djabir is said to have been present at the grave of Husayn shortly after he was killed, and to have met there the family of Husayn who were sent back by Yazîd b. Mu'sâwiya. Another Shi'î tradition reports about his visit to the grave of Husayn and his moving speech over the grave. Djabir has intimate relations with the family of 'Ali and especially with the two imâm Zayn al-`Abîdîn and al-Bâkîr. There are some Shi'î attempts to link him with Dja'far al-`Sâdiq and to fix the date of his death at the beginning of the 2nd century A.H. Finally, the high position of Djabir in Shi'î tradition is expressed by the fact that he was placed in the list of the four persons who clung to the true faith and in the list of the nine persons to whom 'Ali promised that they would be in Paradise. The Bibliography: Akhtab Kh, al-Musha'id, al-Mandkib, al-Musnad, al-Sirah, ed. P.A. Gryaznevich, Moscow 1967, fol. 125-76, nos. 1139-1599; Ahmad b. `Ali al-Tahrazi, al-`Itifâq, Nadjaf 1368/1966, ii, 84-8, 291; Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Bayhaki, al-Sunan al-kabîr, al-Manâkib, Nadjaf 1385/1965, 27, 36, 60, 62, 80, 82, 88, 106-7, 195, 219, 227, 266; Ahmad b. Hanbal, K. l-Hal wa-ma`rîsf al-nâjî', ed. Talat Kocayi and Ismail Cerraho¿lu, Ankara 1963, i, index; idem, Musnad, Bîlak, iii, 292-400; al-Madimi, al-`Ilal, Beirut 1932/1972, index; anon., Ta'rikh al-`Itifâq, ed. P.A. 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According to most sources, he died in 128/745-6, Abd Allah as their b. Mughlriyya, who recognised the Hasanid Muhammad b. Abl Rabah and Tawus. Al-krima, 'Ata al-Mughlra for lying about them. This makes suspicions of Yusuf b. al-Mughlra for lying about them. This makes them in the introduction to his hadith, such as men who claimed to have been al-Sha'bi [q.v.].

Initial, he held the moderate Shafi'i views widespread among the Kufan traditionists. Later he joined the more radical Shafi'i circles looking to Muhammad al-Bukair (d. ca. 1177/353) and his son Da'far al-Sadik for religious guidance. According to some Sunni here-Cutina, who became the leader of the extremist Shafi'I-isms, he became the leader of the extremist Shafi'i followers of the Mughrira b. Sa'id after the latter was killed by Khalid al-Kasri, governor of Kufa, in 119/737. Imami sources, on the other hand, report a statement of Da'far al-Sadik condemning him for having said the truth about the imams while condemning the Mughrira for lying about them. This makes it appear unlikely that Djabir actually belonged to the Mughrira, who recognised the Hasanid Muhammad b. Abd Allah as their imam, but does point to some relationship between him and al-Mughrira. According to another Imami report, Djabir first aroused the suspicions of Yusuf b. 'Umar, governor of Kufa (120/6-738-44), and then incited the people of Kufa against his successor, Mansur b. Djumhur (126/744). According to most sources, he died in 128/745-6. Other death dates given for him are 127/745-4 and 132/749-50.

Sunni hadith criticism was divided concerning his trustworthiness. His transmission was evidently accepted at first as reliable and highly accurate but later, as 2: Muqaddimah attributes to him, was considered to be 'a statement of Djarar al-Sadik commending him for having said the truth about the imams while condemning the Mughrira for lying about them. This makes it appear unlikely that Djabir actually belonged to the Mughrira, who recognised the Hasanid Muhammad b. Abd Allah as their imam, but does point to some relationship between him and al-Mughrira. According to another Imami report, Djabir first aroused the suspicions of Yusuf b. 'Umar, governor of Kufa (120/6-738-44), and then incited the people of Kufa against his successor, Mansur b. Djumhur (126/744). According to most sources, he died in 128/745-6. Other death dates given for him are 127/745-4 and 132/749-50.
he would not divulge. The Imami attitude to him was also ambiguous. While he was considered a loyal supporter of the imams al-Bakır and al-Ṣadik, he was described as "mixed-up" (mukhtalif) by scholars and ascribed miraculous qualities and powers to him. It is uncertain to what extent reports later circulating under his name among the ghulāt go back to Dībar, whatever his relations with the contemporary Shi'ī extremists. An early Imami source states that 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārīrī, leader of the extremist followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Muʿawiyah [q.v.], after the latter's death in 131/748-9, spread extremist doctrines about metempsychosis, pre-existence of the human souls as shadows (azīla) and cyclical history (dawr [q.v. in Suppl.]), ascribing to Dībar b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣadīr and Dībar al-Ḍuḥyī "who were innocent of them" (see al-Nawawī, Fihrist al-ʿālā'ī, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 31). The early Imami scholar al-Najashi (d. 450/1058) mentions the following books of Dībar as still available to him: K. al-Tārifī, K. al-Nawwārī, K. al-Fudārī, K. al-Dimālī, K. Sīfīnīn, K. al-Nāsirīn, K. Mātkul Amīr al-Muʾāmīnīn, and K. Mātkul al-Ḥusaynīn. Dībar occasionally appears in al-Ṭabarī’s Qurʾān commentary and his Taʾrikh as a transmitter of Qurʾān exegesis and in the latter work also as a transmitter of reports on the caliphate of 'Alī and the death of al-Ḥusayn (see Taʾrifī, index s.v. Dībar al-Rawī). It is unlikely, however, that al-Ṭabarī was quoting directly from any works of Dībar. Extensive quotations of his reports concerning the battle of Siffin and the caliphate of 'Alī are contained in the K. Wākit Siffin of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, Naṣr’s authority for them was, however, 'Amr b. Shīm, who is accused by the Shīʿī al-Tāṣī of having made additions to Dībar’s works.


(W. MADELUNG)

Dībar (Ar.), a marriage concluded under conditions which vary according to the judicial schools. The right of ḥijr is foreseen neither by the Qurʾān nor by the Sunna, and a ḥudūd (al-Bukhārī, Nikāh, bāb 42) actually declares that neither the father nor any other person may give in marriage without the consent of the girl in question, who must be past the age of puberty, and only if she is subject to impediment, as in the other cases; if she is under 15 years of age, the marriage is invalid. The girl may not give her assent before puberty. Marriages are not valid after puberty, which is defined as the moment at which a girl is a legal person. The girl may make a separate declaration of her freedom, which the father is not bound to accept (e.g. with the proviso ‘I will not marry you unless you give me a wife’), but the acceptance of the father is necessary to conclude the contract. The girl’s freedom is not a condition precedent for the exercise of the marriage right, but may be exercised after the marriage contract is consummated. Moreover, the girl enjoys the right of choice, whether she is past the age of puberty or not. On attaining puberty, she may refuse her father’s choice in marriage, and conserve her virginity whether she is a virgin or not. In such cases, the father is bound to respect her consent, and if he does not agree, she has the right to appeal to the court (mawāqif), which will decide the matter.

According to the Hanafīs, both parents have the right to give a girl in marriage without her consent, at least tacit; only the father or the grandfather in fact exercises the right of choice (kubb), but this may not be exercised over a post-pubescent girl (wali ḥudūd) or a virgin girl below 15 years of age (wali ḥijr). According to the Shafiʿīs, the wali ḥudūd may not give a virgin girl in marriage without her consent; at least tacit; only the father or the grandfather in fact exercises the right of choice (kubb). According to the Malākūs in the case of the girl, whether she is a virgin or not. On attaining puberty, she may refuse her father’s choice in marriage, and conserve her virginity whether she is a virgin or not. In such cases, the father is bound to respect her consent, and if he does not agree, she has the right to appeal to the court (mawāqif), which will decide the matter.

For the Hanbalīs, the conditions for the exercise of the right of kubb approximate to those of the Malākūs, who show themselves the most rigorous in combining the notions of impuberty and of virginity. In fact the father has the right to give his daughter in marriage without her consent, not only if she is subject to impedance, as in the other schools, but also, with certain restrictions, if she is a virgin, whether past the age of puberty (she may even be an old maid) or below it; she exercises the right of kubb equally over a pre-pubescent girl deflowered after a legal marriage, and over a post-pubescent girl deflowered accidentally or illegally. There is no right of choice, but the father is obliged to respect the principle according to which the partners must be well-suited (see kafāʾa). So in order to escape the paternal ḥijr, the daughter must be past the age of puberty and legally deflowered (thayyib) or, if she has preserved her
virginity after the age of puberty, she must be emancipated in respect of property, or married for a year or less and divorced, or a widow whose marriage has not been consummated. The *waliَّah* other than the father is never *muğhrif*, that is to say that he only has the right to give a girl in marriage whether she has passed puberty, but her consent, more or less tacit, is then required; having become *thayib*, she must give an explicit consent through the intermediary of her *waliَّah*.

Among the Imāmī Shi‘īs, the right of *gähb* belongs to the father, and, with certain reservations, to the grandfather. In early times, it was applied to the virgin daughter whatever her age, but ultimately it was decided that the post-pubescent virgin is no longer subject to it. Such is the theory. In practice, the governments of the majority Muslim states, whether independent or under foreign protectorate, have long ago attempted to curb the right of *gähb* by fixing the age of marriage at twelve and above for girls and by forbidding the *kādīs* to conduct unduly premature weddings; but is has not always been possible to exercise a very strict control. In the states which have modern legal systems, this right has been totally abolished or restrained by the necessity of the mutual consent of the parties, even if the mediation of the *waliَّah* is still required (if the latter refuses, it is possible to have recourse to the judge). There remain, however, vestiges of it in the most modern legal codes, such as that of Morocco which provides (art. 12) that the judge has the right to use compulsion in a case where it is feared that a girl will misbehave if allowed to remain a spinster.


**DIJABRIDS**, a dynasty based in *al-ʾAḥsā‘* [*q.v.*] in eastern Arabia in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries. The Banū *Djabr* descended from *ʿAmir b. Rabī‘a* b. *Ukayl*. The founder of the dynasty was Sa‘īd b. Zāmīl b. *Djabr*, who supplanted the *Darwānīs* of *Ukayl* [*see AL-KATTF*]. Sa‘īd’s brother and successor *Adjudaw* was born in the desert in the region of *al-ʾAḥsā‘* and al-*Katif* in Ramadan 821/October 1418. Adjudaw in his fifties was strong enough to become involved in the politics of Hormuz on the other side of the Gulf. He told the Median historian al-Samḥūdī how he had visited the tomb of Kōlōy, the hero of the saga of the war of al-ʾBūsūs, in Ḥimā Darīyya [*q.v.*], a tomb revered by a Bedouin cult. Adjudaw extended his authority westwards into Nadjaf and towards *ʿUmān* in the east, where he gathered tribute. He won fame as a captain who had suffered many wounds in battle. At the same time he was distinguished for his piety; he diligently collected books of the Mālikī law school to which he adhered, a school with many followers in eastern Arabia. Some of the Mālikī judges whom he appointed were converts from the Shi‘a. He made frequent pilgrimages, the last being in 912/1507, when he was said to have led a throng of 30,000. His generosity was such that the Bedouins of eastern Arabia still remember him as a sort of latter-day Ḥārīm al-Tā‘ī. The traces of a fort near the village of al-Munayzila in al-ʾAḥsā‘ are known as Kašr Adjudaw b. Zamīl.

With the arrival of the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf in 913/1507, Albuquerque learned of the power of the *Djabrīs*. Adjudaw had just died, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom was Muqrīn. The famous pilgrimage in 926/1520 by Muqrīn, whom the Egyptians visiting Mecca regarded as "the lord of the Bedouins of the East", is described in *Al-Katif*.

Back from al-Hīdżāz, Muqrīn in *Shābān* 927/July 1521 encountered a Portuguese force that had descended on the island of al-Bahrayn. Having married a daughter of the Amir of Mecca, Muqrīn had brought with him Turkish craftsmen and sailors to build and man a fleet to oppose the Christian enemy and had strengthened his army with 400 Persian archers and 20 Ottoman sharp-shooters. The battle took place on land. After a heroic resistance, Muqrīn fell gravely wounded and died three days later.

In 928/1521 *Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd*, the *Djabrī* field commander in *ʿUmān*, joined the Portuguese in expelling the Persian garrison from *Ṣuḥār* on the coast of the Gulf of *ʿUmān*, and the Portuguese recognised *Ḥusayn* as the new governor there, describing him as master of the whole stretch of territory southwards to *Zafar* on the Arabian Sea.

As the 10th/16th century wore on, the *Djabrīs* grew weaker in the face of an Ottoman advance from the north and incursions by the Shi‘īs of Mecca from the west. Rāshīd b. Muḥammādīs of the Munāfikī, an Ottoman subject, dealt the *Djabrīs* a crippling blow in 931/1524-5. An inscription in Masdjid al-Dibs in Ḥīdżāz in 931/1525 depicts the Ottoman subject, dealt the *Djabrīs* a crippling blow in 931/1524-5. An inscription in Masdjid al-Dibs in Ḥīdżāz in 931/1525 depicts the control of the city by the Ottoman governor, Mehmed Farruḳ Pāsha, and the date 964/1556.

In 966/1559-60 the *Shārī‘ī* Hasan b. Abī Numayy, while besieging Mi‘kāl in the oasis of al-Riyād, captured a number of the leading figures there, among whom there may have been members of Banū *Djabr*. Three years later the same Shārī‘ī took towns and forts in al-Khārdjī and al-Yamāmā. On the way home, the Shārī‘ī was attacked by Bedouins of Banū Khālid, whom he routed. This incident lends credence to the likelihood of a direct connection between the *Djabrīs* and this tribe, particularly its section named the *Djabrī*.


**DJĀDIRĪ**

AJABRIDS (435) — DJADJARMI

1. The elder, Bādrl-al-Dīn b. ʿUmr, made his career under the patronage of the Djuwaynīs (q.v.), a clan originating from the same area, which came to political power under the early Il-Khāns. He was in particular connected with the governor of Isfahān, Bāhā al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Djuyānī (d. 678/1280). The contemporary poet Maḥdī-i Hamgar, who also belonged to the circle of this patron, is said to have been his teacher. Bādrl-al-Dīn used as his pen-name either Bādrl or Bādrl-i Djādirī. He wrote elegies on the death of Bāhā al-Dīn, of Shams al-Dīn Shāh-Bīdān and on the death of the mystic Saʿīd al-Dīn Hammūlī, another close relation of the Djuwaynīs. His own death occurred in Djuwaynī II 686/August 1287. Fragments of his poetry have been preserved in the anthology compiled by his son, but he also retained the attention of the tadhkira-writers (cf. e.g. Dawlaṣhānī, 219 ff.; see further Saṭār, *Taʿrīkh*, 558). Although the pretentious title maḥlīk al-qurūbārī has become attached to his name, his works represent the average of the poetry of his age. Notable are two poems of a didactic nature: a short *maḥnūs* in the metre *ṣāhīfī* on palmposcopy (*ṣāhīfī* q.v.), and a *hājdat* dealing with prognostics (*ḥājdatī* q.v.) based on the position of the moon in the various *bārūd* (cf. *Muʿnis*, ii, 861-75 and 1218-21).

2. Muḥammad b. Bādrl, the son, is only known through his extensive anthology of poetry entitled *Muʿnis al-abābī fī dākīt al-ṣāḥfār*, which was completed in Rāmādad 741/February-March 1341. It is distinguished from the works of the tadhkira type by the lack of any biographical data concerning the poets whose works are represented in the collection, as well as by its method of arrangement. The collection contains poems of about 200 different poets from various periods, but the emphasis is on the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. The anthologist frequently quotes his father, and has inserted some specimens of his own work as well. Apart from that, the Ḥishānī poet Kāmil al-Dīn Ṣamʿī (q.v.), one of the early masters of the so-called "Īrākī" style, appears to be a distinct favourite. The poems have been arranged into thirty chapters according to their subject-matter, genre or poetic form. Most of them are unabridged. This anthology constitutes a valuable source for the study of mediaeval Persian literature in many respects. It has preserved much material from the Il-Khānīd period, but also from earlier periods, that otherwise would have been lost. Chapter xxvii, on rubāʿīyyāt, contains a special section devoted to Ṣamʿī Ḥishānī, with a group of thirteen quatrains (added as an appendix to the edition of the Rūbaʿīyyāt-e Ḥakīm Ṭāḥṣīb by Fr. Rosen, Berlin 1925). The nature of its arrangement provides a number of starting-points for the investigation of poetic genres.

The *Muʿnis al-abābī* has already been used as a source by Rīdā Kuli Khūnī Ḥīdāyat (cf. Maḥdīna al-ṣaḥafābī, iith. Tehran 1295, i, *mukaddama*). But it became widely known only through the discovery of an autograph, dated Rāmādad 741/February-March 1341, which formerly belonged to the Kharkov Collection. This manuscript at first attracted the attention of art historians on account of a series of pictures illustrating, firstly, a poem entitled *ṣāḥfār* for the *ṣāḥfār* of an *mubawwar*, a book compiled for illustration by Uṣūl Muhammad al-Rawāndī, and, secondly, *Ṣāḥbāt-i Ṡāḥbāt* by Bādrl al-Dīn. The miniatures have been attributed to the ʾIndjū school of painting at Shirāz. The manuscript has been described in detail in the catalogue of the *Exhibition of the Kevorvian Collection ... exhibited at the Galleries of Charles
DJÄDARMI — DJÄ'FAR B. MANSÜR AL-YAMAN

In Djuumâdi 1 556/May 1161 he preached at the funeral of the son of the Imâm, who continued to support him in his struggle against the Mu'tarriffiyâ. He died in 373/1177-8 and was buried in Sânâ'.

Kâdi Djâ'far played the most conspicuous role in the introduction of the religious literature of the Caspian Zaydi community to the Yaman. Through his transmission of this literature as well as through his own works, said to number more than thirty, in all fields of religious learning, he became the founder of a school which recognised the Caspian Zaydi Imâmims as being equally authoritative teachers with the Yaman Imâmims, and he espoused the Baṣrân Mu'tazîlî doctrine in theology and legal methodology already adopted by most Zaydfs outside the Yaman, thus restoring ideological unity within the Zaydîyya. His school became predominant in the Yaman community under the Imâm al-Mansûr 'Abd Allah b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), who supported its views in his own many writings and waged a war of extermination against the Mu'tarriffiyâ.

Bibliography: Anonymous Yamanî chronicle, ms. Ambrosiana H 5, fols. 21b, 23b, 40b, 43b, 45; Ibn Samûra, Taḥâbât al-fikr b. al-Yaman, ed. Fu'ûd Sayyid, Cairo 1957, 180; Ibn Ṭahlîl 'Alî b. Ṣalâm al-Mu'tarrîf, ed. M.-T. Kamal Husayn and M. C. Amer, Madrasa in al-Mansûriyya (Sabra), to a creditor (see Madelung, A. G., Die schone Mahsati, in the article, see F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1963, 117 f; G. Lazard, in REI, vi (1932), 236; in English in Schools of_SMAD}
al-huruf al-mu'ama; Ta'wil al-fara'id; Ta'wil al-^akat; Ta3wil surat al-Nisd... amongst other things, the rebels sacked the British consulate in Djalalabad; this rising, and the poor performance of sugar cane by irrigation, rice, fruits, etc., and a Ningrahar irrigation project, built around a dam in the Darunta gorge, has recently been undertaken. Ethnically, the Djalalabad region comprises some Tajik villagers but mainly Pushtuns of the Ghilzay, Shinwari, Khugiyani, Mohmand and Safi tribes.

The actual town of Djalalabad only appears in Islamic history during the Mughal period, and Akbar is said to have founded it in ca. 1576. Nadir Shah Afghān campaigned in the district, and defeated the Pushtun tribes at nearby Gondamak. It is during the 19th century that the town really comes into prominence. The American traveller Charles Masson was there in ca. 1826-7, and states that he discerned the ruinous mud walls of two earlier towns on the site, the contemporary town being the smallest of the three. The then governor of Djalalabad was Nawāb Muhammad Zamān Khan b. A'sad Khan, a nephew of Dost Muhammad [see DUST MUHAMMAD], and the revenue of the whole province of Djalalabad, including that from the Tajik villages and from Laghman, amounted to three lakhs (i.e. 300,000) of rupees (Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab, London 1842 (repr. Karachi 1974), i, 174-80; Sir Thomas Holdich, The gates of India, London 1910, 352 ff.).

Shortly after Masson's visit, Djalalabad was seized and sacked by Dost Muhammad in his expansion from Kābul (1834). It then played a crucial role in the First Afghan War (1839-42). It was occupied by Major-General Sir Robert Sale's brigade of the British forces ("the illustrious garrison") from November 1841 till April 1842 against the attacking Afghan army of Muhammad Akbar Khan, and fortified by the British troops, despite a severe earthquake there in February 1842 which damaged the defences. It was Djalalabad that the remnants of Major-General William Elphinstone's ill-fated army straggled back from Kābul in January 1842, the town being only relieved three months later by Major-General George Pollock (see J.A. Norris, The First Afghan War 1838-1842, Cambridge 1967, 371 ff.). During the Second Afghan War (1879-80), Djalalabad was again occupied by British troops, who built a defence post, Fort Sale, one mile to the east of the town. It had now become a favoured winter residence of the amirs of Kābul, and in 1892 'Abd al-Rahmān Khan [see ABD AL-RAHMAN KHAH] built a palace and garden near the western gate of the walled town. When in 1919 the amīr Habīb Allāh [see HABIB ALLAH] was assassinated in the Laghman district, his brother Naṣr Allāh was briefly proclaimed king at Djalalabad, but abdicated in favour of his nephew Amān Allāh b. Habīb Allāh. During the Third Afghan War, which followed these events almost immediately, Djalalabad was bombed from the air by the British (cf. L.W. Adamiec, Afghanistan 1900-1923, a diplomatic history, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 107-8, 117, 122). It was amongst the Shinwars and other Pushtūn tribes of the Djalalabād region that the amīr Sabīl Allāh [see SABI] endeavoured in 1928 to exert his centralised authority and to end the extortion of protection money (baqtra) from caravans travelling to Peshāwār, provoking a rising of the Shinwars in which, amongst other things, the rebels sacked the British consulate in Djalalabād; this rising, and the poor performance climate has meant that Djalalabad has for long been a winter residence place for many Kābulis and a winter haven for tribesmen of the climatically harsh slopes of the Safīd Kūh to the south of the river valley and of the Kāfīrīstān fringes. At present, Djalalabad is a thriving market town, a muntaqaddimān (river crossing) and a rising irrigation project, built around a dam in the Darunta gorge, has recently been undertaken. Ethnically, the Djalalabād region comprises some Tajik villagers but mainly Pushtuns of the Ghilzay, Shinwari, Khugiyani, Mohmand and Safi tribes.

The comparatively low-lying and sheltered valley here of the Kābul River gives Djalalābād what Dupree has called a "Mediterranean, dry-summer, sub-tropical climate" (this is in fact more accurate than Humlum's term "monsoon climate"). Rain falls mainly in the three winter months, and the mild climate...
of the royal Afghan army against it, were contribu-

The modern town has since 1964 been the provin-
cial capital of Ningrāhr; its population was estimated by J. Humlum at 20,000-30,000, swollen during the winter by the influx of Kābulīs and others (La gé-
ographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride, Copenhagen 1959, 140). It has by now lost the protective wall and the bazaars of the old city, and the modern town has expanded towards the west. Djalālābād also pos-
sesses a military airport, originally built with US aid for civil purposes.

Bibliography (in addition to sources given in the article): Imperial gazetteer of India, Oxford 1908, xiv, 11-13; Area handbook for Afghanistan, Washington D.C. 1973, index; and the general histories of Afghanistan (Fraser-Tytler, Masson and Romodin, Klimburg, etc.), especially for the events of the 19th century.

The name Djalālābād occurs elsewhere in the Central Asian and Indo-Afghan worlds. For the Djalālābād in the modern Kirghiz SSR, see the article: s.v. in EI3. For the Djalālābād in Sīstān (= Došhak), see Holdich, op. cit., 335, 497. For the Djalālābād in the Shāh-Jāhānpūr District of Uttar Pradesh in India, situated on the Ganges and in lat. 27° 43' N. and long. 79° 40' E., said to have been founded by the Tughluqī Djalāl al-Dīn Frūz Shāh, and the Djalālābād in the Muzaffarnagar District of Uttar Pradesh, in lat. 29° 37' N. and long. 77° 27' E., said to have been founded by one Djalāl Khān under Awrangzīb, see Imperial gazetteer of India, xiv, 13-14. (C.E. Bosworth)

Djalālī, a term in Ottoman Turkish used to describe companies of brigands, led usually by idle or dissident Ottoman army officers, widely-spread throughout Anatolia from about 999/1590 but dimin-
ishing by 1030/1620. The term probably derives from an earlier (925/1519) political and religious rebellion in Amāsya by a Shīwī Djalālī. Official Ottoman use appears in a petition (and as early as 997/1588 Divan-i Kalem- i Kalemi 997-8-C), where the term identifies unchecked rebels (aşkāṇā) engaging in brigandage. Analysis of the three-decade period of Djalālī revolts indicates that these leaders had in common certain objectives which arose through deteriorating social and political con-
ditions in Anatolia.

First, constant warfare for decades on the Ottoman boundaries expended men and treasure, leaving large areas of the Anatolian heartland without proper pro-
tection from local outlaws. By the later 10th/16th century, the Ottomans found themselves unable to move militarily beyond the lines generally established by Sulṭān Sulaymān Kānūnī, both in Hungary and is Persia. Hostilities continued with the Habsburgs from 1002/1593 until the Treaty of Zsitvatorok (11 November 1606); war in the east with the Safawī Shāh [q.v.] continued to 993/1585), increase in population, heavy demands for increased tribute from subject nations, the sale of lands formerly administered by cavalry-
men (iltīzām [q.v.]), debasement of the coinage, and the increase of peasant taxes. Food shortages, even widespread famine, occurred due to limited agricul-
tural technology, a decade of drought (985-1577 to 993/1585), increase in population, heavy demands by Ottoman armies in both Europe and Persia, scorched-earth policies by the Ottoman and Persian armies in eastern Anatolia, and illegal sale of grain to European markets.

Third, as in other areas of the Mediterranean, Ottoman lands experienced unrest and banditry among classes normally quiescent. Peasants (nāşā) on cavalry lands sold as iltīzām [q.v.] found their new absentee landlords interested more in profits than traditional patronage. Legally tied to their lands, peasants felt the oppression of the new landowners, whose excesses could not be bridled, and that of the tax collectors, many of whom could hardly be differentiated from brigands. With technological changes in warfare, increased numbers of Muslim reyāṣa enlisted as daily-wage musketeers (sebkān), returning to Anatolia after their campaigns jobless but expert in the military arts. Another normally tranquil group were students training in madrasas [q.v.] for positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy. Frustrated especially because their number far exceeded available positions, they wandered in groups across rural Anatolia, some preaching religious revival, and most of them participating in anti-social violence against small villages and lonely travelers (Akdağ, Cepsidī iyunlan, 85-100).

Fourth, misguided leadership within the Ottoman government kindled the great Djalālī rebellions. After the astonishing Ottoman victory over the Habsburgs at Hāt Owaşī (Mezö-Keresztes [q.v.]) in Hungary on 23 October 1596, the newly-appointed grand vizier Cihgħāla-zāde Sinān Pağha [q.v.] declared for-
feit the property and the lives of all who deserted (firdār) from the battle. The Firdārīs, whose several thousands included many high-ranking officers, fled to Anatolia where they joined the forces of the Djalālī leader Karāzāzīgīdī 'Abd al-Halīm and fought successfully against Ottoman armies for several years. The unsuccessful actions of important Ottoman generals, including Naşīḥ Pağha against the Djalālī Tawīl Khālīf at Bolvadin (1014/1605), and Farhād Pağha's [q.v.] anti-Djalālī campaign of 1015/1606, demonstrated the need for greater military organi-
zation and discipline in recognition of the serious-
ness of the rebellions.

Where Ottoman leadership often failed because of personal incompetence, bureaucratic sluggishness, and court intrigue, local Djalālī chiefs proved themselves master strategists and attractive leaders, with objec-
tives in many ways unique in Ottoman history. Unlike most rebels, they did not attempt to establish a bureau-
cratic state and a taxation system, to coin money, or to have their names read in the Friday mosque prayer (khutba). The Djalālī leaders primarily desired a place for themselves in the established Ottoman order, usu-
ally accepting a pardon from the weak government, leading to the offer of positions as sandık başları or hegyehes. At such a time, their rank and file became salaried and, as askeris [q.v.], non-taxed. When they failed to obtain governmental recognition, both leaders and led lived on plunder, pillaging villages or outly-
ing city districts, demanding enormous ransoms of the urban dwellers and incurring the hatred of the coun-
try.
tryside. Qalâlî hands ruled wide areas of Anatolia, communicated with one another, and occasionally acted in unity. Though commonly branded as proponents of the Persian Shâh 'Abbâs and of Shî'â Islam, sectarian fervor played little part in their activities. Neither the Persian monarch nor any other foreign power gave them official recognition.

A different kind of rebellion occurred contemporaneously in northern Syria and is often erroneously considered to be a Qalâlî revolt, possibly because of a short-lived alliance with some Qalâlî leaders (Shidyâk, AKBâr al-âyn, 133). Dînîbâllâdodhî 'Alî Pašâ based his revolt on the power of his well-known Kurdish family and Turkoman retainers, as well as on regional loyalties in Aleppo and Damascus. Official recognition came in the form of an alliance with the Grand Duke of Tuscany (Fondo Archivisto Medico, No. 4275 is the Italian copy of the treaty) and a vague understanding with the Safavîd Shâh (Wâsiti, q.v.).

The dangerous international implications of Dînîbâllâdodhî’s revolt were not missed by the newly-appointed (1015/1606) grand vizier, the nonagenerian Kuyûdû Murût Pašâ. On the occasion of peace in Hungary, he immediately marched toward Aleppo, established military discipline, used a variety of loyal non-Anatolian as well as doughty [q.v.] forces, whom he paid promptly, and smashed the Syrian rebel Dînîbâllâdodhî at Orûc Owasî near Lake Amîk (1016/1607). Six months later he turned against the great Qalâlî, took advantage of their fickle individualism, pardoned some, executed most, and routed the army of Kalenderodoodhî Mehdî at Gûksûn Yâyâli, though the rebel leader fled to Persia. A year later Murût Pašâ executed the last great Qalâlî leader, Maşûl Câvusî.

In the years following Kuyûdû Murût Pašâ’s death (1020/1611), though Qalâlî faded from official use in the Mühîmme defterleri, the term remained in Ottoman historical writing to identify certain Anatolian rebels. Ewliya Celebi in the mid-11th/mid-17th century mentions the “Qalâlî Pašas” (Sayhatnâme, viii, 104), and Nâ’îmûd-dîn (Ta’rikh, v, 155) describes the activities of a 12th/18th-century rebel as Qalâlî ("like a Qalâlî"). Today, the memory of the Qalâlî remains only in the folk songs of the Anatolian bero Köroğlu [q.v.].


[DJALALI—DJAMAL AL-DIN ISFAHANI]
Anwarī and Rashīd-ī Wātāwī [q.v.], who seem to have ignored him rather disdainfully. Djamāl al-Dīn's ascetic ideas—including the idea of renunciation—are best presented in the kāfīdas which he wrote in the fashion of Sanā‘ī; though these are far inferior to Sanā‘ī's ones. His Dīwān—comprising kāfīdas, quatrains, and ghazals—contains no less than 10,000 verses and displays the lucid and flowing Tárīkh style. Djamāl al-Dīn is said to have died either in 588/1192 or in 600/1203, the former being more likely.


**Djamāl Karshi, sobriquet of Abu Ḵulīfah Majīd b. Ḫisāb, scholar and administrator in Turkestān during the Mongol era.** He was born at Almāghī around 598/1200. After completing his ḥalāfīyah, he left his mother originating from Merw. He enjoyed the patronage of the local Turkish dynasty founded at Almāghī [q.v.] by Būzār (or Uzār), and obtained a position in the chancellorry there. In 662/1264, however, he was obliged to leave Almāghī, and for the remainder of his life resided at Kāshghār, though travelling widely in western Turkestān.

In 681/1282 he composed a Persian commentary (zand) on the great lexicon al-Sīrāḥ of Ḵawārī [q.v.], subsequently adding to it a historical and biographical supplement. Djamāl Karshi’s Muḥābāt al-Sūrāb ī is in fact the only historical source we possess emanating from the Central Asian state founded by Kaydū [q.v.]. Extracts of the work, which includes particularly valuable sections on the Kaḵāḵānsīdīs [see Ilk-Kūns] and the Mongol rulers of Turkestān [see Ḵāẖatay ‘Eshānī], surveys of various Central Asian cities, and biographies of local divines, were edited by Barthold in Turkestān, Russ. ed., l, 128-52; The Muḥābāt was completed in 1295-6. Of the texts of Kaydū’s son Čapar [q.v.] in 702/1303, the latest date mentioned. The date of Djamāl Karshi’s death is unknown. The surname is due to his connection with the rulers of Almāghī (karší = “palace”), and is not a nisba from Karshi as was formerly supposed.

**Bibliography:** V. V. Barthold, in Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdelenniya Imperatorskogo Rossiiskogo Arkheologiceskogo Obščestva, xi (1897-8), 283-7; idem, Turkestān, 51-2; Brockelmann, I, 296, S I, 528; H. F. Hofman, Turkish literature, iii/1, 3, Utrecht 1969, 84-9, with full MS references. (P. Jackson)

**Al-Djamāla Al-‘Arabiyya, the Arab League.** Established at the end of the Second World War, this reflects the desire to renew the original unity, a desire which has continued to be active in Muslim communities following the decline and subsequent collapse of the Arab-Islamic empire.

It was during the final years of the 19th century and before the First World War that Arab nationalism became aware of their national homogeneity, based on a common language and destiny, and on a similar way of life and culture (kūsmīya [q.v.]).

Egypt, reverting to the cause of Arabism between the two World Wars, in order to put an obstacle in the way of Ḥāǧemite designs (a plan for a Greater Syria conceived at ‘Ammān, or for a Fertile Crescent, put forward by Baghdādī) took the initiative of assembling in Alexandria representatives of the Arab States regarded as being independent. This meeting, marked by the signing of a protocol (7 October 1944), laid the foundations of a union which was ratified the following year in Cairo, where on 22 March 1945 the Pact of the Arab League was signed by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Trans-jordan and Yemen.

Subsequently, the League has been joined by the following countries: Libya (1953), Sudan (1956), Tunisia and Morocco (1958), Kuwait (1961), Algeria (1962), South Yemen (1967), the United Arab Emirates, ‘Aṣfār, Bahrayn and ‘Umān (1971), Mauritania and Somalia (1974) and Djibouti (1977). Furthermore, the Palestine Liberation Organisation has been admitted, first in the capacity of an observer (1965), then as a full member (1976).

The text adopted by the founders after long discussion, is remarkable for its flexibility and its simplicity. It specifies that the object of the League is “the forging of links between the member States and the coordination of their policies” with the aim of fostering collective action and cooperation in respect of each one of them.

The components of the Organisation are currently the following:

— The Council of the League, the supreme body, which can meet at the level of Heads of State, Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers. Summit meetings composed of Heads of State since 1964 have been:

The council decides questions of administration by a simple majority, but in all important cases, decisions are only binding if they have been taken unanimously. Conversely, they are binding only on the States that have voted for them (art. 7).

— Ten permanent committees are charged with studying various questions entrusted to them and submitting in various cases projects for resolution or recommendations.

— An administrative tribunal and a committee of financial control are directly responsible to the Council of the League.

— Seventeen specialised agencies have been instituted by particular agreements to investigate common technical problems.

— The permanent Secretariat-General, which is directed by a Secretary-General elected by a two-thirds majority, himself assisted by a number of additional secretaries, comprises several departments and controls specialised bureaux, institutes and social centres. Three Egyptians have successively held the office of Secretary General of the Arab League:
  3. Mahmūd Rīyād (since 1 June 1972).

The Secretariat-General maintains permanent delegations to the United Nations in New York and

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Since the creation of the Organisation various plans for reform have been proposed by different states: Syria (1953), Iraq (1956), Morocco (1955, 1963), Algeria, Iraq and Syria (1964). These projects have never come to fruition. Since June 1967 this subject has only been tackled by experts.

Conflicts between member States have not been lacking, leading to almost constant disputes between two or more of the partners. These have been motivated by various factors: frontier disputes, local subversion, differences over the choice of foreign policy, differences of approach concerning the manner of conducting the war or of obtaining peace in the Israeli-Arab conflict, abortive attempts at union, ideological rivalries, personal antagonisms and a permanent struggle for supremacy. Generally, the States concerned have avoided referring their quarrels to the Council of the League. They have preferred to solve their differences by seeking the arbitration either of bilateral diplomacy or of other, larger organisations, such as the U.N.O. or, since its inception in 1963, the O.A.U.

In a number of cases, certain members have failed to attend meetings. Sometimes the tactics adopted by Egypt, by the very fact that the latter is host to the League, paralyse its activity. But to this day no decisive schism has interfered with its workings.

The League, which has supplied a considerable quantity of aid to liberation movements and has assisted the emancipation of Arab nations, serves in fact as a forum where mutual aggressions and rivalries may be diminished, and where, after the confrontation, a measure of co-existence develops.

In the economic sphere, it has given birth in 1948 to a bureau for the boycott of Israel, in 1950 to the Union of Chambers of Arab Commerce, Industry and Agriculture and in 1957 to the Council of Arab Economic Unity. It has played a not considerable role in the matter of oil, organising congresses and providing facilities for meeting and observation attended by experts from all parts of the world, sessions which have themselves led to the establishment of groups of producing States such as O.P.E.C. (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) in 1960 and O.P.E.A.C. (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Arab Countries) in 1968.

It is in the name of the League that attempts have been made since 1964 to organise an Arab Common Market, which has never got beyond the stage of a free-trade zone limited to Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Jordan. More recently there have been founded the A.F.E.S.D. (Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development) (1973), the Union of Arab Banks (1975), the Arab Institute for the Guarantee of Investments (1975) and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (1975). Since 1973 the League has played a major role in the Arab-European dialogue and in Arab-African co-operation.

Handicapped by the weight of nationalities whose evolution remains very slow, paralysed by the political rivalry of member States, affected by the turbulence of an unstable international world, the League nevertheless plays a role that often goes unnoticed as a centre for contacts, exchanges and studies where Arabs may meet, learn to understand one another, overcome their differences and arrive at common solutions [See also the Addenda and Corrigenda].


A recent publication by the League in Cairo is the monthly bulletin in Arabic, *Djamâ'at al-dawâl al-'arabiyâ*, from January 1978.

**Djamâl** (Arabic: camel-driver or camel-herd, also an owner of and herder of camels (hence synonymous here with mu'attari) and a dealer in camels; Persian equivalent, *ugdh-i ban*).

During the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic periods camel caravans travelled enormous distances between the main centres of population and trade. Our sources indicate that relatively high wages were earned by the *djamâ'ât* during the 'Abbasid period. The *djamâl*, also seems, came under the jurisdiction of *hisba* (g.p.) officials in Islamic towns. The conduct of the camel-men came under some criticism from writers like Dāhīz and Ibn al-Djawīzī. Ibn Sa'd cites a tradition that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb chastised a *djāmmâl* for overburdening a camel. However, the great expansion of international trade between regions during the 'Abbasid period gave the camel-men a significant role to play in Arab society, and they were one of the most important groups of transport-workers. It was during this epoch of greatness of Islamic civilization that we find some *djamâ̄l-lân* among the transmitters of the Prophetic traditions (*ahadīth*). *Iqbâlî* [g.p.] tells a tale that the caliph al-Mu'tamid awarded a pious *djamâl* a monthly allowance of 30 dinārs, besides a royal gift of 500 dinārs in cash. In contrast to their mediavel glory, the modern camel-men's trade is regarded as demeaning and low (*lāl*), and on some of the pilgrim roads to Mecca, one could hear a lot of critical comments about the conduct of the *djamâ̄l-lân* until very recent times.

**Djâmmû, a region of northern India, lying between lat. 32° and 33° N. and long. 74° and 76° E. and extending east of the Čenâb. It is bounded on the south by the Siālkôt district of the Pândžâb and on the north by Kâshmîr, of which it now constitutes a province, covering an area of 12,375 sq. miles. Its capital, the town of the same name, is situated on the right bank of the Ĥavīt.*

The original name of this ancient principality, which lay in the valleys of the Ĥavīt and the Čenâb, was Durgâra, from which is derived the ethnic term *Dogrâ* for its mountaineer inhabitants. Even the name Durgâra, however, figures for the first time only

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in copper-plate grants of the early 10th century, and Djammm appears to be referred to in Kalhana’s Rāgadarangini as Babāppāra (Babor). During the reign of the great Kāshmir king Kālāsā (1063-89), Djammm was tributary to Kāshmir, and his subordination continued into the 12th century, when the decline of that powerful neighbour enabled the rāgās to assert their independence. At this time, Čakravāla, ruler of Djammm, played a part in the struggle between the last Gāznawīd sultan in the Pandjāb, Khusraw Malik b. Khusraw Shāh (555-82/1160-86) and the rising power of the Ghūrids [q.v.]. Čakravāla allied with the Ghūrid Mu’izz al-Dīn Muhammad against Khusraw Malik and his Khokar allies, who had been harrying Djammm and refusing allegiance to its ruler, their suzerain (see C.E. Bosworth, The later Ghūrids, splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186, Edinburgh 1977, 129-30).

The vāmsgaṭālī of the rāgās of Djammm supplies a long list of rulers, often with very few details of their reigns, and the chronology can only occasionally be fixed by reference to external sources. Timūr, in the course of his invasion of this region in 801/1398-9, forcibly converted the Djamms to Islam, and this is probably the Bhlm-dev (d. 1423) whom we find on the throne over the next few decades; but his successors reverted to Hinduism. This did not preclude co-operation with Hasan Shāh of Kāshmir in resisting the invasion of Tātār Khān Lādī, governor of the Pandjāb, around 1480, while during the troubled reign of Muhammad Shāh (1484-7), Parasaravūḍ of Djammm intervened in Kāshmir’s internal politics, putting to death a great number of sayids.

In the 16th century Djammm was divided into two states, Djammm and Bahā (Bos), separated by the Tāvī. Both principalities, which were reunited in the next century, followed the other hill states in accepting the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor Akbar, and remained subject to his successors until the 18th century. With the transfer of power in the Pandjāb after 1165/1752 to the Afghāns, whose authority was weaker, the hill chieftains were able to recover a certain independence. Under Randjīnī-dev (d. ca. 1780), who succeeded Kāshmirī to subjection, Djammm extended as far as the Ravi in the east and in the west even beyond the Čenāb. Randjīnī-dev himself, however, was obliged to pay tribute to the Sīghs, and after his death the disputes among his sons enabled him to consolidate their hold upon the region. In 1819 the Sīgh ruler Randjīt Singh conquered Kāshmir, and for his services during the campaign Dūłāb Singh, a descendent of Randjīnī-dev’s brother, was in the following year made Rājā of Djammm. He embarked on an energetic programme of conquest, reducing Ladākh (1834) and Baltistān (1841). With the death of Randjīt Singh in 1839, the Sīgh empire fell into decline, and Dūłāb Singh stood aloof from the first war with the British (1843-6), acting subsequently as mediator. By the treaty of Amritsar of 16 March 1846 he received from the British, for the sum of 75 lakhs, Kāshmir and all the mountainous territory between the Indus and the Ravi. For the later history of Djammm, see Kāshmir.

by the buffalo to the lion, defined by the admiring al-Djahiz as "stout-heartedness" (şadḫ-acat al-qalib, Hayawān, vii, 142) very soon came to the attention of the herdsmen, then to that of the Muslim rulers who, taking advantage of this fighting instinct, re-sending them out against the great beast (see al-Nuwayrî, Niḥayat al-arab, x, 124).

The earliest introduction of buffaloes into the Near East is attributed to the powerful governor of Syria Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān [q.v.] who used his political skill to transfer en masse the Zuṭt [q.v.] and their large herds of buffalo, from the eastern frontiers of the Tigris, to which point they had already penetrated, into the region of the 'Amk [q.v.] of Antioch which was infested by lions. These Zuṭt or Dīaṭ [q.v.] (pl. Dīṭān, see Hayawān, v, 407, n. 2), semi-nomadic Indo-Aryans from Sind, a people highly rebellious in the face of any constraint, were at that time essentially breeders of buffaloes, and their steady progress westward was to be an important factor in the proliferation of these Indian bovines around the Mediterranean basin. The northern frontier region of Syria received a second influx of buffaloes, 4,000 according to Ibn al-Fakhrī (see Abīgī du Levant, ii, 222, 234, 264, al-Kazwīnī, ii, 137), under the caliphate of al-Walīd I and for the same reason, sc. danger and instability caused by lions. Then the caliph Yazīd II repeated the operation for the benefit of Cilicia and the lower Orontes (see al-ʿAṣîf). Finally, it was again from these same regions that the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Muʿtaṣim was obliged, in 222/837, to deport the entire Zuṭt nation, which was settled along with its buffaloes in the vast Mesopotamian lowland region of al-Baţīra [q.v.]; this draconian measure came as a result of the raids and acts of brigandage indulged in by these turbulent and perpetually rebellious Indo-Aryans, a large number of whom had been transplanted thither by the energetic Umayyad governor al-Hādījādī b. Yūsūf al-Thakaff, who transported them by sea from Daybul [q.v.], after their capture in 94/712 by the general Muhammad b. al-Kāsim al-Thakaff. They were to give their name to the Nahūr al-Zuṭt, one of the marshes situated between WāṣÎ and Baṣra (see Yākīt, Muqāmāt, ii, 940, and Hayawān, v, 390); these are the same people who seven centuries later, arrived in western Europe and were nicknamed, according to the various countries, "Tsiganes", "Bohemians", "Egyptians/Gypsys/ Gitanos", "Romani's", etc. After this deportation, buffaloes did not however disappear from Lower Mesopotamia since, following the Zuṭt, Arab tribes, including the Bāhila [q.v.] and the Banū l-ʾAnbar [see TuMÎ], continued to breed them; this species of bovine prospered exceedingly and, in the 4th/10th century, al-Masʿūdî could write (Marāḳī, ii, § 870): "As for buffaloes, in the Syrian border region, they draw chariots of the greatest size; like the bulls . . . [of al-Rayy/Rages] . . . they bear in their nostrils a ring of iron or of copper. The same custom is observed in the province of Antioch . . . large numbers of buffalo are also found in 'Irāq, and especially in the tuftūf of Kūfah and of Baṣra, in the Batāʾīth and the neighbouring regions." In our own times, some ʿIṣīrī Arab tribes, including the Al Bā Muhammad and the Maʿzādàn, still make their livelihood through the rearing of the buffalo to the south of al-Tamārā (Amura) on the approaches to the Hawr al-Ḥammār, and the butter which they produce supplies the market of Baghdād.

In Egypt, the domesticated buffalo (in dialect gāmūs, gāmūsā) guaranteed the prosperity of agriculture in the Nile valley from the Delta to Assān. Its introduction into the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs was owed to the Muslims, and seems to have been contemporary with that experienced by Syria and the 'Awāqīm; the major Arab historians make no mention of the question, but it may be supposed that the first creatures arrived there carrying or drawing equipment in the rearguard of military contingents coming to take up garrison duties. Whatever the case may be, the fellah whose livelihood was bound up with the periodic flooding and subsiding of the great river found in the buffalo the ideal partner for the efficient agricultural exploitation of the muddy soil left by the receding of the water; there, as in the rice swamps of the Far East, the buffalo manoeuvres easily and its docility makes it the best draught-animal for this kind of terrain. Furthermore, it is able to defend itself against the irritations of mosquitoes by wallowing in the mud of the tributaries in the manner of the pachyderms, and it spends the hottest hours of the day agreeably, submerged up to the nostrils in the tidal waters; its presence along the banks of the Nile proved decisive in the elimination of the crocodiles which infested them (see al-Kazwīnī, ii, 203). The number of buffaloes in Egypt grew so quickly and so extensively that in the 7th/13th century, al-Makrīzī tells us (Rihāt, i, ch. xxxix) certain sultans, in their constant quest for increased revenue, imposed an excessive annual tax of three to five dinārīs per head, which at that time represented half of the value of the animal; this crushing burden on the fellah was fortunately abolished in the following century. It was in the course of the 6th/14th century that the intrepid Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭā became acquainted with and appreciated, first at Damietta and then in the Indies, the excellent milk of the buffalo (Rihāt, Cairo 1928, i, 17, ii, 12). In Ceylon (ibid., ii, 136) he consumed buffalo steaks, then, putting into port at Kaylūkār (ii, 138) while on his way to China, he was offered, among other presents, two female buffaloes by the local princess.

To the many advantages offered by the buffalo to the peasantry dependent on the great rivers of Islam, an additional asset that should be mentioned was the use by craftsmen of its hide, which was particularly resistant and ideal for the manufacture of shields (see Hayawān, vii, 86). It was much in demand by the savage Bedjā herdsmen [q.v.] for their nomadic journeys between the Upper Nile and the Red Sea (see Rihāt, ii, ch. xxxii); from terms such as "baffletece" (French), "buff-belts" (English) we know of the high value placed upon this leather for the equipment of European soldiers up until the last century. In medio-aeval oriental medicine, fumigations making use of this leather were recommended for the elimination of scabies and leprosy.

In the Maghrib, the buffalo (in dialect: gāmūs) is hardly known except in one small herd of about fifty animals living wild on the banks of the Tunisian lake of Ischkeul. The origin of this herd is obscure; the general opinion is that these buffaloes were imported from Italy at the beginning of the 13th/19th century, during the reign of Ahmad Bey [q.v.]. But the studies of L. Joleaud and L. Lavauden (see La chasse et la faune cynégétique en Tunisie, Tunis 1920, 14) tend to show that these animals are
to the reformist movement—which he saw as not being different from al-Wahhabiyya [q.v.; cf. al-Raṣāʾīyā al-ʾaṣryyya, 60 ff., 147]—and attacked and denounced its inspirers Djānmāl al-Dīn al-Afḍārīyya and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (cf. ʿAbūl-Qāsim al-ʿAllāma al-Munṣawāya al-mutawassīlīn, preceding ʿIrāḍ al-Shaʿbīyya Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb [q.v.], mentioned below, Km. 65; ʿAṣad al-nasīʿa, 120 ff.; ʿIrāḍ al-Shaʿbīyya al-ʾaṣryyya, 46 ff.), as well as its representatives such as ʿAlī ʿAmīn and Muhammad Fārid Wajdī (cf. ʿIrāḍ al-umūm ʿilā yān-baʿ an-bi-kam, Cairo 1338/1919-20, 90; al-ʿAmal al-mabrūr, 49 f.; ʿAṣad al-nasīʿa, 110 f.). The most provocative of his publications (which are still awaiting a proper evaluation) is a book entitled ʿIrāḍ al-Shaʿbīyya Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb ilā tarīk al-nabī va ʿl-maḥāb, Cairo 1350/1871-8. It contains a lengthy and profound attack upon Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb al-Sukā [q.v.], the founder of the Djamīyya al-Sharīyya li-Tawāwun al-ʿAmmīn bi-ʾl-Kiṭāb wa ʿl-Sunnah al-Muslīmiyya, commonly known as al-Sukbīyyīn. It must be considered as one of the more significant treatises written against al-Sukbī’s conception of Islam (cf. F. De Jong, ʿIrāḍ wa tariq-opposition in 20th century Egypt, in F. Rundgren (ed.), Proceedings of the Vth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Stockholm-Leiden 1975, 87 f.). Muhammad al-Djānmālī died in 1927.


AL-DJĀNBĪHĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Nāṣr (other forms are Djānbāihī and Djingbāihī), Egyptian author of a variety of tracts of which the majority have as a central theme the denunciation of what is seen as the various manifestations of decay of Islamic civilization in Egypt.

He was born in 1842 in the village of Djingbaway (Djingbaway, Djimbaway) in the markaz of Ţīra al-Bārūd in the Būḥayra province. After a period of study at al-Āzhar, he held the office of ʿāli in al-Ǧumḥūrīyya mosque in Cairo. He resigned from this office at an early age and returned to his village (cf. ʿIrāḍ al-ahādīn wa ʿl-maḥābāt fi ṭakāmīṣ ḫāṣṣat Abī Fīrās al-Ḥamdānī, Cairo n.d., 16), where he devoted himself to what he saw as his mission: to struggle for the victory of Truth, i.e. of Islam as conceived by him, and to exhort the Islamic world to this end (cf. Tašīṣṣat al-sadīrāt wa ʿṣānīdūh wa al-ʿaṣīrīd, Cairo n.d., 19). These exhortations were set forth in a number of books and pamphlets permeated with a strong mystical strain, and supported by quotations from authors belonging to the ʿAlīshāhīyya order [q.v.] into which al-Djānbīhī himself had been initiated. They were directed against Christian missionary activity (cf. Tašīṣṣat al-tarāqī bi’naḥy Muḥammad wa’l-Māṣiṭ, Cairo 1321/1903-4; ʿAṣad al-ʿākīl wa’l-dīn fi ṭarād ’ulā suḥāfah al-muḥallāhīn, Cairo n.d.; and Maṣāḥim al-ʿaṣīrīd wa ʿl-khālīrāt fi ṭarād ’ulā man dawāwībah al-qādir bi-ṣaḥābah tarār al-ʿaṣīrīd, Cairo n.d.). A chief aim of his journalism (cf. Ḥayāf al-ʿizār ʿan maṣāḥim al-ʿaṣīrīd, Cairo 1902, 4 f., 31), was not just aiming at maintaining political domination, to which al-Djānmālī himself had been initiated. They were directed against Christian missionary activity (cf. Tašīṣṣat al-sadīrāt wa ʿṣānīdūh wa al-ʿaṣīrīd, Cairo n.d., 159), against the foundation and character of the Egyptian University (al-Mūṭabbīs al-ṣīḥa wa ʿl-ṭālīf, Cairo 1431/1948, 30; ʿAṣad al-nasīʿa, 73 f.; ʿAṣad al-nasīʿa al-nahāʾi ʿan al-māḥābāt wa ʿl-khālīrāt, Cairo n.d.), and against Western science and scholarship (cf. Risālat al-Ḥabīb wa-dalalāt al-ṭālīf, Cairo n.d., 68, 99; al-Raṣāʾīyā al-ʾaṣryyya liḥāṣabān al-ʾumma al-Misrīyya, Cairo n.d., 13; ʿAṣad al-nasīʿa al-nahāʾi ʿan al-māḥābāt wa ʿl-khālīrāt, Cairo n.d.). In addition, he denounced the ‘umma as not being able to counter the decay enveloping Islamic civilization (cf. ʿAṣad al-nasīʿa, 13; Ḥayāf al-ʿizār wa maṣāḥif al-ʿaṣīrīd, Cairo 1316/1898-9, 30), and condemned demands for independence as un-Islamic and political demonstrations as bi’dah to which in the past only the Khawārīgīn [see ʿĀrāmīgīn] had delivered themselves (cf. al-Raṣāʾīyā al-ʾaṣryyya, 52 f.). At the same time, he criticised Lord Cromer (cf. al-ʿAmal al-mabrūr fi ṭaḍāsʿ athl al-ṭuḥāyra, Cairo n.d., 136; Risālat al-Ḥabīb, 29), whom he saw as not just aiming at maintaining political domination, but as directed in the final resort at establishing religious domination (cf. ʿAṣad al-nasīʿa, 147); wrote against the calls for istāḥ of those belonging to the reformist movement—which he saw as not being different from al-Wahhabiyya [q.v.; cf. al-Raṣāʾīyā al-ʾaṣryyya, 60 ff., 147]—and attacked and denounced its inspirers Djānmāl al-Dīn al-Afḍārīyya and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (cf. ʿAbūl-Qāsim al-ʿAllāma al-Munṣawāya al-mutawassīlīn, preceding ʿIrāḍ al-Shaʿbīyya Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb [q.v.], mentioned below, Km. 65; ʿAṣad al-nasīʿa, 120 ff.; ʿIrāḍ al-Shaʿbīyya al-ʾaṣryyya, 46 ff.), as well as its representatives such as ʿAlī ʿAmīn and Muhammad Fārid Wajdī (cf. ʿIrāḍ al-umūm ʿilā yān-baʿ an-bi-kam, Cairo 1338/1919-20, 90; al-ʿAmal al-mabrūr, 49 f.; ʿAṣad al-nasīʿa, 110 f.).
Perovsk of Tsarist Russian times; the Russian archaeologist P. Lerch and the American traveller E. Schuyler identified its site with an old Kirghiz cemetery and the ruins at Khorkhot, a station on the Orenburg-Tashkent postroad (now the track also of the railway), but the identification is not entirely certain (see Schuyler, Notes of a journey in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Turkestan, Bukhara, and Kuldja, London 1876, i, 62-3; E. Breitschneider, Medieval researches from eastern Asiatic sources, London 1910, ii, 95-6). The site of Khuwāra is totally unknown, and it disappears from mention after the end of the 4th/10th century.

The three settlements were important as entrepôts for trade with the Inner Asian steppes, and Gardīzī (mid-5th/11th century) mentions the route which ran from Fārāb to Yengi-kent and thence to the lands of the Kimak [g.v.] on the banks of the Irtysh (Zyyn al-akhbār, ed. Habibī, 258). All three settlements had a population of Muslim traders in the 4th/10th century. Barthold assumed that these Muslims had themselves founded the settlements as trading-posts, independent of any policy on the part of the Sāmānids to extend their power into the pagan Turkish steppes (cf. his Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale, 49, and Four studies on the history of Central Asia. A history of the Turkmen people, 92). Recently, however, the results of investigations by Soviet archaeologists in the lower Sir Dāryā area have suggested that these places had a pre-Islamic history; S. P. Tolstov has spoken of these in his Goroda Gazor, in SE, iii (1947), 55-102, as “Hunno-Turkish” settlements, resettled and refortified in the 4th/10th century, whence the name “New Settlement”. As well as these three places on the lower Sir Dāryā, there is mention in the sources of other Turkish towns on the middle course of the river, such as Sārvarān and Sīnhāk (the latter on the site of the present-day ruins of Sunaq-qurghan), and Idrīsī, possibly utilising information of over two centuries before from Djiyāhānī, names over ten settlements of the Oghuz on the Sir Dāryā; other sources mention that the Oghuz already in the 4th/10th century included both nomads and sedentaries (see Tolstov, Auf den Spuren der alchoromatischen Kultur, Berlin 1953, 263-4; O. Pritsak, Der Untergang des Reiches des Oghuzischen Tabgu, in Faud Kipti, Armağanı, Istanbul 1953, 399-401; Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, 238-9, 241).

The fortunes of the Saldjūks were, however, in the ascendant after their victory over the Khurāsānīs in 438/1048. By 435/1043-4 they had secured Khāshān and, Shāh Malik was forced to flee from Djand, which also passed under Saldjūk control. Yet the subsequent pre-occupations of the Saldjūks in Persia and the west apparently allowed Djand to slip from their hands, doubtless into those of the local Kipcak. In 457/1065 Alp Arslan had to lead an expedition to Djand and Sārvarān; the ruler of Djand submitted, and was confirmed there as governor of behalf of the Saldjūks (Barthold, op. cit., 298, 302; Perovsk, Der Untergang des Reiches des Oghuzischen Tabgu, 408).

Under the Khārāzīs-Shāhs [g.v.], Djand and the middle Sir Dāryā reaches, together with the Manghīshlak peninsula [g.v.] to the east of the Caspian Sea, were regarded as important frontiers (tabaghūr) against the pagan Kipcak. Atsiz led a campaign from Djand into the steppes early in his reign, probably ca. 527/1133. Because of Atsiz’s humiliation at the hands of his suzerain, the Saldjūk sultan Sanchar, who in the winter of 542/1147 had invaded Khārāzī, Djand was lost to the Shāhs, and passed to Kamāl al-Dīn b. Arslan Khan Muḥammad, the grandson of Sandjar’s Karā-Khānīd nephews Arslan Khan Muḥammad, ruler of Samarqand. Accordingly, at Djawānī, Atsiz and his army appeared at Djand in the spring of 547/1152, on pretext of organising an expedition against the Kipcak, and Kamāl al-Dīn was seized and deposed. The Shāh’s eldest son Il Arslan was now appointed governor of Djand, an indication of the importance attached to it, and the alloting of this governorship to a Khārāzīan prince became herculest frequent; Tekiš was governor at his father Il Arslan’s death, and under Tekiš, the prince Malik Shāh was governor. Various expeditions from Djand against the Kipcak are recorded in the later 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries, e.g. in
and Nawáb. The Sídís of Džandjíra were a prosperous community of skilled seamen, noted for their tenacity and fighting spirit, expressed in the warfare and activities of a long and chequered career extending over four-and-a-half centuries.

By the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Sídís of Džandjíra were firmly established as an effective, though small, naval power on the west coast maintaining on behalf of the Súltán of Bîjpúr a powerful fleet for protecting the maritime trade and for providing transport for Muslim pilgrims bound for Mecca. Later on, the Sídís transferred their fleet to the service of the Mughals, who were more willing than the Súltán of Bîjpúr to offer them protection against the mounting menace of the Márâthás. Hence in 1080/1670 Awrangzìb made the Sídí Admiral of the Mughal navy and gave him an annual grant of four lakhs of rupees (400,000) for the maintenance of the fleet.

The most remarkable aspect of Džandjíra's history was its invincibility in the face of determined onslaughts by the Márâthás under three generations of their chieftains, i.e., Sáhâjí, Sîvídî and Sambhâjí—father, son and grandson—to whom conquest of the tiny state continued till 1287/1870 when, following a breakdown in law and order there, the Sídís had to conclude a treaty with the British government, resulting in the introduction of a Resident British Officer.

The erstwhile state of Džandjíra, which consisted of three municipalities—Murud, Shriwardhan and the port of DžaTarabad on the south coast of the sub-continent attained independence in 1947. At present, Džandjíra proper is included in the Murud municipality of the Kolaba district of Maharashtra state.

**Bibliography:** D.R. Banaji, _Bombay and the Sídís_, London 1932; _'Alî Muhammad Khán, Mir-i'-Atmâdi_, Baroda 1927-30; _Maharashtra State Gazetteer_ (Kolaba District), Bombay 1964.

(ALDUS SUBHÂN)

### DŽANDJÍRA

The Marâthá corruption of the Arabic word _gazirā_ "island", is the name of a former native state in the heart of the Konkan on the west coast of India. It actually owes its name to the fortified island of Džandjíra (lat. 17° 45' N. and long. 73° 05' E.), lying at the entrance of the Rajapuri creek, half a mile from the mainland on the west and 48 km. south of Bombay. The impregnable fort, which has an excellent command over the Arabian Sea, rose to prominence under the Súltán of Bîjpúr (65), they were called Ka'sâdî and Thámâdî (or Náfídî and Thâdî), but the sole point of interest in these indications is the form _C'a 'Câdî_, characteristic of a certain number of feminine names. It is possible that just one of them was called Džarâdâ,
since al-Dījarādatān (Shībī, 85) says that this name was later applied to all singing girls [see Kānna], and that the dual was formed according to a well-known principle (cf. al- Başra’ānī, etc.).

Bibliography: Dārīz, Tarbī, § 151; Tabārī, i, 234-6; Muṣṭafī, Muṣnī, index; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihī, Tād, vi, 28; Kiyāt, Kiyāt, 107; Maydānī, i, 138-9 (three proverbs arising out of the girls); Aḥṣānī, index; Mā’ṣarī, Ghufrān, index; Nāṣīr al-Dīn al-Asad, al-Ḵyāl wa l-ghind fi l-ṭarīq al-dījarī, Cairo 1968, 73-5.

Also, ‘Abd Allāh b. Dījarādān [q.v.] is said to have possessed two singing girls known as al-Dījarādatān, etc.

(Ch. Pellat)

Dījarī

i-vii.—See Vol. II.

vii.—India and Pakistan

This article defines the Muslim press as those newspapers both owned and edited by Muslims. The definition does not include either newspapers in languages normally associated with Islam, for instance Persian and Urdu, with which Muslims have had nothing to do, or newspapers edited by Muslims but owned by men of other faiths.

The Muslim press originated in the government and private newsletters of the Mughal period. There was the waṣʿ, a confidential letter by which the emperor was informed of developments in his dominions, and the akhbār, a semi-public gazette by which information was transmitted to the court. Amongst other groupings in Indian society, based on common political or commercial interests, private newsletters circulated. They were handwritten and several copies of each were produced. Large numbers were noted leaving Dīhilī in the 1830s and they were influential in Oudh (Awadh) up to 1857.

Muslim newspapers in modern form began to emerge in the 1830s. Among the first were the Samuḥār, Sāḥbānagarda, a weekly in Bengali and Persan published by Ṣawyīd Allāh al-Filmi from Calcutta between 1831-5, and the Sayyid al-akhbār published in Urdu from Dīhilī in 1837 by Ṣayyid Muḥammad Khan (Ṣayyid Muḥammad Khaṇ), the elder brother of Ṣayyid Ḥaqq al-Khan. The introduction of Urdu lithography in 1837 gave a boost to the development of the press in north India, and by the 1940s several Muslim newspapers were being published.

In the second half of the 19th century, the Muslim press grew steadily. It flourished primarily in north India, though it had outposts in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. Its major centres were Lahore, Dīhilī, Lucknow and Calcutta, and its major languages Urdu and Bengali. Very few specifically Muslim newspapers were published in English, though the Punah Observer is worthy of note. Most leading newspapers were weeklies, and only the Pānās Aḥṣābī founded in Lahore in 1880 sustained daily publication over a long period. Amongst the most influential newspapers, though not those with the largest circulation, were the two edited by Ṣayyid Ḥaqq al-Khan from Allīghār, the Tāḥdihī al-akhbār and the Allīghār Institute Gazette. The former educated its readers primarily in the religious and social aims of the Allīghār movement, and the latter instructed them in its educational and political aims. The range of subjects which these publications covered indicated a general trend; newspapers were becoming less concerned with literary exercises and sectarian religious polemic, and more with local, national and international affairs.

During the 19th century, like the Indian press generally, grew in response to the increasing activity of government and the citizen's increasing awareness of the world beyond his locality. Nevertheless, nothing contributed more to the foundation of new Muslim publications, and to major increases in the circulation of newspapers already in existence, than upheavals in the world of Islam. Indian Muslims had powerful pan-Islamic sympathies. This point is made graphically by the striking expansion of the Muslim press which coincided with the last years of the Ottoman empire, in fact from the Italian invasion of Tripoli in 1911 to the abolition of the caliphate in 1924. Newspapers were founded: in 1911 Muḥammad ‘Alī’s Comrade, in 1912 Abu l-Kalām Āẓād’s al-Hilālī, Hamīd al-Anṣārī’s Madina and ‘Abd al-Bārī’s Hamdand in 1913 Muḥammad ‘Alī’s Hamdand. These new publications and established ones sold on a hitherto unknown scale; the weekly al-Hilālī achieved a circulation of 25,000, while Zafar ‘Alī Khan converted his Zamāndār from a weekly selling 2,000 copies into a daily selling 30,000. There was a dramatic improvement in the quality of production; all al-Hilālī and Hamdand were printed rather than lithographed. There was a similar improvement in journalism; al-Hilālī was written in new and forceful journalism; al-Hilālī and Hamdand were the equal of any contemporary Anglo-Indian weekly. These newspapers greatly stimulated and even created political agitations, and government acknowledged their influence by gagging them. They also brought their editors, men such as Abu l-Kalām Āẓād and Muḥammad ‘Alī, to the forefront of Muslim politics.

During the 1920s and 1930s the Muslim press, though never as strong or as vociferous as the Congress or Hindu press, continued to grow. Some of the great newspapers of the pan-Islamic era died, for instance al-Hilālī and Comrade, but others such as Zamāndār and Madina continued. Fresh newspapers were founded; in 1922 Muḥammad Usūlōk, the first English-language Muslim daily of importance, and in 1927 Iskāh, the leading Urdu daily of the 1930s. Both were published in Lahore.

It was not until the 1940s that the Muslim press began to compete on equal terms with that of the Congress. Muslim newspapers played a major role, a role which still has adequately to be evaluated, in winning support for the All-India Muslim League’s campaign for Pakistan. As in the pan-Islamic era, it showed that it was most effective when religious and political issues were combined. Among the leading League newspapers were Āngāmī in Urdu and Deen in English from Dīhilī, NāŒž-i Wākt in Urdu from Lahore, Hamdam in Urdu from Lucknow, and Āẓād in Bengali and Star of India in English from Calcutta. Not all Muslim newspapers supported the League, for instance al-Dīmarī’sayṣ, the voice of Dīmarī’sayṣ al-ulim, and Madina were distinctly pro-Congress, but by the 1940s pro-League newspapers both in numbers and in circulation far outstripped their Congress Muslim rivals.

The partition of the subcontinent in 1947 in large part destroyed the Muslim press as it had existed. In India, despite the country’s vast Muslim population, a specifically Muslim press has been unimportant; among the leading Muslim newspapers are Radiance and al-Dīmarī’sayṣ. Pakistan, on the other hand,
has developed a press of considerable dimensions both in
English and in the various regional languages. In
West Pakistan the leading newspapers in English are
Dawn and Pakistan Times and in Urdu Nawa-i Wakt
and Majhrib; in East Pakistan up to 1971 the lead-
ing English newspaper was Morning News and the lead-
ing Bengali newspaper Azad. By the late 1960s the
Pakistan press was producing 800,000 newspaper
copies daily, of which more than three-quarters were
in languages other than English. This vigorous news-
paper industry existed in spite of heavy restrictions
upon press freedom imposed by government and in
spite of growing competition from commercial radio and
television.

Bibliography: There is no work devoted specif-
ically to this subject. The newsletter is dealt with
by J.N. Sarkar in S.P. Sen, ed., The Indian press,
Calcutta 1967; A.S. Khurshid examines the growth
of the Pakistan press in his contributions to A.S.
Khurshid, ed., Press in Muslim world, Lahore 1954,
and J.A. Lent, ed., The Asian newspapers' reluctant
revolution, Iowa 1971. Aspects of the provincial
Muslim press are treated in N. Gerald Barrier
Arbor 1978, and M.N. Islam, Bengali Muslim pub-
For the Indian press generally, see J. Natarajan,
History of Indian journalism, Part ii of the Report
of the Indian Press Commission, Dilli 1955;

(F.C.R. ROBINSON)

viii.—East Africa

The history of the press and its development and use
among East Muslims is very brief. The Muslim intel-
lectuals, however, have received and read newspa-
pers and journals from other parts of the Muslim
world, particularly from Egypt, from the closing years
of the 19th century until the present.

It was such connections that helped develop the
first interest in establishing local media. The first
Muslim to do so was Shaykh al-Amin b. 'Ali b. Na'il
Al-Mazzu'iri [see KENYA, MUSLIMS IN], a Muslim scholar
of Mombasa who was familiar with the works and
publications of al-Afghani, Muhammad 'Abdubh and
Rashid Ridha. Newspapers and journals like al-Manar
were regularly read by Shaykh al-Amin and a coterie
of Muslim scholars on the East African coast.
Concerned about the low status of Muslims and Islam
in this region, Shaykh al-Amin decided to use the
press to raise the level of Muslim religious, cultural
and political consciousness, very much along the lines
of the Middle Eastern reformers.

First he founded a modest-sized paper called
simply al-Salama. Shortly afterwards, in 1932, he estab-
lished a more substantial paper, appropriately called
al-Ilyah. The paper was financed by the founder, with
contributions from well-wishers, and was published in
two parts, a Swahili one and an Arabic one, the for-
er being often a virtual translation of the latter.
Thus a wider readership was achieved through the
use of Swahili, the
lingua franca
of Eastern Africa. It discussed issues relevant to the political, economic and religious situation of the East African coast and
regularly included news from the rest of the Muslim
world, with which the editor of the paper often called
for greater solidarity.

In 1932, Shaykh al-Amin was appointed Kadi of
Mombasa. His new duties compelled him to hand over
the running of al-Ilyah to another Muslim scholar,
Shaykh 'Abd Allah al-Has. There developed a notice-
able difference in approach and style in the paper,
which was not now as popular and effective, so that
the paper declined and its publication ended soon
afterwards. Shaykh al-Amin had continued to write
and published booklets on Islam after his appointment
as Kadi, and, in 1937, as Chief Kadi or Shaykh al-
Islam of Kenya. One such booklet was a reproduction
of selected articles from al-Ilyah which was published
under the title of Uwongozi (Swahili "Guidance").

Even so, it was left to the Ahmadiyya sect [p.s.,
and see KENYA, MUSLIMS IN] to expand the publish-
ing of newspapers. Their arrival in the 1930s had
earned them the immediate hostility of the ortho-
dox Muslim communities, and Shaykh al-Amin him-
selves carried out a campaign to discredit them in
East Africa. Nevertheless, in Tanzania they founded
two newspapers, one in Swahili, Majenzi Ya Mungu
("The Love of God") and one in English, East African
Times. Both papers reflected the characteristic milit-
ant defence of Islam, lengthy exposition of its teach-
ings and their relevance to modern society, and
regular theological challenges to Christians and
Christianity. It is certain that these two papers have
carried to the relative success of the Ahmadi
sect in Tanzania.

It was in Tanzania also that a Muslim monthly
journal, The Light, was founded in the 1960s by the
Ikhna 'Ashari community, modestly printed and com-
pletely financed by members of the community.

A general comment to be made about these publica-
tions, including the other journal irregularly pro-
duced by the Ikhna community, Africa Ismailis, is
that each one of them has a limited distribution.
The two journals hardly go beyond the communi-
ties concerned. The two Ahmadi newspapers are
regarded as heretical propaganda, and thus not appre-
ciated by other Muslims as representing authentic
religious views or the ideal way of reflecting the
image of Islam in East Africa. An acceptable, pop-
ular Muslim press has yet to emerge.

(A.I. SALIM)

ix.—South Africa

The implantation of Islam in the extreme south of
the African continent took place in three phases. The
first Muslims arrived there in 1667, Malayan slaves
whom the Dutch had imported as manual labour to
improve their new colony of the Cape. Their slave
status prevented these Malays from practising their
Islamic religion and from possessing land, and they
only obtained a place of worship in 1797. They were
unable also freely to move about and were compelled
to stay in the Cape, so that Islam was unable to
expand beyond this limit.

However, the importation after 1860 of a second
wave of manual labourers was necessitated by the
growing development of new crops in the territories
of the white settlers (Boers) at the time of the "great
Trek" or migratory movement of 1834-9. Hence from
1860 until the beginning of the 20th century, the own-
ers of sugar cane plantations, a crop which was very
prosperous in Natal, brought in Indian farm workers,
some of whom were Muslims. Islam was thus implant-
ed at two points in what became after 1910 the
Union of South Africa, one in the south and one in the
west.

The economic crisis which began in 1899 threw a
considerable number of Indian farm workers out of a
job and compelled them to seek another living. Some
of them settled in Durban, the capital of Natal, whilst
the remainder spread throughout the land towards
the Cape, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Port Elisabeth
and other South African towns. Thus the third and last phase of the implantation of Islam in South Africa was completed.

The opening of the 1960s was an important period for the Muslim community there, and it marks the beginning of its organisation and its expansion. This process was inaugurated by certain Indian Muslim leaders, who aimed at stimulating the feelings of the diverse ethnic elements of the Muslim community into a consciousness that they were above all Muslims and that, in the light of this, they should work for the progress of the Muslim community. In effect, the Malay and Indian Muslims had previously thought of themselves as belonging rather to their own ethnic community, and their activities, above all those of the very active Indians, had taken place within the framework of their original communities.

This movement brought about the creation after 1960 of several Muslim organisations, such as the association of South African Muslim women or even the association of South African Muslim brothers. It was also during this period of intense activity that the Muslim press came into being, thanks to its launching by a Muslim of Indian origin, M. Sayyed, in the shape of a fortnightly called Muslim News. Its first number appeared at the beginning of January 1961, and had 12 pages, eight in English and four in Urdu, and was edited and printed at Athlone, a district on the eastern edge of Cape Town where many Muslims live. In 1971 the four Urdu pages disappeared, and since that date, Muslim News has contained only eight pages in English. It styles itself the only South African Muslim newspaper; however, there exist two bulletins, the Ramadan Annual and the Muslim Digest, published both by one press group, the Makki one.

Muslim News was meant essentially to inform South African Muslims about religious and cultural activities of the community, and likewise to give exhortation on the practices of the Islamic faith. Without departing from these original aims, it evolved in 1973 in another direction by assuming a distinct political character. Condemnation of apartheid and of white domination was expressed in the course of articles which became more and more specific and violent in tone, a condemnation which arose from a lively denunciation of the very difficult living conditions of the non-white population of South Africa. After the publication of articles criticising government policy on these topics, the direction and editorship of Muslim News were in December 1975 and again in March 1976 brought before the courts in the Cape; but the journal has nevertheless continued to appear.

A perusal of Muslim News allows one to appreciate the efforts made by the Muslim community of South Africa to improve their precarious conditions of living. Great improvements have actually been achieved in various fields, such as health and education. An orphanage has been built, health services have been set up in districts where they were lacking, and finally, numerous mosques and madrasas have been constructed and a programme of Islamic studies organised. All this has come to fruition from contributions and from the gifts of a few very rich Muslims.

Finally, Muslim News at times highlights in its columns the lack of unity within the Muslim community of South Africa, one mainly due to divisions between the three great national Muslim associations, the Muslim Judicial Council, the Muslim Assembly and the Ashura (< گھنیہ). These are essentially quarrels between personalities trying to assert their own pre-eminence. They have no effect at all on the South African Muslim community’s sense of solidarity, and are in fact tending now to disappear; this can only strengthen the community’s determination, for despite its numerical smallness (200,000 members out of a total population of 22 millions) it is certainly one of the most vigorous Muslim communities of the southern hemisphere.

(P. Gorokhoff)

x.—The یومعک [see یومعک].

**DjAWARS** (< Persian گاوک) is millet, *Panicum miliaceum L.* (Gramineae), one of the oldest cultivated plants. While in Europe it is now almost only used as fodder, millet plays a prominent role as cereal and victuals in many areas of Asia and Africa. Although the ancient Spartans ate millet, Dioscorides considers millet as the least nutritious of all cereals (*De materia medica*, ed. Wellmann, i, 1907, 173 f. = lib. ii, 97). This is adopted by the Arab translator (La “Materia médica” de Dioscorides, ii, ed. Dubler and Terés, Tetuan 1952, 179), who renders the Greek κύτταρος with کنگباری (and variants). But already Ibn Māsāṣ, a contemporary of Ḥunayn, says that millet, cooked in milk, or broth mixed with millet flour and fat, is an excellent food (see Ibn-Abī-Bayār, *Djams*, Būlāk 1291, i, 156, 15-16). On the nomenclature, the following can be remarked: occasionally, کنگباری is understood as both *djawars* and *dhura*, and the first of these is equated with the Mozarabic *bantahub*; cf. Anonymous (Ibn al-Rāmiyya?) Nuruosmaniye 3389, fol. 89b, 21; on *bantahub* (Romance panizo), see M. Asin Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid-Granada 1943, no. 406. Others consider *djawars* as a kind of *dhura* (also *alamar* < *πατός*), by which may be meant the small sorghum (*Pennisetum sipicatum*), widespread in the Sudan and also called Moorish millet, while *dhura*, also called *djawars hind* “Indian millet”, indicates the great sorghum (*Sorghum vulgare*). In his book on plants, Abu Hanīfīa equates *bātkhan* with *djawars* and considers it as a kind of *dhura* (The book of plants, ed. B. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953, no. 405). In the course of time, *dhura* has become the leading expression for millet. Bīrūnī knows already the Turkish term *dašt* for this (*Siyada*, ed. Hakim Muḥ. Sa`ʿīd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 130, Engl. 106), and names the Indian synonyms.

As a foodstuff, *djawars* has the inconvenience of causing constipation, of being hard to digest and of prompting urine, but the constipation effect can be removed by adding fat or purgatives, and also by diluted wine or by baths. On the other hand, when applied in a warm compress, it proves to be a good remedy against gripes and cramps. It has an astrin-gent effect and is therefore suitable to be used as a remedy for those suffering from dropsy, whose stomachs should be contracted and whose bodies should be “desiccated”.


(A. Dietrich)

AL-DJAWBARI, ‘ABD AL-RAHIM (not ‘ABD AL-RAMAN) B. ‘UMAR B. ABĪ BAKR DJAMAL AL-DIN AL-DIMASHKI, dervish and alchemist from the Maghrib out of lzz al-Dm Aybak. He claims to have been also in Cyprus, Bahrayn and India.


Whether or not ḡawhar had the meaning “jewel” from the beginning of this word’s usage in the Arabic language is uncertain, but this meaning is well-attested from early in the Islamic era. For example, whether or not ḡawhar and the plural ḡawhar are used in the Paris manuscript of the Toḥdīh al-Asfārī il-Aristotēlēs (publ. with tr. and comm. in 1912 by J. Ruska as Das Sprechbuch des Aristoteles—see p. 92 for the above-mentioned term), a work which Ruska dated to some time before the middle of the 3rd/9th century. The Arabic lexicographers from at least as early as the 4th/10th century give “jewel” as a meaning for ḡawhar (e.g. in the Toḥdīh al-buqha of al-Azhari [q.v.]). This usage continues throughout the centuries to the present day, traceable both in historical literature and in, for example, the 12th/18th century dictionary Ḥaj ḡawhar (for a more complete listing of the definitions by the Arabic lexicographers, see Lane’s Lexicon, s.v. ḡ-e-h-r).

The word ḡawhar makes no appearance in the Kurʾān, even though there are specific references to both jewelry (gold bracelets, XVIII, 31 and XLIII, 53; silver bracelets, LXXVI, 21; bracelets of gold and pearls, XXII, 23, XXXV, 33 and LV, 22). In four of the five passages mentioning the wearing of bracelets the verb yuḥallata (nous. ḡ-e-h-r) is used. From its root, which means “to adorn”, another common word for jewelry in general (ḥaṭīf) is derived (see Lane, s.v. ḡ-e-h-y). However, ḡawhar was clearly the most important single term for jewelry or jewels in the Arabic language during its reign as the lingua franca of the Islamic world.

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constitute our main concern in what follows. This will mark the first attempt ever made at a survey of Islamic jewelry, and thus must be regarded as provisional in certain respects.

1. Early Islamic jewelry (1st-4th/7th-10th centuries)

Any history of Islamic jewelry ought to begin with examples from the earliest centuries of Islam. However, to the best of our knowledge, there are very few extant pieces datable to before the first half of the 5th/11th century in either the eastern or western parts of the Muslim world. Consequently, in attempting to reconstruct a picture of the jewelry in vogue during the first three hundred and seventy-five years of the Islamic period we are forced to turn to pictorial or sculptural representations in addition to literary descriptions.

The available representations show that the jewelry and other body-adorning and costume elements worn during the period were very strongly influenced by the Roman, Byzantine and Sasanid ornaments found current in the countries conquered by the Muslims. A few examples should suffice to illustrate this point.


Western influence, on the other hand, can readily be seen in some of the jewelry depicted in the wall paintings at Kusayr 'Amra. The heart-shaped pendants worn by one of the female figures (M. Almagro, L. Caballero, J. Zozaya and A. Almagro, *Qusayr 'Amra*, Madrid 1975, Pl. XXVII, top) bear very close comparison to Roman pieces ([*Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, xviii/2-3, Oberlin, Ohio—hereinafter abbreviated *Allen—*Fig. 68), as does the shorter necklace of oval elements worn by the same figure (L. Pollak, *Klassisch-Antike Goldschmiedearbeiten*, Leipzig 1903, Pl. XVI, No. 396). A scalloped and jewelled necklace worn by one of the male figures as well as one consisting of a series of pendant elements adorning a female figure (*Almagro et alii*, op. cit., Pls. XI and IX) have close Byzantine parallels (A. Greifenhagen, *Schnucktmacher in Edelmetall*, i, Berlin 1970, Pl. 49, and *Metropolitan Museum of Art No*. 17.190.1667).

The vogue for breast ornaments held in place by crossed straps, seen so often on the figures in Kusayr 'Amra, (*Almagro et alii*, Pl. XVII, top) probably entered the Islamic repertoire from the West also (for a Greek example, see H. Hoffman and P. Davidson, *Greek gold*, 1965, Fig. D), although the earliest example known to these authors is from 2nd century B.C. India, the country which also seems to be the ultimate source for the waist ornaments seen in the paintings in our late 1st/early 8th century Jordanian bath (S. Swarup, *The arts and crafts of India and Pakistan*, Bombay 1957, Pl. 88, left and 104 left).

Thus during the earliest centuries of the Muslim era, the jewelry traditions of the Roman, Byzantine and Sasanid realms seem to have been important as models for Islamic jewelry. Having seen how close the Islamic representations often are to their apparent models, one is tempted to speculate that, to some extent, the scarcity of early Islamic jewelry may be due to our ignorance, and that many of the pieces now classified as Roman, Byzantine and Sasanid are in fact Islamic in date. Another major factor accounting for the “disappearance” of jewels, especially when it comes to the larger and more valuable stones and pearls, was their re-use in new stringings or settings in accord with the taste of the times. From the remarkable series of large stones, especially diamonds and spinel “rubies”, which were inscribed with the names of Persian and Maghrib rulers, we know that such stones had considerable histories (discussed in greater detail below); for example, the inscriptions in the name of Nâdir Shah in two large spinels and a teardrop-shaped example show concretely how in these cases stones from one treasure were re-used by a subsequent owner (in one case as an arm-band, and in the other, on a string of prayer beads—see V. Ball, *A description of two large spinel rubies, with Persian characters engraved upon them*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, iii/3, 380-100 and Pl. X; V.B. Meen and A.D. Tushingham, *Crown jewels of Iran*, Toronto 1968, 46, 64-5 and 67).

We know from a number of literary accounts concerning the period at present under discussion not only that early Islamic rulers collected precious stones, but that they also used them in ways similar to those which we can verify from much later periods.

In one of the most informative and detail-laden works among those which deal with notable treasures, the *Kitâb al-Dhakhîr wa 'l-tuhaf* of al-Kâfî al-Râghîd b. al-Zubayr (ed. M. Hamidullah, Kuwait 1939), we have in § 18 the following: “al-'Alî recoumed in the *Kitâb al-Dhakhîr* that Sabîh, the secretary, said that ‘Umar b. Yûsuf (i.e. Yûsuf b. ‘Umar) al-Thaâfî sent to Hîshâm b. ‘Abd al-Malik a red ruby which was bigger than his palm and a pearl of the greatest possible size. The messenger came in to him. He could not see the face of Hîshâm because of the height of his throne and the number of cushions. He took the stone and the pearl from him and said: Has he written down their weight? Then he said: Where are the likes of these two to be found? What is particularly interesting about the above account is that it is such large stones and pearls which were considered appropriate for the ruler and that he was fully aware that the real way of recording such items was by weight. Hîshâm’s questions become even more meaningful when we know that, according to al-Bîrûnî [q.v.], al-Râghîd, who also received many comparable gifts, was a great admirer of valuable stones and that he sent the jeweller Şâbîh, the grandfather of al-Kindî [q.v.], to Ceylon to buy stones (see Mohammad Jahia al-Haschmi, *Die Quellen des Stein- buches des Berûm*, Bonn 1935, 14). Not so incidentally, these gifts (sc. the ruby and the pearl) were appropriate to kings not only because of their size but also because they were among the most valued gems in the Islamic world from earliest to latest times, although one often suspects that the huge red rubies, yâkûl,
cited are either red tourmalines or spinels, even though there were those competent to differentiate. For an example of methods used for such differentiation, we may point to al-Biruni who recorded the specific weights of stones in relation to sapphire, which he gave the arbitrary value of 100. Thus the pearl “is 65 and a third and a quarter” (see F. Krenkow, The chapter on pearls in the book on precious Stones by al-Biruni. Part II, in JC, xvi/1 [1942], 26-7).

Specific literary accounts and numerous recorded gifts and purchases as well as pictorial evidence exist which establish the prevailing hierarchy of value in stones. According to al-Biruni in his Kitab al-Djamahir fi l-tajawwal (as cited by E. Wiedemann, Über den Wert von Edelsteinen bei den Muslimen, in IS., ii [1911], 346), there are three outstanding precious gems, the ruby (yākūt), the emerald (zarnunāt) and the pearl. Wiedemann (op. cit., 346 n. 1) also informs us that in f. 5a of the Steinbuch des Aristoteles it says that the pearl, the yākūt and the zabānīgd (topaz) and their kind are preferred by people over other precious stones. For a concrete example, we may cite another passage from the K. al-Djamahir (§ 33) which recounts gifts given to al-Mutawakkil by a favourite slave girl consisting of twenty tamed gazelles, with twenty Chinese saddles and saddle-bags containing musk and ambergris and other perfumes, “And each gazelle had a female slave attendant with a golden belt, having in her hand a golden rod, at whose tip was a jewel, a ruby or an emerald or some other from the jewels of high value.”

It is hardly possible to estimate real prices; thus that given for the famous Dja'bar (see al-Mas'ūdi, ed. Pellat, index) varies considerably according to the sources. Wiedemann states, in op. cit., 346, and following al-Diramgī, that it must have weighed 14½ mithqāl (according to Kahle's conversion figures, in Die Schätzung der Fatimiden, in ZDMG, N.F. xxvii [1915], 336, this would amount to about 64 gr. or 320 carats) for 80,000 dinārs. Furthermore, according to the same source, al-Rashīd is said to have paid 90,000 dinārs for a pearl named al-Yatīna, “the Orphan”. The weight is not given, although weights for pearls of this name are mentioned in several other accounts of the early Islamic period. In the light of the comments of al-Biruni as cited by Krenkow (art. cit., Part I, 407) and of the passage, also from al-Biruni, cited below, it would seem that this name, along with Fātīda, “Unique”, was given to any large pearl, perhaps especially to those pear- or teardrop-shaped, for which no match could be found.

Further accounts of the early Islamic period indicating the value placed on certain stones are the following, all taken from the above-cited K. al-Djamahir:

(i) In the time of the caliph Hīṣām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, the “king of India” sent as a present to Dju'nyād b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, the then governor of Sīnā, a jewel-studded camel mounted on a silver, wheeled under-carriage, and its udders were full of pearls and its throat was full of rubies, both of which could be made to pour forth. Dju'nyād sent this to Hīṣām, who appreciated it highly. “It amazed Hīṣām and everyone who was in his company, and it remained in the Umayyad treasury until it passed to the Abbāsids” (§ 15).

(ii) There is an account (§ 27) of a gift sent to al-Raschīd, by “one of the kings of India”, of “an emerald rod longer than a cubit. At its head was the image of a bird of red rubies, and it was invaluable.” We are told that this bauble passed down through the ‘Ab-
the passage to follow is amazingly like that which one gets from the accounts of the likes of Tavernier (see Travels in India, tr. V. Ball, London 1889, ii, 150) as well as what one actually sees being worn by Mughal rulers in their miniature paintings (see below in section on Mughal India). Another very graphic passage from the early Islamic period is found in al-Biruni’s chapter on pearls (Krenkow, op. cit., II, 25), in a section discussing the egg-shaped pearl: “The pearl called al-Yatfma weighed three \( \text{mikhlh} \) and it was called al-Yatfma (orphan) because its shell had gone before a sister [pearl] could be born [in it]. Likewise, a similar one was called Farid (unique) when its equal could not be found and it was necessary to make it the centre of a necklace which is called qilada.” Elsewhere in the same work (Krenkow, op. cit., Part II, 35), al-Biruni is arguing against “coral” and for “small pearls” as being the correct understanding of the term \( \text{marj^an} \), and we get an idea of his sense of what is proper as regards the combination of stones with pearls. He quotes a passage from Abû Nuwas and then comments: “Crowned with pearls and \( \text{marj^an} \) like a rose betwixt red anemones.” So he thinks that the white pearl is adorned in the necklace between two reds, meaning the ruby and the coral. Such a necklace would be uncommon and of bad taste. On the contrary, the small pearls are put between every large pearl and two encompassing rubies filling the place between them, holding them apart; then on account of their polish, the redness of the ruby glistens and can be compared with the redness of gold.”

Other such accounts about the combination of rubies, emeralds and pearls of various sizes could be given, but perhaps those cited above are sufficient to indicate something of the nature of a type of jewelry that seems to have had currency throughout the centuries in most of the Islamic world and of which we have nothing but the literary accounts and pictorial representations, together with some of the stones (in such repositories as the Iranian crown jewels and the Topkapi in Istanbul). What we do have left to us in something of its original form, although of less intrinsic value, is of greater historical importance, for it provides us with a better picture of the changes in artistic taste from period to period.

As regards those few objects datable to the early Islamic period, they fit very well into the pattern established for those adornments found in the paintings and reliefs discussed at the outset, i.e., they exhibit a dependence on Roman, Byzantine and/or Sasanid models. However, these objects also show a development away from the older objects in terms of decorative motifs or principal designs, an Islamisation of their pre-Islamic models. Perhaps the most striking example of this is an amulet case excavated at Nishapur which can be dated before 1000 A.D., on the basis of its epigraphic decoration (Fig. 1). Sasanid as well as Byzantine prototypes exist for the general shape (M. Negro Ponti, Jewellery and small objects from Tell Mahaz (North Mesopotamia), in Mesopotamia, v-v[1970-1], Fig. 85, No. 36, and W. and E. Rudolph, Ancient jewelry from the collection of Burton Y. Berry, Bloomington, Indiana 1973, Fig. 153), but its elaborate yet beautiful integration of form and decoration are peculiarly Islamic, as is its nielloed Kufic inscription.

Also datable to the same period on epigraphic grounds are two belt fittings excavated at Nishapur, one of which is shown in Fig. 2. Unlike the smooth-edged and undecorated fittings on the depiction of the horseman in the Nishapur wall painting discussed earlier, these two sculpted and decorated objects may have been part of a set like that in Fig. 3. The latter should be dated to the 3rd/9th century on the basis of its close comparison with the fittings depicted in a painting from Sâmarra (E. Herzfeld, op. cit., Pl. LXV, right). Some of the finger rings from Nishapur also seem to be datable to this period. The silver as well as the gold ring pictured in Fig. 4a and b both show a dependence on Roman models (E.H. Marshall, Catalogue of the finger rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum London 1907, Pl. XV, 526, Pl. XIII, 469), and as will be discussed later, the silver ring can be seen as a precursor of a type of Salûtî Persian ring.

Once we move into the early mediaeval period, not only do we have many more extant jewelry examples than we did for the early Islamic period, but we are also able to establish firmer dates for them. The reasons for the survival of these relatively large groups of objects, as well as the explanations of the lines of development which brought the art to this brilliant flowering during the early mediaeval period, continue to elude us. The jump from the few early objects just discussed to the objects we are about to present is often a very large one indeed.

Pivotal pieces for the study of early mediaeval jewelry in greater Iran are a pair of bracelets, which are illustrated in Fig. 5a-b. Each of the four hemispheres flanking the clasp of each bracelet bears a flat disk of thin gold at its back, which was decorated by pouncing it over a coin, in this case a coin bearing the name of the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Kâdir billah (381-422/991-1031). The late Dr. George Miles was of the opinion that the style of the coins used was that of those minted in 390/1000, 397/1007 and 419/1028, during the rule of Maḥmûd of Ghâzna, and that they were probably struck in the mint of Nishapur. As the gold discs were most probably embossed over relatively new coins, a dating to the first half of the 5th/11th century seems quite secure.

There are a large number of extant bracelets in both gold and silver which are analogous to these, although none are as fine or as elaborate. The main characteristics of this group of bracelets are the four hemispheres flanking the clasp, the tapering of the shank toward the clasp and the twisted effect of the former; or alternatively, a non-tapered shank is subdivided into ball-shaped sections.

Pre-Islamic jewelry has again served as a model for these bracelets, which show a continued conservatism and traditionalism in the medium. Examples of coins and imitation coins on jewelry are quite numerous in the Byzantine period; and the twisted effect of the shank must ultimately derive from Greek bracelets with similar shanks (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 45.11.10—see Hoffman and Davidson, op. cit., Fig. 61b). Those with shanks subdivided into ball-shaped sections must have had as their ultimate models Roman rings and bracelets as well (Allen, Fig. 107).

The hollow gold and silver rings from Nishapur with stone settings which we saw earlier seem to have given rise to the type of ring seen in Fig. 6. Its epigraphic and vegetal decoration in niello place it very neatly in the early mediaeval period, more particularly in the 6th/12th or 7th/13th centuries; and furthermore, the type of setting with its heavy
claws is very typical for Persian jewelry of this period. The bracelet illustrated in Fig. 7a-b, whose mate is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, shares many of the features seen in the last object discussed. Four of its elements take the form of truncated pyramids (as does the bezel of the ring), and bear the heavy claws to hold the now-missing stones. It also prominently features epigraphic decoration in niello.

The granulated treatment of the border on the obverse of the pendant in Fig. 8a-b, the settings with heavy claws and the niello-like decoration, relate this object to the bracelet just discussed. A feature we have not met with before, however, is that found on the reverse—a double twisted wire decoration laid on the gold sheet. This method of decorating a plain gold surface was very popular in Iran during the period in question and can be seen on a pair of earrings, one of which is shown in Fig. 9, which bear close comparison with a pair found in Russian excavations (in the region between the Sea of Azov and Moscow) whose finds can be dated between the 1170s and 1240 (G. F. Korzukhina, Russkii kladt IX-XIII vv., Moscow 1954, pl. LX). The open-work beads decorating the upper part of these earrings were also an important feature of Iranian jewelry at this time. An important feature of the earrings shown in Fig. 10, are composed of three such beads. There are many variations of such three-bead earrings from 6th/12th and 7th/13th century Iran, and a large number of similar ones were found in the Russian excavations already mentioned (for example, Korzukhina, op. cit., pls. XLV, XLVIII, XXXI, XXXII, etc.).

Fig. 11a-b illustrates a type of ring which seems not to have been in vogue in the Islamic world before the second half of the 6th/12th century. However, once introduced, it enjoyed great popularity and variety. The most essential features of this ring type are a cast shank, often with anthropomorphic terminals, and polygonal bezels. The prototypes, again, are to be found in Greek as well as Roman rings (Marshall, op. cit., fig. 61, and pl. XVI, 552). The ring chosen to illustrate the type is a particularly fine example, with four of the six corners of the bezel decorated with human heads, the crown itself consisting of a repeating geometric pattern executed in openwork filigree and the shank bearing harpies and terminating in double-bodied harpies. Although not as elaborate as our example, many rings of this type were found in the Russian excavations mentioned above whose finds can be dated between the 1170s and 1240 (Korzukhina, pls. XXXVII, 3, XXXVIII, 3, XLV, 4, etc.). The style of the animals as well as the technique employed on the belt fittings in Fig. 12 relate this object very closely to the above ring.

Because the geometrical design and the mode of execution on the two hair ornaments in Fig. 13 are identical to that on the ring in Fig. 11a-b, these objects must be dated to the same time, if not to the same workshop. Between the bronze core and the gold exterior of these ornaments there was a textile which was probably brightly coloured, and this must have heightened the impact of these striking pieces. Hair ornaments had a long pre-Islamic history, and tubular ones are still current in the Middle East today.

The earrings featuring polyhedral beads in Fig. 14 must also be similarly dated, since two hair ornaments with closely related beads were found in the Russian excavations mentioned above (Korzukhina, pl. LIX). Their sophisticated and ingenious transformation of the spherical bead into a pentagonal dodecahedron is quite in keeping with the extraordinary amount of sophistication at the time in the usage of geometric solids as the forms of beads, weights, etc., especially notable in the finds from the Metropolitan Museum's excavations at Nishāpir.

A cache of jewelry and 82 gold coins found in Tunisia about 1910 contains very similar objects, and which relatively firm dates for certain types of jewelry executed in the Fatimid realms (G. Marçais and L. Poinssot, Objets kairouanais, notes et documents, xi/2, Tunis 1952, 467-93, and Marilyn Jenkins, Fatimid jewelry, its sub-types and influences, in Kunst des Orients, in press); and this in turn allows us to date certain closely related objects from the Fertile Crescent.

Marçais and Poinssot have shown that the jewelry in this cache was made before the end of the year 436/1045, and Jenkins has demonstrated that it was very likely produced in Egypt. She has also delineated a number of characteristic features of this jewelry, thus permitting a considerable broadening of the group. On the basis of these works, it seems likely that the gold objects about to be discussed, as well as many others closely related to them, were all produced in a relatively short period of time before 436/1045.

Each sub-type enumerated below will be introduced by one or more Fatimid objects datable by means of the Tunisian cache. These groupings grew out of Marc Rosenberg’s theory of “the battle of granulation and filigree”, in which he suggests an historical progression proceeding from those pieces on which granulation, consisting of grains of more than one size—most often set on paired wires—was the dominant decorative device, to those on which grains are also placed on paired wires but on which the granulation and filigree could be said to be on an equal footing. The third sub-type incorporates only a small amount of granulation; and the final phase shows the complete displacement of granulation by filigree (see Rosenberg, Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst auf technischer Grundlage, Granulation, iii, Frankfurt 1918, 96-104). The closely similarity among the objects comprising the various sub-groups makes it highly likely that the “battle” was a quick one, at least in the case of Fāṭimid Egypt.

Examples of the finest and most decoratively complex type of Fāṭimid gold work are the openwork biconical and spherical beads in Fig. 15 exhibiting filigree work and granulation with grains of more than one size. Another example of this particular phase of Fāṭimid jewelry is a gold bracelet with a tapered tubular shank and heart-shaped terminals in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (G. Breitung et alii, Das Buch vom Gold, Lucerne and Frankfurt 1975, 239, No. 6). The area where the shank meets the terminals bears three large grains, or more properly, a shot. This bracelet bears close comparison with one in the Damascus Museum, also with heart-shaped terminals but with a twisted-wire shank (Catalogue du Musée National de Damas, Damascus 1969, Fig. 119, right). The latter may in turn be compared with several excavated in Russia in finds datable to the 5th/11th and turn of the 6th/12th centuries (Korzukhina, op. cit., pl. XIV). All this confirms that this group of bracelets with tubular or twisted-wire shanks and heart-shaped terminals, whether made in Egypt or somewhere in the Fertile Crescent (as is probably the case with the bracelet in the Damascus Museum), were contemporary with the beads illustrated in Fig. 15 (which are datable by means of the Tunisian cache) and consequently must date before 436/1045.
Another bracelet which must be placed in this finest and decoratively most complex phase is that seen in Fig. 16a-b, which has a mate in the Damascus Museum. The twisted effect of its tapered shank and the four hemispheres flanking its clasp, as well as the treatment of the area where the shank meets the clasp, relate it very closely to the Persian bracelet illustrated in Fig. 5a-b, which is probably datable to the early 5th/11th century. However, the type of bosses on the clasp, the style of wirework on the back of the clasp and the treatment of the shank relate the Freer bracelet more closely to contemporary objects made in Egypt. We therefore attribute this bracelet to a workshop in the Fertile Crescent, most probably in Syria, where both Egyptian and Persian influences would very likely be found.

Also contemporary and made either in Egypt or the Fertile Crescent are a group of six bracelets with twisted-wire shanks whose clasps bear granules in two triangular arrangements, flanked on two sides by groups of three contiguous shot, on either side of a set stone (Catalogue du Musée National de Darnas, Fig. 119, second from right; Collection Hélène Stanitzky, iv. Bijoux et petits objets, Pl. XI, and p. 73, Figs. 11 and 12; and the European art market). The manner of usage of the grains on the clasps of these bracelets is closely related to that on the "blimp-shaped" beads on the necklace in Fig. 15.

The next Fatimid sub-type is illustrated in Fig. 17a-b. Unlike the beads discussed above, this pendant bears grains of only one size, and the filigree and granulation can be said to be equally important.

Those objects exhibiting filigree with only a very sparse use of granulation, such as the bracelet in Fig. 18 with repousséed shank, are examples of the next sub-type. Bracelets with repousséed shanks bearing geometric designs, sometimes filled with human figures, were a later development of such bracelets (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 58.37, and A. de Rudder, Collection de Cérez catalogue, vii/1, pl. XII, No. 1279).

Another example of this phase is the pair of earrings in Fig. 19. However, the use of undecorated hollow biconical beads as well as the taping of the edges to a point take them out of the Egyptian milieu and, as was the case with the bracelet in Fig. 16a-b and several other objects mentioned above, perhaps a provenance in the Fertile Crescent should be suggested for them (cf. Zakiyya 'Umar al-All, Islamic jewelry acquired by the Iraq Museum [in Arabic], in Sumer, xxx, Pl. 8; Paris, Grand Palais, L'Islam dans les collections nationales, Paris 1977, No. 363; and Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 95.16.2-3). Closer to its Egyptian prototypes than the above, but incorporating Persian elements as well, is another earring which also must have been made in the Fertile Crescent (Hayward Gallery, The arts of Islam, London 1976, No. 239)

As we have said, the final phase in Fatimid jewelry is represented by those objects with no granulation at all, their decoration being executed solely in filigree or in filigree combined with a technique other than granulation, such as cloisonné enamelling.

It is probable that the representations of jewelry in Persian miniatures do not give an adequate picture of the jewelry in vogue at the time, even for the upper classes. This is partly due to the very limitations of the Persian miniature art itself in terms of what it could show; and one gets the feeling that convention played some part in what jewelry the painter chose to decorate his figures, just as painters' conventions had a part in the architectural forms and decoration represented in these miniatures. However, it does seem on the other hand that the representations do reflect in a general way the types and, as will be seen, the changing styles of jewelry worn. With Mughal miniatures, the representations are more detailed, and give a feeling of being less fanciful, more indicative of a specific time, place and object.

The necklace in Fig. 24a-b is one of two extant pieces of 8th/14th century gold jewelry known to the present authors (the other is a head ornament in the Staatsliche Museum, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 563, which is very closely related to the gilded silver head ornament found in a 14th century tomb at Novorossiisk, for which see R. Zahn, Sammlungen der Galerie Bachstiz, ii Berlin 1921, pl. 123). The shapes used in the wire and stone work on the obverse of the necklace's two principal elements, as well as the contours of these elements themselves, relate it closely to the crown of Anushirwan in a page from
the Demotte ʿAḥmad Mrān (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 52.20.2; see I. Stchoukine, La peinture iran-aine sous les derniers ʿĀkhasides et les ʿIl-Khans, Bruges 1936, ms. no. XV, no. 24), and the style of the chased design as well as the motifs on the reverse of these elements clearly point to the same period.

In addition, the overall Chinese feeling is in line with what we might expect at this time.

To come back to the miniature mentioned above, we might point out that both of the principal figures wear simple gold hoop earrings and that this fashion can be seen in other representations of the period. For example, in a miniature probably painted in ʿIrāk in ca. 771-81/1370-80 (R. Eitinghausen, Arab painting, New York 1962, 178) we see very similar earrings worn by the Archangel ʿIsrāʾīl.

We may take this occasion to say that the wearing of earrings by men is a custom with a very long history in the Near East, being well-attested in for example, Assyrian, Achaemenian and Sāmānīd reliefs. We have already referred in section 1 above to a man wearing earrings in a wall painting from ʿĪram which also show us examples of Ṭīmūrid earrings.

Period. This popular Ṭīrūnid fashion is also in evidence in two other miniatures, one from ca. 829/1426 and the other from between 1470 and 1480, which also show us examples of Ṭīrūnid earrings. These appear to be either plain gold hoops, hoops with a single pendant tear-drop pearl (seen earlier in paintings from Sāmārāʾ) or gold hoops with four pendant paired pearls (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.13, fol. 17b; see New York, Asia House Gallery, Ḫulm miniature paintings from the XII to XIX century, 1962, 58, no. 41, and No. 57.51.24; MMA Bulletin, N.S., xvi [April 1958], 232).

As regards the fashion in bracelets during the Ṭīrūnid period, a miniature from a Ḫaft pâykar manuscript shows bathing women wearing simple strings of beads at their wrists (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.13, fol. 47a, MMA Bulletin, N.S., xxv [May 1967], 325, fig. 16). One of a pair of cast silver bracelets with dragon-headed terminals and bearing on the top an Arabic inscription can be seen in Fig. 25. At least two other examples of this type are extant, and it may represent a simpler and later version of the Mamlūk bracelets discussed above with animal heads flanking their clasps.

The cast gold and jade seal ring illustrated in Fig. 26 may have developed out of the type of ring illustrated in Fig. 11a-b, as they have several important features in common: the technique of casting, followed by a significant amount of chasing; shanks which have antropomorphic terminals and which are decorated with designs on two levels; and a lozenge adorning the centre of the shank (for the universal importance and use of the seal ring throughout Islamic history, see Khatam and Muhr).

The necklace seen on the woman in the detail of a miniature from a manuscript dated 853/1450-1 in Fig. 27 points both backward and forward in time. The central element is related to one of those on the necklace in Fig. 24a-b, whereas the overall composition is identical to what we shall see is the most popular type of ʿĀṣafād necklace represented in miniatures, although the rosettes here are two-dimensional elements instead of spherical beads as in the case of the ʿĀṣafād necklace.

ʿĀṣafād Spain is better represented by extant jewelry than other areas during this period. The necklace illustrated in Fig. 28 consists of five pendant elements and five beads. The pendant elements show an indebtedness to ʿĀṣtiṣīd jewelry in their box-like construction, the use of gold loops on their circumference for stringing pearls or semi-precious stones, and their combination of gold and cloisonné enamel as well as of filigree and granulation. However, they are not as laboriously executed as the best ʿĀṣtiṣīd pieces, and the work has been further decreased by simply pouring a gold sheet over the decorated front side of the pendant to produce the decoration on the back, a peculiarity of ʿĀṣafād jewelry.

As indicated earlier, the vogue for beads framing the face continued in the ʿĀṣafād period but, in addition, two other types of head ornament—whose sources of inspiration were probably earlier crowns—were very popular during this period. Examples are to be seen in Figs. 29 and 30, both of which appear to be of gold set with stones.

The necklace shown in Fig. 27 was the immediate precursor of that worn by the woman in Fig. 30. The elements and their arrangement are identical, except that the flat rosettes set with a single stone in the 853/1450-51 miniature have, seventy-five years later, become what appear to be granulated spheres set with multiple stones. The central element has also changed from an apparently carved or painted piece to a gold pendant set with stones. Another type of necklace which we see represented in ʿĀṣafād paintings, worn as a choker or close to the throat, consisted of a central triangular, sometimes bejewel-
led, gold element flanked by two smaller gold elements on a string of pearls; and we see Iranian women in paintings of this period wearing a series of strings of beads, plain or bearing a single pendant (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 52.20.6, unpublished, and a wall painting from the Cihâl Sultân (1057/1647) in Isfahan, unpublished). These paintings also show a continued vogue for bracelets consisting of simple strings of beads.

Also at the Cihâl Sultân, we encounter on the statues at the edge of the pool an early example of the bejewelled tripartite armband which was to have such popularity in the Kâdîjâr period (Fig. 31).

The new belt type, which was first observed in Persian miniatures dating to around 1400 A.D., was further elaborated upon in the Safawid period. The elements are jewelled and the number represented on a given belt is increased (Fig. 32). Two complete Safawid belts and a buckle are extant (Pope, Survey of Persian art, vi, pl. 1394a-c).

The types of earrings current in Safawid Iran show, for the most part, a continued conservatism at least as far as the representations are concerned. We find gold hoop earrings and gold hoops with a single shot at the bottom or at the bottom and two sides. There are also variations on the type of earring consisting of a gold hoop with a pendant pearl which in one case consists of three pendant stones, blue, white and red (Fig. 33). In addition to these, we also see more complex pendant earring varieties composed of gold, pearls, rubies or garnets and emeralds or in some cases composed of the aforementioned stones, but depicted in the miniatures in a way that is not detailed enough to permit a description.

Some of the ring types represented in the miniatures of this period include: archer's rings, usually indicated in black; seal rings and others represented with white and green stones (we may mention the one depicted with a white stone—in Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 1970.301.7, unpublished—which very much resembles in style that illustrated in Fig. 2b); plain gold rings with rectangular bezels; and gold thumb rings.

Another Safawid fashion seen depicted is the wearing of bandoliers, an example of which can be seen in Fig. 53. This one incorporates gold beads, amulets, a rosace and a gold pendant. Others of the period bear jewelled elements (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 12.224.4, miniature unpublished).

Recognisable representations of jewelry in Ottoman miniatures are almost non-existent. A rare instance shows Mehemmed II wearing a white archer's ring and a ring set with a blue stone (N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, Turkish miniature painting, Istanbul 1974, pl. I). A hint of the kinds of treasures on hand in Tavernier's time (in addition to arms, utensils and the like enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds and other precious stones), can be had from the following:

"But what is most precious in that Chamber and transcends all the rest, is a strong Coffier all of Ironwork, which contains another, of about a foot and a half square, wherein there is a vast Treasure. When this Coffier is open'd ye see a kind of Gold-Smiths Jewel Box, wherein are ranked all sorts of Jewels of highest value, as Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, a huge number of excellent Topazes, and four of those Gems, call'd Cat-

...
we have a wealth of precise verbal accounts of the jewels, thrones, etc., of the Mughal court, especially those of the sharp and knowledgeable J.B. Tavernier.

One real disadvantage for the would-be student of Mughal jewelry is the lack of available information about the jewelry of India during a very long period prior to the one with which we are here concerned. It must have been noticed that this article has not include any discussion of jewelry made under the Dhilli Sultanate. Pieces must exist, perhaps unrecognized or unpublished, in Indian museums or private collections; but we do not know definitely about such jewelry and have no real notion from any source as to its nature. Despite the absence of extant pieces from some extensive periods of time, it seems safe to say, on the basis of observation of recent and contemporary work and of study of such pictorial records as the highly detailed sculptures, that India has the longest unbroken jewelry tradition of any nation on earth, as well as the greatest variety of jewelry forms, functions and techniques. For the period from the beginning of British domination to the present, there are many studies of particular regional and/or technical types and styles, and we will make no attempt to survey or summarise this material here. We shall content ourselves with presenting a few of the more notable features of the adornment associated with the continuation of the glory of the Mughal Empire, and their continuation into the later period, namely the 18th and 19th centuries.

Aside from whatever may have been the tradition at the time of the Mughal conquest in the 10th/16th century, we may safely assume that a considerable amount of Timurid tradition passed southward with the royal family, its treasures and entourage, and that Timurid tradition in turn represented an amalgamation of other Islamic, and, to some extent Central Asian and Chinese traditions.

Our best evidence for the jewelry styles of the periods of the emperors Akbar until Aurangzib (963-1119/1556-1707) are the miniatures painted under their patronage. A striking confirmation of the veracity of these paintings is afforded by a statement of Tavernier concerning what he saw during the reign of Aurangzib (Travel in India, ii. 150), that there is "no person of any quality that does not wear a pearl between two color’d stones in his Ear." Although the following paintings are somewhat earlier (e.g. Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 30.95.174, no. 11, "Akbar giving audience . . .", ca. 1590-1600, unpublished; and Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 55. 121.10.29, portraits of three nobles, all of whom have this type of earrings, and a huntsman, from the Shah Djahân Album, period of Djahân, 1014-36/1605-27, unpublished), they invariably show earrings with a precious stone (ruby or emerald) between its pearls, confirming the type of earring described by Tavernier. The discrepancy of detail may be due to a change in the arrangement by Aurangzib's time, or may result from a confusion on Tavernier's part, as he had just been describing a pearl in the emperor's collection, the largest perfectly round one he had ever seen and one for which the emperor was unable to find a mate. If he could have paired it, Tavernier says, he would have made of them earrings, each with a pair of rubies or emeralds on each side, "according to the custom of the Country" (loc. cit.). This preference for the combination of pearls, rubies and emeralds coincides with what was said above in section 1, and one sees the combination everywhere in Mughal (as indeed, in Timurid, Şafawid and Kādjar) paintings. The only other colour commonly seen is blue (sapphire), but this latter occurs much less often than the other three.

Of course, we know that from ancient times India was the land of precious stones, and that even stones which did not originate in India itself, such as the rubies of Burma, often found their way to other countries by way of India. Furthermore, India herself was a major market for stones from early times, even for those stones which had to come from considerable distance, such as the emeralds (coming from Egypt). India and her immediate neighbours such as Ceylon, "Indo-China" and the mountains of Badakhshân produced an amazingly large variety consisting of most of the precious stones known up to this day. The Ratnapārakṣā, or "Appreciation of gems", a compilation of Indian tradition about gemstones, their varieties, qualities, sources, etc., which was apparently compiled as a technical guide before the 6th century A.D. (L. Finot, Les lapidaires indiens, Paris 1896), exhibits a surprising degree of knowledge and a surprisingly systematic approach in dealing with a wide variety of stones. In it, we find the canonisation of the "nine gems": the ruby, the diamond, the cat's-eye (chrysoberyl), the "hyacinth" (zircon?), the topaz, the sapphire, the turquois, the coral and the emerald (Finot, op. cit., 171). Despite this great variety, there is already expressed in this compilation a strong hierarchy of preferences, with the diamond considered first among gems. The order of treatment of our other major stones is: pearl, ruby, sapphire, and emerald.

Thus it is not at all surprising that we see Mughal rulers and noblemen represented as wearing earrings, turban ornaments, bracelets and necklaces of a variety of lengths and arrangements consisting almost solely of large pearls, rubies, sapphires and emeralds. For example, in Fig. 34 we see a painting from the Shâh Djahân Album which depicts Djahân with his son Shujâ'. Aside from the jewelry worn by the pair, which consists of pearls, emeralds and rubies, the painting is of additional interest as it shows Djahân with a ruby between the fingers of his right hand and other rubies and emeralds in a dish held in his left hand. We are making no assumptions in interpreting the red stones as rubies, the green as emeralds, etc., as the following passage from Tavernier (loc. cit.) shows. He describes and offers a line drawing of a large pearl belonging to Awarngzib: "Numb. 4. Is a great perfect pearl, as well for its Water as for its form, which is like an Olive. It is in the midst of a Chain of Emeralda and Rubies, which the Great Mogul wears; which being put on, the Pearl dangles at the lower part of his Breast."

Perhaps something should be said here about the diamond, in light of its mention in connection with the Ratnapārakṣā as well as Tavernier's ample testimony not only to the presence of diamonds in the Ottoman Treasury (see above), but the great amount of mining, cutting and use of diamonds in India in his time (op. cit., ii, passim).

As is well known, India was the great source of diamonds up until their discovery in Brazil and South Africa, and as the Ratnapārakṣā and other early Indian texts indicate, the Indians were using the diamond as a jewel well before Muhammad's time. Indeed, even as early an author as Pliny (Book xxxvii, 15) seems to speak of the diamond under the term adamas and he calls it the most valued of human possessions, having been for long only known to kings.
But he also seems to confuse it with other stones; and his assertion that it cannot be broken even by hammer blows on an anvil has the status of mere hearsay. He does speak of its use to engrave other stones and such usage probably has a more ancient history than we shall ever be able to establish.

According to Firet (op. cit., p. xxvii), certain of the early Indian texts with which he deals indicate that it is undesirable to cut diamonds and that the ideal form is the perfect octahedral crystal (cf. op. cit., p. xxvii). What is most important to notice here, however, is that the practice of cutting the diamond was known to them. Even as late as Tavernier’s time (see ii, 56, of Ball’s translation), such an expert on gems as he could say of cleaving diamonds (to avoid wastage by simply grinding away material) that the Indians “are much more accomplished than we are.”

Al-Biruni, cited by Wiedemann (op. cit., p. 352), seems to offer contradictory information regarding the use of the diamond in the early Islamic period. He says on the one hand, that the people of Khurásan and Trak only use the diamond for drilling (and cutting) and poisoning, and on the other, that a “drachme” of diamond in one piece costs one thousand dinars, whereas if in small pieces the price is one hundred dinars. This price quotation seems to clearly indicate a gemstone usage, not an abrasive one, where only small pieces are used anyway. In any case, according to al-Biruni in another place in his stone book (as cited in Haschmi, op. cit., 28-9), the diamond is mentioned by poets of the Diakhiriy and the Umayyad period (Imru ’l-Qays and Abu ’l-Nadim respectively). Again from al-Biruni (Haschmi, op. cit., 13), in a treatise by Naṣr b. Ya’kub al-Dinawari comes much more solid and detailed information, according to which the Buwayhid Mu’izz al-Dawla Ahmad b. Buwayh (ruled in ‘Trak 334-56/945-67) gave his brother Rukn al-Dawla a ringstone of diamond which weighed three muskbahs. Furthermore, he says (loc. cit.) that Mansur b. Nuh al-Samani (either Mansur I 350-65/961-76 or Mansur II 387-9/997-1007) had several ringstones, of which one was a diamond, and that “one never saw a larger diamond.” Thus it seems fairly certain that the diamond was known as a gemstone throughout the Islamic Middle Ages. How these diamonds were cut and set we do not know. Even the Mughal miniatures show nothing which to our knowledge can be identified as a diamond. The earliest inscription on a diamond of which we are aware is one in the name of Ni‘am Shadh with the date 1000/1591-2, now in the Iranian crown jewels (Meen and Tushingham, op. cit., 46, unpictured “rose-cut” diamond, 22.93 ct.).

To return to our discussion of the forms of Mughal jewels, another ubiquitous item in Mughal paintings is finger rings which come in some variety, although their details are generally not possible to ascertain, except for the colour (and by deduction, the type) of the gemstones. One well-known type of ring that is identifiable is the archer’s ring (discussed above under Safavid Iran), which we know from many extant examples, usually of jade and often inlaid with gold and precious stones. Another form of jewel usually associated with men is the subha or string of prayer beads. These beads were of course made of every variety of material from wood and bone to stones of all sorts. The passage cited above (in section 1) about the inscribed stones in the Iranian crown jewels shows that Nadir Shadh had a subha with emeralds, and there are in fact representations in Mughal miniatures of precious stone subhas. For example, a painting of Akbar done in the period of Daghângir (1014-36/1603-27), a detail from which is seen in Fig. 35, shows Akbar fingering a string of prayer beads consisting of large rubies, sapphires and pearls. Although the number of beads is not correct for Muslim prayer beads (being neither 33 nor 99), this must be attributed to a mistake, casual or otherwise, on the part of the artist.

Certain fashions already noted in 9th/15th to 13th/19th century Iran are also to be seen in the Mughal miniatures. Among these are the bandolier, which passes over one shoulder and down under the opposite arm, on which is strung various jewelled charms, including amulet cases of a form similar to that from Nishapur (Fig. 1) and those in Iranian miniatures (see Fig. 39) and of which numerous Mughal examples from the 18th and 19th centuries exist (e.g. Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 15.95.137 and 138, unpublished).

In another miniature in which we can observe such bandoliers (Fig. 36), we see a profusion of clearly-depicted jewelry. Most of the ladies shown have chokers fitting high on the neck which consist of a central jewel (a large ruby or emerald set in a square or rectangular gold “box”) held by three rows of pearls which complete the circuit of the neck. Another type of choker is made of closely-placed rectangular gold and stone jewels forming a continuous band bordered on top and bottom by a single row of pearls. Most persons also have intermediate-length pendants, apparently held by silk cords, which also consist of large central stones (rubies or emeralds) set in a simple rectangular or elliptical gold box, with pendant pearls. In addition, one sees the strings of large and small stone beads and pearls which are universally represented and described. We see here also a lady wearing the type of jewelled tripair armband discussed above as seen on a statue from the Çihil Sutun (extant Mughal examples from the 18th and 19th centuries include Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 15.95.40, 41 and H100.118, both unpublished). Other types of arm decorations seen in this rich miniature include: apparently solid gold armbands which fit at the elbow; a wide tapered close-fitting bracelet set with pearls, sapphires and rubies; another bracelet very similar to a choker described above; with a large ruby set in gold held by two rows of pearls; and an upper-arm band which is similar to another of the chokers, with a series of stones set in rectangular gold settings and bordered with rows of pearls. Finally, we may mention some of the types of ear and more nose rings seen. There are several examples of the type of ear-ring with the stone between two pearls discussed above, but there they have also a pendant teardrop-shaped pearl. The same type of ring, but without the pendant pearl, occurs as a nose ring. The other major type of earring is a large, disc-like one of gold set with stones large and small and sometimes with a pendant pearl. Some of these (particularly that on the lady in the centre) bear a rather close resemblance to the star-like element on the head-ornament (Fig. 37a). The position also was similar since this element rested at the side of the head at the ear.

The detail of this piece (Fig. 37b) shows that granulation was an art which continued at a high technical and artistic level in India. This technique has existed in India from at least the 1st-2nd centuries A.D., as the jewellery excavated at Sirkap, Taxila, now in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, Dihli, shows (see The art of India and Pakistan.

The way in which the elements in the necklace from Taxila (Ashton, op. cit., fig. 180) fit together almost in the manner of a jigsaw puzzle has striking parallels in many of 18th and 19th century Indian necklaces, (one example of which is shown in Fig. 38). In these and a myriad of other ways, the jewelry art of India displays an astounding tenacity for the preservation of traditions.

Another striking demonstration of this traditionalism is to be found in the pair of bracelets in Fig. 39. Bracelets of this type are well-known and exhibit an ingenious type of pivoting clasp closed with a threaded pin. The universally-used type of clasp pin in Islamic jewelry outside India and in one or two isolated examples of the 8th/14th century, is one which is held in place by friction. But a pair of bracelets found at Pusztta Bakod in Hungary (now in the National Museum, Budapest, see Franz M. Feldhaus, Die Technik der Anstecke und des Mittellasters, Potsdam 1931, 221-2 and Figs. 292 and 254; and M. Rosenberg, op. cit., i, 123 and Figs. 141-5) and dating from the period of the tribal migrations (perhaps 5th-7th centuries A.D.), displays not only terminals of similar type but also of the same type of thread used in our Indian ones, but they, like the Indian ones, are closed by a counter-clockwise threaded screw. This type of screw closure is found on a variety of types of Indian jewelry, and almost invariably the threads are made not by cutting but, like those on the much earlier bracelets just mentioned, by soldering on to the pin and into the hole which receives it coils of wire with regular spaces between (Feldhaus, op. cit., 221-2, traces the screw closure in jewelry back to at least the 5th century A.D., as it is found in a fibula from the grave of Chulderich, d. 481). It should be noted that all of the above mentioned jewelry found in Europe which exhibits the screw closure is of the type with hammered-in garnets, a type which was widespread in Europe and Asia between about the 4th and (depending on the region) the 10th or 11th centuries. The screw pin may have come to India with some of these migrating peoples.

Our pair of bracelets exhibits two other features for which Mughal and post-Mughal India is justly celebrated. The white jade shanks are inlaid with gold forming graceful floral patterns, the leaves and flowers of which are formed by stones set into the gold. Although sporadically practised in Turkey and Iran, possibly under Mughal influence, this art in those areas did not rival that in India either in level of technique and artistry or in longevity.

The gold terminals of these bracelets are covered with brilliant enamels which demonstrate a masterful control of the medium. Jaipur is best known for this type of enamelling, which is perhaps best described as "encrusted", in which three-dimensional forms are covered. Additionally, details are sometimes cut into the metal under transparent enamels to contribute to the liveliness of the effect. The literature on the subject of Indian arts and crafts from the 18th to the present century contains much information on Indian enamelling, and we will not dwell upon it, beyond saying that the art here reached one of its greatest consummations. These enamels, of course, like other precious techniques from time immemorial, adorned and bejewelled a whole array of objects which were not jewelry in the modern sense such as arms, thrones, utensils and the like, and as such they constitute a branch of jewelry.

As we suggested at the outset, the subject of Indian jewelry is an enormous and complex one, especially because of the wealth of evidence in the sculptures and paintings and the variety of recent and contemporary forms. And this situation, combined with the great dearth of known pre-18th century pieces, leaves one in a great state of puzzlement about where all the older pieces went. We can of course explain this to some extent by remembering that even within families it was customary to reset stones in the latest style, especially after passage from one owner to another, and in the process to melt down the precious metals for re-use. To cite a particularly notorious case of radical and wholesale change of ownership, that of the Mughal royal treasures, we know that most of what was on hand when Nâdir Shâh took Dhil was immediately transformed into ingots for ease of transport (Meen and Tushingham, op. cit., 11); and of course the stones and pearls were hauled away, either to be remounted or simply deposited in the Iranian treasury. Such "radical and wholesale changes of ownership" have of course been taking place throughout Islamic (and other) history, and we can well imagine that many of the stones that were in the Mughal treasury at the time of Nâdir Shâh's visit had in turn formed part of the treasuries of various earlier houses. The Mughal treasury may for instance have included stones that had once belonged to some "Abbasid or Fatimid caliph. Such would be impossible to prove in the absence of inscriptions on the stones; but there are tantalising bits of information to be found. For example, when one compares the weight reported (23 mūškālā, which by Kahle's precise formula of one mūškāl = 44.14 gr.—and not 4.5 gr., to which he rounds it off—gives 101.5 gr. or 507.5 carats) for a large balas ruby which was part of the enormous loot dispersed from the Fatimid treasury during the chaotic period in al-Mustansir's reign (see Kahle, op. cit., 336, 356) with that of the largest known balas ruby in the world, now in the Iranian crown jewels (reported as 500 ct. by Meen and Tushingham, op. cit., 46, 47, 67), one is struck by the agreement in weight. Of course it may be a coincidence, but the embers of hypothesis are fanned when we know that Nâṣir al-Dīn Shâh told Dr. Fevier, his physician in the 1890s, that "the hole... was pierced to take a cord by which it hung around the neck of the Golden Calf" and that "this ruby came from a king of Abyssinia, and had been brought back from India by Nâdir Shâh" (Meen and Tushingham, op. cit., 67).

Despite the various reasons for and the mechanisms of the transformation and transfer of jewels from one period and region to another, one is still left in a quandary. In the case at hand, where are all the pieces of the period which were not in the Mughal royal treasury? Surely some were kept as family heirlooms or were remounted, to be found later?

We must believe that future excavations, in conjunction with heightened awareness on the part of researchers in museums and on historical texts, will continue to provide information on this as well as other periods where we are faced with these hard-to-explain lacunae.

4. The final phase of the tradition (18th and 19th centuries)

The conservatism in style which has been noted as a major characteristic of the three broad periods covered so far continues in the final phase of the Islamic jewelry tradition which is to be treated here.

In Kâjgâr Iran, bandoliers were still fashionable
for men and women (SJ. Falk, *Qajar paintings*, London 1972, pls. 2, 26, 46, 47), although instead of the metal amulets and pendants sometimes set with stones seen on the *Safavid* examples, the *Kadjar* ones seem to have consisted solely of pearls or of elements composed of pearls and/or precious stones. The style of the belts in Iran during this period remained essentially the same.

Strings of beads were still worn on the wrists (Falk, pls. 26 and 43), in addition to bracelets composed of precious stones set into square bezels hinged one to the other, as well as plain gold bangles (Falk, pls. 17, 23, 25).

One of the latter paintings referred to above (that in pl. 17) also shows a continuation of the vogue for a string of pearls framing the face. In the *Kadjar* period, however, the pearls only appear to have extended from ear and the strings are longer so as to serve as necklaces (Falk, pls. 19, 20). There was also an elaboration of jewelled head ornaments, especially for women, in the *Kadjar* period. These were worn either pendant from their head cloths or in combinations serving as simple or elaborate head-dresses (Falk, pls. 5-7, 18-21). An example of one of these pendant elements can be seen in Fig. 40a-b. The small and large elements are hinged together and a ring is attached to the top of the former. The two projecting ornaments are removable, for decorating the top of a feather (Falk, pls. 5, 20). A similar object, in this case used to decorate the foreheads of Jewish and Muslim brides in the region of Bukhārā, can be seen in Fig. 41a-b. Influence from the Indian sub-continent is very obvious on this subject, as on much *Kadjar* jewelry, particularly in the manner of setting the stones.

A very popular type of earring in Iran during the 18th and 19th centuries consisted of a series of hemispheres or cones, hung one below the other, with pendant elements (Falk, fig. 1). These were executed in enamel, sheet metal or in filigree, with either pendant pearls or balls, repoussé- or wire-decorated metal sheets of a combination of both (see Fig. 42). A prototype for this kind of earring is to be found in 1st or 2nd century India (The Royal Academy of Arts, London, *The art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 22, No. 185). Another popular earring type can be seen in Fig. 43. This variety consists of a semi-circular lower part often decorated with dragon-headed terminals and spherical or knob-like protrusions around its circumference (Falk, figs. 3, 4). Again, these were executed alternatively in enamel, sheet metal and filigree.

A very fine example of the ubiquitous *Kadjar* arm-band, referred to earlier in connection with the *Safavid* example, can be seen in Fig. 44a-b, here executed in gold, enamel and precious stones.

Aside from a continued vogue for strings of beads at the neck (Falk, pls. 14, 38), pendants or roundels set with precious stones on strings of pearls or beads were a popular necklace type during the *Kadjar* period (Falk, fig. 7, pls. 17-19). The last painting also shows a necklace bearing a central element very similar in shape to that seen in Fig. 27.

To the best of our knowledge, aside from the new pieces in the Topkapi Hazine (most of which are either turban ornaments or belt buckles of well-known types), very little Ottoman jewelry of any significance made and used in Turkey itself has survived from the period in question. However, we can learn a considerable amount about fine Ottoman jewelry of this period from that made in the more distant regions of the Ottoman empire and even from Morocco.

When one compares pieces which can be attributed to Istanbul (*Collection Hélène Statthatos*, ii. *Les objets byzantins et post byzantins*, Limoges 1957, pl. XI, nos. 79, 80, 82 and pl. XIII, nos. 107-9) with the gold jewelry from Morocco of the same period, one feels quite justified in stating that the provincial craftsmen were drawing at least some of their inspiration from the Turkish capital. The similarity is so great, in fact, that one can safely use such Moroccan pieces to fill in the large gaps in the Istanbul jewelry.

The style of the gold work on the Moroccan head ornaments in Fig. 45 is very close to that on the diadem and the oval pendant in the Statthatos collection. That iconography was also shared can be seen on the necklace in Fig. 46. The double-headed bird, whose body is set with stones and from whose tail extend pendants of pearls and precious stones, is very close to a pendant in the Statthatos collection. The two enamelled cylindrical beads on this necklace, however, are descendants of those seen on the *Nasrid* necklace in Fig. 28.

The necklace in Fig. 47a-b combines precious stones on the obverse with enamelling on the reverse, which is another feature of the Istanbul jewelry.

The largest body of Muslim North African material, however, has a series of styles all its own assuming a myriad of forms and drawing its inspiration from a variety of periods and areas. There is a rather detailed literature on the subject which can be studied by those with a particular interest (see *Bibl.* below). A study of the literature on this jewelry, which extends into the 20th century, as well as the later Indian jewelry, provides insights into the ways various earlier pieces and types were worn, and gives an idea of their overall effect. The same can be said for ethnographic studies, which often provide the best documentation of recent and contemporary jewelry from the various regions whose earlier jewelry productions have been discussed above.


Djawhari, Djawhari, modernist Egyptian theologian. He was born in 1278/1862 in the village of Kafir ‘Awd Allah Hıdızı in the Nile Delta to the south-east of al-Zaţazik. He studied at al-Azhar [q.v.] and at Dār al-‘Ulum [q.v.] from 1889 until 1893 when he graduated. After his graduation, he worked as a school-teacher at various primary and secondary schools until his retirement in 1922, except for the period between 1908 and 1914 when he taught at Dār al-‘Ulum (ethics, ta’ṣrīf, hadith and grammar) and at the Egyptian University (Islamic philosophy).

He is the author of an impressive oeuvre of nearly thirty published books—some of which were translated into a number of other Oriental languages—and numerous articles on a variety of subjects published in different periodicals throughout the Islamic world. The majority of his writings constitute an effort to show how the teachings of Islam, and in particular, the contents of the Kurrân, were in accordance with human nature, and with method, theory and findings of Western modern (19th and early 20th century) science, with which he had familiarised himself mainly through popular accounts in English.

His principal work is his Kurrân commentary, al-Djawhārī ft tafsīr al-Kurrân al-kārim, Cairo 1923-35, in 26 volumes, which was analysed extensively by J. Jomier, Le Cheikh Tantawī Jawhari (1862-1940) et son Commentaire du Coran, in MIDEO, v (1958), 115-74. The scope and nature of Tantawī’s writings and the extensive learning displayed by him, drew the attention of European orientalists like D. Santillana, M. Hartmann and Carra de Vaux, who gave mostly eulogising analytical accounts of some items (cf. Carra de Vaux, Les penseurs de l’Islam, Paris 1926, v, 275-284; M. Hartmann, Schauk Tantawī Dchauhārī, Ein moderner egyptischer Theolog und Naturfreund, in Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients, xiii (1916), 54-82; D. Santillana, Kitāb ayn ‘īnān (review), in RSO, iv (1911), 762-3).

Throughout his life, Tantawi Djawhar showed a theoretical as well as practical interest in spirituality, as appears from passages in many of his writings and in particular from his books Kitāb al-Arwaḥ,


3. Bronze belt fittings, cast. Probably Irâk or Iran, 3rd/9th century. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Everett Birch, St. Thomas, V.I.* (Illustrations marked with an asterisk are photographs by courtesy of Patti Cadby Birch.)

4a-b. (a) Silver ring, hollow, fabricated from sheet. From the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Nishapûr, Rogers Fund, 1939. Probably Nishapûr, probably 4th/10th century. Tehran, Mûze-i Irân-i Bastân.


6. Gold ring, decorated with niello and set with turquoise and pearls. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 57.3. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*
5a-b. Pair of gold bracelets, fabricated from sheet with applied twisted wire and granulation. Eastern Iran, probably early 5th/11th century. (a) Freer Gallery of Art, No. 58.6. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

(b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 57.88, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1957 (detail of underside of clasp).

7a-b. Gold bracelet, hollow, fabricated from sheet, decorated with niello and granulation. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 50.21. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*


10. Pair of gold earrings, fabricated entirely from wire and granules. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 52.4.5-6, Rogers Fund, 1952.

11a-b. Gold ring, cast, fabricated and engraved. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1976.405, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Everett Birch, 1976.

12. Set of silver-gilt belt fittings, cast and chased. Iran or Anatolia, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, No. 1959 7-22 1-5.*

13. Pair of gold hair ornaments with bronze core, decorated with twisted wire and granulation and (formerly) coloured cloth. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 52.32.9,10, Rogers Fund, 1952.


24a-b. Gold necklace, fabricated from sheet, embossed and set with turquoise, glass and unidentified stones. Iran, 8th/14th century. Private Collection, New York.


31. Detail from arm of statue, Čihil Sutún, Iṣfahān, Šafawid period.


34. Detail from a miniature painting depicting Shâh Djahân and his son Shujâ‘, from the Shâh Djahân Album, India, period of Djahângîr (1014-37/1605-27). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 55.121.10.36, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation gift, 1955.


43. Pair of gold earrings, enamelled and set with faceted, coloured glass "stones". Iran, 19th century. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.


who, adds al-Djâhi, used the sâdi of the diviners (!) and gave apposite replies to questions put to him. When al-Ma'mûn arrived in Baghâdîd, Dhibâbîn pointed out to him the hiding-place at Cteisophon/ al-Madînîn of a casket of black glass containing a piece of brocade in which were preserved one hundred leaves. Dhibân informed the caliph's secretary, al-Hasan b. Sahl [q.v.], that it was the Djaâidhân khârid translated from the language of Hûgâng into Persian (= Pahlavi) by Gandiyâr b. Isândiyâr, vizier of the king of Iranshâh. Al-Hasan b. Sahl had each leaf read out and explained, one after the other, by a certain al-Khîrîr al-Khadîrî b. 'Ali, then put the text into Arabic. However, since the leaves as given to him were in a state of disorder, he had to pass by a great part of them. The tradition adds that al-Ma'mûn, when he heard about this translation, could not prevent himself from expressing his admiration.

Such is the legend concerning the discovery of the Djaâidhân khârid, the fate of whose Pahlavi original is unknown. Neither is anything known about what happened to al-Hasan b. Sahl's Arabic text, which must have been in circulation for a significant period before being itself translated into Persian. R. Henning (in ZDMG, iv [1956], 73-7) thinks that it could possibly have been preserved in the translation asal-sûlûn attributed to Ibn al-Mukaffâ [ed. Kurd 'Ali, in Rasâ'îl al-balaghâh], Cairo 1365/1946, 145-72) which displays several points in common with the Djaâidhân khârid of the historian-philosopher Miskawîy [q.v.].

The latter actually, that, after having been struck, when a youth, by the enthusiastic judgment on the Djaâidhân khârid by al-Djâhi, he felt compelled to bring it to light again, and that his untiring researches at last enabled him to find a copy with the help of a mûhadhîn mûhadî of Fârs. Even conceding that this information has a base in reality, it is regrettable that Miskawîy gives no indication as to what language it was written in. It might be supposed a priori that it was a copy of the Pahlavi original, but such a hypothesis seems hardly plausible if one gives attention to the complete harmony, in Arabic, between the wording of an important number of the sentences of the Tatimât al-sûlûn and this author's own Tâkimât al-sultân. In order to achieve his aim, he conveys to the reader "a rambling succession of moral reflections or philosophical discourses borrowed from various sources" to which "the libraries of Ibn al-Amid and 'Adud al-Dawla [q.v.] had enabled him to find easy access" (on these sources, see M. Arkoun, Contribution à l'humanisme arabe au IVe/Xe siècle: Miskawîy philosophe et historien, Paris 1970, 146-58; from a more general point of view, the interest of this anthology of Miskawîy [ed. 'A. Badawi, Cairo 1952, under the title al-Hikma al-makkâlî] consists essentially in the author's clearly-manifested intention of inculcating that "among all the nations, intelligences concur in following the same way, and neither differ according to the countries involved nor change with the elapsing of time", after having pinpointed many resemblances between the wisdom of the ancient Iranians, illustrated by the document which he claims to have rediscovered and the Pahlavi texts which he has utilised, and that of the Indians, Arabs and Greeks. In order to achieve his aim, he conveys to the reader "a rambling succession of moral reflections or philosophical discourses borrowed from various sources" to which the libraries of Ibn al-Amid and 'Adud al-Dawla [q.v.] had enabled him to find easy access (on these sources, see M. Arkoun, Contribution à l'humanisme arabe au IVe/Xe siècle: Miskawîy philosophe et historien, Paris 1970, 146-58; from a more general point of view,
Arkoun has devoted an extended study to Miskawayh’s work, *Introduction à la lecture du Rûbat* “Jâwâdîn Khirad”, as a preface to the Persian version of Shâhâbî, in *Wisdom of Persia*, xvi, Tehran 1976, 1-24. Miskawayh’s extensive readings provided him with a rich documentation on the wisdom of the Persians (5-88), the Indians (89-100), the ancient Arabs (101-208), the Greeks (282-4) and the “modern Muslims” (285-342). Especially worthy of note is the Table of Cebes (229-62), and this Arabic adaptation has since long taken back the attention of orientalists (Span. tr. P. Lozano y Casela, *Paragrazie iraba de la Tablade Cebes*, Madrid 1793; ed. and tr. Suavi, *Le Tablado de Cebes* or the image of the life humane, Paris 1873; R. Basset, *Le Tablado de Cebes*, Paris 1889; and see Arkoun, *Contribution à l’humanisme arabe*, 158-60).


**Djawz** is the nut in general, and in particular the class of the walnut (*Juglans regia L*), rich in varieties. Term and object are of Persian origin (gauz), as correctly recognised by the early Arab botanists (Abû Hanîfah al-Dinawârî, *The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953, 86, l. 14). They also relate that the walnut-tree is widespread in the Arab peninsula, especially in the Yemen, and that its wood is appreciated because of its firmness; shields made from wood of the walnut-tree are mentioned also in poetry because of their hardness: *saštâta türmân gauzukhâh lam yâthekhabbi* (*op. cit.*, 16, l. 2 and 86, l. 17; *Dâyîl Dîwân Ibn Mukbil*, ed. *Izzat Hasan*, Damascus 1381/1962, no. 4). In Islamic times, Iran remained an important area for the cultivation of the walnut-tree. Geographers occasionally describe the differences in climate in view of the trees that are found: walnut-trees grow in cold regions, date-palms in hot regions, according to *Mukaddis T.*, 459, 463. For the cultivation areas in regions, date-palms in hot regions, according to Shushtar, in *Mukhtârât*, Haydarabad 1362, ii, 50; P. Schwarz, *Djawz al-sûr*, another kind of nux vomica, *Elocia iemandiosa Forsk.*—5. *Djawz al-khar*, the Abyssinian nut, *Unona aethiopica* (?).—11. *Djawz al-kaşâlah*, an Indian nut, *Gardena dametorum* (?).—12. *Djawz armînîyûs*, the Indian nut, *nux vomica*, fruit of the *Guercina mangostana*. For further material, see Dozy, i, 233; M. Meyerhof’s commentary on Mainmîd, *Shahr asmû al-’ukkdr, no. 82*; F.A. Frücker, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*, Berlin 1891, Index s.v. *Nux*.

dA-djawza' [see muntakat al-hurufi].

dA-djahhini, surname of viziers of the Sarnainids [q.v.], of whom one at least wrote a famous Kitab al-Masalik wa l-mamalik which has never been found in spite of the hopes raised by S. Janicsek (Kitdb al-Masdlik wa 'l-mamdlik famous Kitab al-masalik val-mamalik: (al-Djaihani's lost is it to
89-96). The identity of the author of this work poses xiii (1949), in
A false Jayhdni, a problem difficult to solve.
in
be found at Mashhad?

peoples and the places that they inhabit, without
Leipzig 1939, text § 4, tr. 6, tr. M. Canard, in AIEO Alger, xvi (1958), 54 relates that a Djayhan, who bore the title al-shaykh al-'amid, obtained for him an audience with the young Sarnainid Nasr b. Ahmad (301/913-43 [q.v.]) and arranged for his lodging at the time of his journey to Balkh in 309/922; he refers only to the nisba of this individual and makes no mention of any literary activity whatsoever. In 336/947, when revising the Murad, al-Mas'ddi as yet had no knowledge of the Kitab al-Masalik, but he mentions it in the Tanbih (ed. Saw!, 65) some years later (before 346/957), and summarises its contents: a description of the world, marvels, cities, capitals, seas, rivers, peoples and the places that they inhabit, without reference to the relevant itineraries (cf. Jakut, Cairo ed. 198 (Wdfl, ii, 80-1, no. 389, and viii, 53-4, no. 3463) copies, under the same headings (in other words, respectively, Ahmad and Muhammad) the two articles of Yakut which he nevertheless considers suspect; the correct reading seems to him to be Ahmad b. Muhammad. Hadiji Khalfa (no. 166) opts for Abu 'Abd Allah Ahmad b. Muhammad, but Kahhala, while following this last biographer (Mujam al-mut'talifin, ii, 165) and attributing to Ahmad, who was still alive in 367/978, the K. al-Masalik, the K. al-Ras'd'i and the K. al-Ulh, has no scruples about a contradiction and makes Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Ahmad (ix, 25) the author of the Ras'd'i and the Masalik, following the K. Hadiyyat al-'arifin of Isma'Il Paiga al-Baghdad. It is not unusual for the commonness of names such as Muhammad and Ahmad to lead writers and their copyists astray, but here, we have the clear impression that the Sarnainids employed three viziers bearing the nisba of al-Djayhan: the first (I), who served in the latter part of the reign of Nasr b. Ahmad; his accession, must have been called Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Ahmad as Nasr; he was replaced, no doubt in about 310/922, by Bal'arni [q.v.], Abu 'l-Fadl Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah, whose successor was Abu 'Ali Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Djayhan (ii); this last was vizier from 326 to his death in 330/937-42 (ibn al-Ashir, vii, 283), that is, at the end of the reign of Nasr b. Ahmad, and there is no reason to suppose that he was not the son of (I); no doubt it was his own son, Abu 'Abd Allah Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Nasr (iii) who was deprived of his office, according to Yakut, in 367/978, and replaced by al-Ubi. Among these three individuals, who clearly seem to belong to the same family, one should attempt to ascertain which is the author of the K. al-Masalik (the other three works mentioned are too little known to be taken into consideration); V. Minorsky (preface to the Hudud al-ismam, xvii), V.V. Barthold (ibid., 16, 23) and A. Miquel (Le geographie humaine du monde musulman, Paris-The Hague 1973, xiii-xxiv) opt, with D.M. Dunlop and Sarton (History of science, i, 635-6), for no. 1, which seems however unlikely, since it is probable that his book would
have been known to al-Mas'ūdī—who is in fact the only one to refer to the name of Muhammad b. Ahmad—before the revision of the Murūj (323/943). The association of no. II with al-Balkhi would incline us to attribute the K. al-Masālik to him, but his kunya of Abū 'All rules out such an identification, since the author of this work is always Abū 'Abd Allah.

In these circumstances, it is legitimate to suggest, as a hypothesis, that the K. al-Masālik is a family work, perhaps begun by Muhammad b. Ahmad (I), continued by his son Muhammad b. Muhammad (II) and completed by his grandson Ahmad b. Muhammad (III) in the years immediately following 330/941-2. Examples of this kind are not rare in Arabic literature (see al-Barkī in Suppl., Ibn Sād al-Majmū/controller, etc.) and it is probably the plurality of authors which gives rise to confusions which the other exploitable sources do not enable us to solve, although they supply some information regarding the work in question.

Ibn Hawkal (writing in ca. 375/985) declares (Ṣarāt al-ard, text 329, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 322) that he took with him in the course of his travels, which certainly began in 331/943 but stretched over a long period, the books of Ibn Khurraḍāḍibih, of al-Djāhān and of Kudām, but he regrets possessing the first two which have monopolised too much of his attention, and he does not seem to rate them very highly, although he does not hesitate to exploit al-Djāyahānī (453/438) insofar as regards Khurraḍān, visited by him in the third quarter of the 4th century. Al-Mukaddasī (375/985), who also utilises on a number of occasions, is more explicit; in his Abān al-takāsim (3-4, tr. Miquel, Damascus 1963, §§ 10-11), he describes Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Djāyahānī (without further qualification) as a philosopher, astronomer and astrologer and adds that he gathered together people "who were acquainted with foreign countries in order to inquire from them concerning the different states, their resources, their access routes, the height at which the stars revolve there, and the position occupied there by the shadow ... For him this was a means of conquering these countries, of getting to know their resources and of perfecting his knowledge of the stars and of the celestial sphere". While acknowledging his merits, al-Mukaddasī seems subsequently to reproach al-Djāyahānī for having developed at length the physical geography of the countries described, thus neglecting some important facts. Finally, Gardzī, who was writing between 440 and 443/1046-52, confirms al-Mukaddasī's suggestion by declaring (Qanūn al-akhbār, ed. Nazım, Berlin-London 1928, 28-9) that al-Djāyahānī was in contact with correspondents residing in areas stretching from Byzantium to China, obtaining written information and making selective use of the material.

The K. al-Masālik perhaps consisted of seven volumes (cf. note on ms. C. of Al-Mukaddasī, tr. Miquel, op. land., 14), but the information supplied by this note is confusing and should be treated with all the more caution seeing that it is hardly likely that Ibn Hawkal would have encumbered himself with such a voluminous work (unless, of course, it was an abridged version that he carried about with him). It must in fact have supplemented the K. al-Masālik of Ibn Khurraḍāḍibih, with which moreover it appears sometimes to be confused. On account of this, some authors attribute to this work a particular political stamp, but the information consists above all of purely geographical data, unpublished and difficult to obtain otherwise, which must have been of interest to other writers, and we cannot but be astonished as the disappearance of a work so widely exploited. The debt of the author of the Hudūd al-ilm, of Gardzī and others to al-Djāyahānī has been the object of scholarly speculation on the part of Mīmarī and of Barthold (see prefaces to the Hudūd, xvi-xvii and 23-6), but it is clear that too many uncertainties remain for absolutely firm conclusions to be reached.

Bibliography: in addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see also Marquart, Streifzüge, xxxi-xxxi and passim; A. Miquel, Géographie humaine, xxiii-xxv, 92-5, and index. (G. Pellat)
work of his predecessors, including Apollonius of Byzantium (?), the Pseudo-Archimedes, the Pseudo-Plato (3rd/9th century), and a certain Yunus al-Asqalani. Other writings and constructions, whose originators were unknown to al-Djazari, are also mentioned. Secondly, his use of and improvement upon the earlier works, together with his meticulous descriptions of the construction and operation of each device, enables us to make an accurate assessment of the level of achievement reached by the Arabs in mechanical technology by the close of the 6th/12th century.

Bibliography: Eight valuable articles on al-Djazari's work were published in the early years of this century by E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, listed in Der Islam, xi (1921), 214; see also Wiedemann, Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Hildesheim 1970, ii, index, 846; The miniature paintings from two of the manuscripts are discussed in A.K. Coomaraswamy, The treatise of al-Jazari on automata, Boston 1924; See also Brockelmann, S I, 902. For the other writers mentioned, see ibid., in Suppl.

Djazari—Djazzar

AL-DJAZARI. Shams al-Milla wa-l-Din Abu Abd al-Nabi Makdisi al-Makkah (kassabun), a native of Makdisi, died in 701/1301. His Makdasi al-Makkiyyah, which was written in 672/1273 for the author's son Zayn al-Din Abu'l-Fath Nasr Allah, are a good example of the imitations of the Makdasi al-Hariri. The external form of the work follows that of al-Hariri precisely; there are 50 makdasi, most of which are named after towns. The various episodes are linked together by a common hero, Abu Nasr al-Masri, and a common narrator, called al-Kasim b. Djayyad al-Dimashki. The narratives of al-Djazari's makdasi are overwhelmed with the ingenious puns, elaborate rhymes and other forms of wordplay for which they provide the vehicle. The lavish use of rare words to provide long series of phrases ending in the same rhyme makes an immediate understanding of the makdasi difficult. They copy the form of their famous model to the point of exaggeration, but do not have the inspired wit of its contents.

Brockelmann records six surviving MSS of al-Makdasi al-Makkiyyah (II, 205, S II, 199). In addition there are 13 selections from al-Djazari's work in the Leeds Ar. MS 169, whose principal contents are the Makdasi al-Hariri. The selections from al-Djazari are from the following makdasi: al-Rusdiyya, al-Aniyya, al-Dinmiyya al-Shirdazzia, al-Islandariyya al-Khara', al-Dimashkiyya, al-Dabtd, al-Qamalimsha al-Dinmiyya.

Bibliography: Hadddi Khaliif, ii, col. 1785; Brockelmann, loc. cit.; for some specimens of Djazari's rhymed prose and verse, together with English translations, and a full list of the titles of his makdasi, see R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, Shams al-Din al-Jazari and his Al-Ma'mam al-Makkiyyah, in The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society, vii (1975), 54-60.

Djazzar (A.), "slaughterer", of camels, sheep, goats and other animals. These formed a distinct group of workers in medieval Arab society, quite apart from the kassab and labham, the two terms used for the butcher. In modern times, however, the djazzar is synonymous with the latter terms. Djazzir and other writers use the words djazzarin and kassabin alongside each other to show them as separate groups; there were dar al-djazarin in Medina and Mecca during the 1st century A. H.; while there were many sak al-djazzar as well as sak al-kassabin in Bagdad and other Islamic cities throughout the Middle Ages. The word djazzar seldom appears as a proper name, though kassab is often used as an occupational surname among the Arabs.

The djazzar was required to be an adult (haghi), and a sane (akhi) Muslim who would utter the name of God at the time of each slaughter. The муkBаин saw to it that the djazzar slaughtered animals free from illness or defects. The non-Muslim (dimm) butchers practised their trade side-by-side with their Arab colleagues in the Middle East and North Africa. Friday was the weekday when most slaughtering of animals took place, according to Djazari.

Unlike craftsmen of low prestige like tanners and cuppers, the slaughterers and butchers were not socially ostracised in Arab society. The Prophet forbade one of his relatives to employ a kham (q.v.) in the trades of a slaughterer (djazzar), or butcher (kassab), cupper (haghdh), or goldsmith (adghal), (al-Kattani, al-Tarabil, ii, 106). The djazzar was usually a free person (hur). The slaughterers were disliked by Arabs for the uncleanness (nagdus) of their work. Ibn al-Imad cites a case of an unscrupulous djazzar who utilised a dead animal for selling its meat, and the case was perhaps not untypical. Some Arab udabba' discussed the professions of the nobility (sind'dt al-kassab) and cited the names of many Kuryah (q.v.) like al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam, 'Amr b. al-As, 'Amir b. Kurayz, and Khalid b. Asid, among djazzarin in their early careers. The djazzarin, according to Djazari, could never be rich, and their economic condition remained unchanged in Arab society over a long period. During the Buwayhid period, the slaughterers, butchers and other tradesmen had to pay additional imposts (maks), although they were usually exempt from taxation. The daily earnings of a djazzar in Egypt during the reign of al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (386-411/996-1020) was one disir, which was an exceptionally high income for a worker.

The slaughterers and butchers are portrayed in Arabic history books as groups of persons with violent tempers. The butchers were expelled from the Round City of Baghdad by Abi Dja'far al-Mansur for their tendency towards violence. Tabarri records that the djazzarin rioted in Mecca in 262/875-6, producing 17 casualties and jeopardising the pilgmezine of many people. For this and other reasons, a minor Arab poet echoed the sentiments of the public by saying that he did not wish to live in a locality where a slaughterer would be his neighbour. Al-Lhubdi, a jurist of the Mamluk period, came to the conclusion that the occupation of the djazzar was undesirable (makruh), because it bred hard-heartedness among men. Despite these criticisms, however, one gets the impression that the slaughterers were not generally despised in Islamic society.

Bibliography: Djazari, al-Hayawan, Cairo 1938-40, iv, 430-2; v, 389; idem, al-Bukhald, Cairo 1963, 111; Ibn Kuwayho, al-Mafur, Beirut 1970, 249-50; Abi Hayyan al-Tawhidi, al-Dajazari wa'l-Dja'far, Damascus 1916-7, iii, 1-4, 41-5; Tabari, Tarikh, iii, 1908; al-Waki', Akhbar al-kudr, Cairo 1947, i, 102; al-Bayhawk, al-Ma'adin wa'l-masai, Beirut 1960, 103; al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Tarikh Bagdad, Cairo 1931, i, 80; idem, al-Bukhaldi, Bagdad 1964, 188; Ibn al-Djazari, al-Munatamat, vii, 15; viii, 181; al-Sam'ani, al-

AL-DJAZZĀR PASHA. ABRAH, the dominant political figure in southern Syria (the eydlets of Sidon and Damascus) during the last quarter of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th. A Bosnian by origin (some sources assert that he was of Christian priesthood), he was born ca. 1722; the story of his early life is confused with legend. He appears to have been a successful trader at the slave market in Constantinople, from which he amassed a fortune of silver in Istanbul, where he entered the service of the Grand Vizier Ḥakīm-Oghlu ‘Alī Pasha. In 1756, when his master was sent to attend to the affairs of Egypt for two years, he accompanied him there and stayed behind to attach himself to the local Mamlūk military system. His Mamlūk patron, ‘Abd Allāh Bey, was administering the Buḥayra district in the Delta region as kāfīf when he was murdered by the local Bedouins in the course of a rising. The qālid al-balad ‘Alī Bey (1760–73) appointed Dajzzār to succeed his master as kāfīf of the district, raising him to the rank of Bey. It is alleged that Djazzar came to be so-called (djazzār = ‘butcher’) as a result of the ferocity with which he proceeded to subdue the Bedouins of the Delta; it is possible, however, that Djazzar was his original surname, or that it was a nom de guerre which he adopted at the start of his career to promote his image as a competent professional soldier.

Djazzar remained attached to ‘Alī Bey in Egypt for several years. By 1768, however, he had become dangerously compromised in Mamlūk political intrigues. Fleeing Cairo, he returned for a short while to Istanbul; it was probably then that he first became officially attached to the Ottoman state as an agent. He then proceeded to settle in Syria, where he set out to establish for himself a large mamlūk household and a private army of Bosnian, Albanian, North African and other mercenaries which became the basis of his personal power.

Between 1768–74 the Porte was involved in a war with Russia; in the course of the hostilities, a Russian naval squadron appeared in the eastern Mediterranean, and Russian agents were sent to Acre (‘Akka) to encourage the powerful chieftain of Galilee, Dāhīr al-‘Umār, to join ‘Ali Bey of Egypt in a revolt against the Porte (Dāhīr had successfully usurped power in the southern parts of the eylūt of Sidon, with Ottoman acquiescence, since the 1730). It was after Dāhīr rose in revolt that Djazzar was sent in 1772 by the governor of Damascus to defend Beirut, which had shortly before been bombarded and pillaged by Dāhīr’s Russian allies. Since 1749, Beirut had been controlled by the Shihāb amīrs of Mount Lebanon; technically, however, it was part of the eylūt of Sidon (as was, indeed, the whole of the Shihāb domain). The ruling Lebanese amīr, Yūsuf Shihāb (1770–88), was opposed to Dāhīr, and happy at first to see Djazzar established in Beirut. However, when Djazzar refused to honour the Shihāb claim of suzerainty over Beirut, Yūsuf Shihāb turned to his old adversary Dāhīr for help, and the latter summoned the services of the Russian squadron against Djazzar. Beirut was bombarded for a second time in 1773 and besieged by land and sea for four months before its garrison was starved into surrender. Djazzar fled the town and was given refuge for a time by Dāhīr in Acre. Betraying his host at the first opportunity, he fled to Damascus, smuggling out with him a convoy of Dāhīr’s munitions. Delighted by his persistent loyalty, the Porte raised him to the rank of Paşa and appointed him beylerbeysi of Rumelia, then miyettāřī of the sanjak of Karā Hīşar in Anatolia in 1775. Later in that same year, when Dāhīr al-‘Umār was finally defeated and killed by his own men, Djazzar was appointed beylerbeysi of the eylūt of Sidon, and established the seat of his government in Acre. In the following year, he was confirmed in the government of the eylūt with the rank of wa♫r, and continued in the office and rank until his death in 1804.

In Acre, Djazzar followed in the footsteps of his predecessor and his private army to set up a régime of remarkable stability; his policy of ruthless repression, and the cruelty with which he meted out punishments, made him the object of general fear. On one occasion, in 1790, a group of his officers and mamluks, supported and possibly prompted by his political enemies in Istanbul and by the French traders in Acre, staged a rebellion against him which was almost successful, but the rebellion was crushed by a surprise action and never repeated. Despite the constant intrigues against him in Istanbul, Djazzār’s mandate in the eylūt of Sidon was annually renewed, without interruption, for twenty-nine years—a record without precedent in the his-tory of Ottoman provincial administration. On four different occasions (in 1785, 1790, 1799 and 1803), the eylūt of Damascus was also entrusted to his care. At a time when the general decline of the Ottoman state was encouraging rebellion and the usurpation of power in the provinces, an efficient and loyal governor in Syria, which was an area particularly prone to insubordination, was badly needed, and Djazzar was just the man for the job. In the coastal eylūt of Sidon, which was already overshadowing the inland eylūt of Damascus in importance because of the increasing European (and particularly French) maritime trade with the Levant, Djazzār suppressed the unruly Mitwalfs (Twelver Shi‘is) and other tribes of the hill country of Galilee and northern Palestine, and established his administra-tion firmly in the area. While he was not able to destroy the Shihāb emirate in Mount Lebanon, he did manage to exploit the Maronite-Druze con-fessional jealousies and the political factionalism prevail-ing there to reduce the Shihāb amīrs, who had once fought successful wars against the governors of Damascus, into docile and subservient fiscal agents. In Acre, Sidon and Beirut, he was careful to keep the lucrative commercial activity going, but at the same time took strict measures of control to derive the max-imum profit from it for himself. He established a person-AL-DJAZZAR PASHA

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sional monopoly over the cotton and grain trade in his territory, and also made heavy impositions on the silk trade; as a result, he amassed a huge fortune, which contributed to the perpetuation of his power. His payments of the required tribute to the Ottoman
treaury, though at times unpunctual, were always correct. In 1799, when General Bonaparte advanced northwards from Egypt to occupy Syria, Djezzar, assisted by the British, successfully repelled his attack on Acre and forced him to retreat; he thereby set the seal on the failure of Bonaparte’s eastern venture, and paved the way for the final expulsion of the French from Egypt two years later.

Despite the great power which he came to wield in southern Syria, Djazzar administered the eyalet of Sidon in strict loyalty to the Porte, and not in the manner of the mutaghabilba—the tribal chieftains and military adventurers who seized the opportunity of Ottoman decline to establish autonomous principalities in the provinces. In Syria, the mutaghabilba (like Dahir in Galilee, and the Shihabs in Mount Lebanon) normally sought to promote their power by catering politically to the fierce particularism of the local tribes and sects, of whom the Maronites and Druzes of Mount Lebanon and the Mitwafs and other tribesmen of Galilee and northern Palestine were prime examples. They also tended to identify themselves with the interests of the new and predominantly Christian merchant class which thrived on the import-export trade with Europe. In Mount Lebanon and Beirut, the close association of the Shihabs and the Maronite silk merchants was reflected by the conversion of an increasing number of the amirs from Sunni Islam to Christianity; in Acre, Dahir had favoured the Christians generally, and surrounded himself with Christian agents and advisers. Like Dahir, Djazzar by necessity employed competent Christians (of the Sakrudj, Iddl, Kalush and Maron families) as secretaries, treasurers and stewards; he was careful, however, not to pamper the Christians as a community, and most Christians who served him ended up in prison, in the torture chamber, or on the gallows, with their fortunes confiscated and their families reduced to destitution. Likewise, Djazzar cared little for the support of the tribesmen and peasants of the mountain hinterland, whom he knew to be venal andickle, and ultimately undependable. Instead, he appears to have sought popularity among the Sunni Muslim populace of the towns by appealing to their ins titutive sentiments. At a time when the Ottoman state, as the universal Muslim state, was suffering repeated defeats and humiliations at the hands of Christian powers, the high-handed manner in which Djazzar dealt with the local Christian bourgeoisie, and with the French and other European traders in Acre and Sidon, could only have met with strong approval among the urban Muslims, particularly those of the lower classes. The Fajja’s repressive policy towards the crypto-Maronite Shihabs and the heterodox Druzes and Mitwafs must certainly have had the same effect. As governor of Beirut in 1772-3, Djazzar had armed the Sunni Muslims of the town to help in its defence against the Russians. As ruler of the eyalet of Sidon, his unwavering championship of the Ottoman cause, which was the cause of Islam, probably secured for him some popularity among the lower Muslim classes of the coastal towns. Whatever the extent of this popularity was, it has remained unrecorded, because the available accounts of his regime were not written by his own contemporaries. The Christian, the foreigners and the Muslim notables who, as communities and sometimes possibly as individuals, had suffered at his hands and were unanimous in branding him as a bloodthirsty tyrant.

On the whole, the Djazzar regime represents the last reassertion of the Ottoman imperial prerogative in the traditional manner against the particularist tendencies in Syria, before the radical social and political changes of the 19th century. His determined efforts to break the stubborn local autonomyaforeshadowed the policy of centralisation of the Tanzimat period.


Djebedji (Fr. “armourer”), the name given to a member of the corps of “Armourers of the Sublime Porte” (Djebedjiyan-darbagh-i-ah), a kgeli Khul Corps. The Corps closely associated with the Janissaries and, on campaign, to transport this equipment to the front, distribute it to the Janissaries and to collect it at the end of the campaign, keeping a record of losses and repairing damaged items.

The Corps was presumably founded shortly after the Janissaries and, until the late 10th/16th century, its recruits came from the penel-gi, the principle by which the state took one in five of prisoners of war and the daujihme [q.v.]. However, the system broke down when the djebedji, like the Janissaries, received permission to marry and recruit their own children and native Muslim to the Corps.

Like the other Kgeli Khul Corps, the djebedji were divided into thirty-eight divisions (orta), the first of which was divided into nine sections (boluk). Each orta represented a different craft in the repair or manufacture of guns, gunpowder and other war materials. The chief officer of the Corps was the djebedji bagh, under whom came the bagh ketkhdud, who usually succeeded him if his post fell vacant, and four other ketkhduls. Another officer was the djebedji ota, who commanded each orta, and under him was the ota bagh, and the chief craftsmen, called ota. The central barracks of the Corps was in Istanbul, but its members served in turn in the frontier fortresses of the Ottoman Empire. A group of djebedji would always accompany a Janissary garrison. Their total strength varied according to the size of the Janissary Corps; there were about 500 djebedji in the mid-10th/16th century and their numbers fluctuated between about 2,500 and 5,000 in the 12th/18th century.

The Corps was abolished, together with the Janissaries, in 1241/1826.

Bibliography: see H. Uzuncarşı, Osmanlı devlet teşkilatında kabahalı ocketen, ii, 5-21, of which the foregoing is a summary. (Ed.)

Djebel [see Ibbal].

Djalal ed-din Roumi [see IAladin Rumi].

Djezzar [see Djazzar].
AL-DJILDAKI, 'IZZ AL-DIN AYDAMIR R. 'ALI R. AYDAMIR, Egyptian alchemist, who died in 743/1342 or later. He was the last outstanding Muslim adept of his art, of encyclopaedic, though rather uncritical, learning. Almost nothing is known of his life; he himself, however, tells that he spent more than 17 years on extensive travels, which lead him to Irak, Asia Minor, the Maghrib, Yemen, Hijaz, Syria, and Egypt, where he ultimately settled. Al-Djildaiki represents the mystical and allegorical trend in Muslim alchemy, but there is evidence that he had real experience in practical operations and chemical substances. His interests extend also to the khawadis, i.e. the magic properties of things, and to pharmacology, medicine and astrology, especially the attribution of metals and other substances to the seven planets. He often reflects on the parallels between natural and alchemical processes, and he attacks Ibn Sinah who denied the possibility of artificial transmutation (see Aviceana De congelatione et conglutatione lapidum, ed. E.J. Holmyard and D.C. Mandeville, Paris 1927, 6-7). His very numerous works, which still exist in many manuscripts, are valuable for the history of alchemy through his philosophically-accurate quotations from his predecessors.

He is familiar with Dschibir b. Haysan's theory of balms (see P. Kraemer, Dschibr ibn Haysan, in Mem. de l'Inst. d'Egypte, xlv (1943), xlv (1942), indexes). Among other Greek, Indian and Persian authorities he refers to Hermes [see Hermes], Cleopatra (see M. Ullmann, in WZKM, xiii-lxiv (1972), 161-73), the caliph 'Ali and Khadij b. Yazid [q.v.], and he also composed lengthy commentaries on writings of Apollonius (see BAlINUS), Ibn Umayl [q.v.], Ibn Arfa [q.v.], Ibn Umayl [q.v.], Ibn Arfa [q.v.], and al-Sinawi.


DIJRGA (Pakhto: P. H.G. Ravndal, A dictionary of the Pakhto, Pakistan, or language of the Afghans, London 1867, 330b), an informal tribal assembly of the Pathans in what are now Afghanistan and Pakistan, with competence to intervene and to adjudicate in practically all aspects of private and public life among the Pathans.

In the course of his abortive mission to Shahr Shudjar and the Durrani court of Kabul in 1809 [see AFGHANISTAN, v. History (3) (A)], Mountstuart Elphinston described the djirga system as alive and vital, with assemblies at various levels, from the village at the bottom up through the clan or khii to the tribe or ulus at the top, with a djirga of subordinate chiefs among the tribal khan; but he observed that it was a model frequently modified or disrupted rather than a neat hierarchy of institutions. He noted too that the djirga was the principal means of administering criminal justice, where an offended party had not already avenged his wrongs in blood, and of determining amounts of compensation due to a victim; and he adjudged it a useful and tolerably impartial institution (from account of the kingdom of Caubul, London 1839, i, 215-26). At the very apex of the system, the Amir of Afghanistan might summon a "great (loya) djirga" of leading chiefs for consultation at critical junctures.

The political division of the Pathans in the course of the 19th century into those to the east of what became the Durand Line and in British India and those to the west in the independent kingdom of Afghanistan eliminated the loyalty djirga as an effective expression of feelings of the whole Pathan nation, although the institution was eventually incorporated into the political structure of modern Afghanistan as a representation of all ethnic and social groups with the state, and not merely of the Pathans; for the djirga in Afghanistan of the last two centuries, see MADJLIS.


On the British side of the Frontier, the djirga has continued as an instrument of democratic tribal expression; it was, for instance, tribal djirgas which in November 1947 signified the adhesion of the North-West Frontier Province to the nascent Pakistan, and in February 1980 a djirga of Pathan and Baluch chiefs and notables met at Shibi in northern Baluchistan to affirm opposition to further Soviet Russian encroachment after the latter power's occupation of Afghanistan towards the end of 1979. As far back as the second half of the 19th century, a modified and less authentic type of djirga had been made part of the Frontier Crimes Regulations, originally promulgated in 1872. Under this arrangement, cases involving tribal honour, blood feuds and women could be withdrawn from the magistrates' courts and arbitrated upon by a djirga, which was however in this case a group of tribal elders appointed by the magistrate and acceptable to both parties. Here the djirga was an ancillary of British Indian law, though after ca. 1880 in the recently-pacified parts of northern Baluchistan and the newly-administered tribal areas of the North-West Frontier Province, the djirga was adopted as a substitute for the formal legal system, thus in effect enshrining Pathan custom.


DJUDHAM (A.), leprosy or Hansen's disease.

I. Terminology. A number of Arabic terms that may refer to leprosy were created on the basis of the symptomatology of the disease. Aside from the distinctive symptoms of advanced lepromatous leprosy, various terms were adopted that were descriptive of leprous lesions, but they were not restricted exclusively to leprosy. No clinical cases of leprosy are reported in the mediaeval medical literature that might clarify the terminology. There can be little doubt, however, that qudham referred to leprosy, particularly of the lepromatous form. The term was used in pre-Islamic Arabia; it was derived from the Arabic root of the word, meaning "to mutilate" or "to cut off," and is descriptive of serious disfigurement that occurs in cases of leprosy.
matous leprosy. Thus, 

mutilation reported by a dentist in an arm or foot cut off, or "leper" and "leprous" (al-Murtada, Qurur al-faw' id, Cairo 1954, i, 5). Conversely, the use of this root would strongly suggest that the leprousomatous form of the disease existed in pre-Islamic Arabia. Considerable confusion exists concerning terms other than 

d^udhdm; the difficulty is certainly due to the numerous forms that leprosy may take, particularly in its early stages and its mimicry of other skin diseases. This term was definitely used to name leprosy, but it could be applied to other skin disorders. This term was also used in pre-Islamic Arabia. It was derived from the Arabic root that may mean "to be white or shiny." Emphasis on the whiteness of the skin in the Arabic medical accounts of baras and barah may have referred to the hypo-pigmentation occurring in the early stages of dimorphous leprosy or the macules and infiltrated lesions of tuberculoid leprosy. Depending on the context, white and black baras, white and black bahak, wadad, and kawbbah were often used to name leprous symptoms. In addition, the following terms could apply to leprosy, but they were rarely used—some are clearly euphemistic: abhar, akfir, arbak, asla (asla), barah, hayd (hayd); da' al-asad, da' al-ku'tdl, murakka, su (sul), da' al-asad, da' al-ku'tdl, murakka, su (sul), barash, baydd (baydd'). Depending on the context, white and black baras, white and black bahak, wadad, and kawbbah were often used to name leprous symptoms. In addition, the following terms could apply to leprosy, but they were rarely used—some are clearly euphemistic: abhar, akfir, arbak, asla (asla), barah, hayd (hayd); da' al-asad, da' al-ku'tdl, murakka, su (sul), barash, baydd (baydd').

II. Medical History. There is no persuasive evidence that true leprosy occurred in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, or Persia before the time of Alexander the Great. It must have existed much earlier in India, the Far East, and probably central Africa. Sorotat, the so-called leprosy of Leviticus, does not correspond to any modern diagnosis of the disease; it was a non-specific condition and essentially a non-medical notion. The lepra (Gr. leproi, "scaly") mentioned in some of the Hippocratic writings was also a skin ailment that could not be identified and was probably not related to leprosy. It was not before 300 B.C. that true leprosy entered the sphere of medical science. At that time, physicians of Alexandria became acquainted with its lepromatous form and named it elefantiasis because of the thickening and corrugation of the skin. The tuberculoid type, however, was not yet clearly described and was named after the hypo-pigmentation occurring in the early stages of dimorphous leprosy or the macules and infiltrated lesions of tuberculoid leprosy.

The medical textbook of al-Madjusf [q.v.] is quite important because it was one of the first Arabic works to be translated into Latin (Liber panegy) and then into French in the 16th century. It was translated into Latin by Constantinus Africanus [q.v.], and its translation by Constantinus Africanus [q.v.] was done for the Western terminology of leprosy. The translator could not use the word elefantiasis in translating al-Madjusf's account of leprosy because in Arabic the term (dâ' al-fil) was already used for the present-day disease of that name. In this situation, Constantinus seized upon Biblical usage, where the Latin translation of Hebrew and Greek was lepra; hence, he therefore translated 

gudjam as lepra rather than mutilatio, which would have been more precise and would have avoided the stigma attached to lepra. As it was, the use of lepra for leprosy in general caused confusion with the Hippocratic use of the word and extended the application of the name with its evil connotations to a wider range of skin disorders. Al-Zahrawf's work was also translated into Latin and became well-known in Europe. In his discussion of leprosy, al-

Zahrawf made a significant contribution to medicine by describing, for the first time apparently, the neurological symptoms of the disease. It is difficult to believe that local anaesthesia had not been observed among lepers much earlier. In the Middle East, the loss of sensation caused by leprosy was noticed by Ibn al-Kuff; the source of his observation is unclear. (The leprosy of Baldwin IV [d. 1206], king of the

the thierac of vipers. Together with the classical descriptions of leprosy, the various treatments entered into Arabic medical science.

The earliest indisputable proof of leprosy in the Middle East has been found by Möller-Christensen in two skeletons from Egypt (Arwân) that date from about A.D. 500. Therefore, there can be little doubt that genuine leprosy existed from the early Islamic period and that Muslim doctors had sufficient opportunity to observe it. Practically every Arabic writer on medicine discussed leprosy. The earliest account seems to have been the K. fi v-gudjam by Yuhamm b. Mâsawîy [q.v.]. The work is apparently lost, but it was frequently quoted by later Arabic authors; an anonymous treatise does exist that contains the opinions of Ibn Mâsawîy as well as those of al-

Râzî and Ibn Sînâ (A.Z. Iskandar, Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, London 1967, 70 f., 126). The first full account of leprosy in Arabic medicine is to be found in al-Tâbarî's Firdawsu 'l-Hîmat (ed. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928, 318-25); the pathology and therapeutics of the disease are largely consistent with the earlier Greek medical texts. Arabic writers who discussed leprosy included the following: al-Kindî (Fihrist, tr. Dodge, New York 1970, ii, 621; Medical forma-


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DJDHAM
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, is described by William, bishop of Tyre; the narrative contains the only incontrovertible clinical evidence of the anaesthetic symptoms of leprosy in the Middle East [4 history of deeds, tr. Babcock and Krey, New York 1934, ii, 296, 406].

The description of insensitivity by al-Zahrāwī was repeated in the Western medical literature, at least from the 12th century. It served as a means of distinguishing lepers and excluding them from society. As opposed to the Galenic tradition of the other works, al-Azrākī's work may be regarded as a good example of "Prophetic medicine" (al-tibb al-nabawi). Al-Azrākī's quasi-medical discussion of leprosy may well reflect popular beliefs and practices that persisted throughout the mediaeval period alongside those of professional medicine. Moreover, it was a common practice during the mediaeval period to attribute to stones the ability to ward off disease; for leprosy, topaz (zabarajad) was reputed to have this property (M. Ullmann, Neues zum Steinbuch des Xenokrates, in Medizinistorisches Journal, vii [1973], 71).

In sum, the Arabic medical writers borrowed heavily from Hellenistic sources, but their works were not entirely imitative. The description of leprosy in the Arabic medical textbooks followed the encyclopaedic form of ancient manuals; the descriptions of leprosy were brief, non-clinical, and largely theoretical. The Muslim understanding of the disease was most clearly indebted to the earlier physicians. It is probable that Arabic terminology is attested by the famous Arabic poets of the period. The second and more famous was al-Hārīth b. Hillīza al-Yaṣḥūrī [q.v.], who wrote the seventh of the Mu'allakāt.

The Kur'ān mentions in two places the healing of the lepers (al-abrāq) by Jesus (III, 48 and V, 110). More important for their influence on Muslim society are the al-ḥādīth that are attributed to the Prophet concerning leprosy. The best-known of these traditions is the statement that a Muslim should flee from the leper as he would flee from the lion. Similarly, another familiar tradition asserts that a healthy person should not associate with lepers for a prolonged period and should keep a spear's distance from them (Wensinck, Handboek; al-Bukhārī, al-Ṣahih, Būlāk ed., viii, 443; Ibn Kūtayba, Ḥujj jah al-ṣāhīḥ, Cairo 1929-30, iv, 69; LA, xiv, 354 f.).

The two pious traditions are prescriptions for social behaviour and appear to deal with both moral and medical difficulties posed by the leper. The traditions may have strengthened the desire of Muslims to avoid those individuals who were conspicuously afflicted by the disease because it was morally as well as physically offensive. Leprosy was believed by some to be a punishment by God for immorality. Consequently, leprosy was often invoked as a curse on a Muslim for his immoral behaviour. Medically, both traditions seem to express an implicit belief in contagion. The idea of contagion is also found in other traditions that are unrelated to leprosy and in the medical and non-medical literature. Nevertheless, the belief in contagion was denied by the Prophet in a number of other traditions which state that disease comes directly from God. The tradition advising flight from the leper is, in fact, preceded by a complete denial of contagion in the collection of al-Bukhārī. Thus the issue of contagion is quite contradictory; it was the subject from an early time of religio-legal discussion that attempted to harmonise these traditions. The contradiction was not resolved; it would appear that many witnessed contagion and found justification for it in the traditions, while the more religiously inclined may have adhered to the principle of non-contagion. The latter were partially justified in the case of leprosy because it is only moderately contagious and some individuals are not predisposed to it at all. There were also traditions that recommended supplication to God for relief from leprosy, for the matter should not be left entirely to fate.

The legal status of the leper was directly related to the pious traditions. Leprosy is not discussed in the Arabic legal texts as a separate subject, but it is treated as a disability within such broad areas as marriage, divorce, inheritance, guardianship, and interdiction of one's legal capacity [see haj]. Because leprosy was considered a mortal illness, the leper was limited in his legal rights and obligations along with the minor, the bankrupt, the insane, and the slave. The leper's status seems to have been particularly close to that of the insane in legal matters, especially in regard to marriage and divorce: a marriage could be dissolved by either person...
because of the disease. In Mālikī law, a man in an advanced state of leprosy should be prevented from cohabiting with his slave wives and still more so with his free wives, which is consistent with a belief in the hereditary nature of the malady. Also, Malikī law allowed an automatic guarantee of three days, at the expense of the seller of slaves, against any “faults” in a slave; the guarantee was extended to one year in case of leprosy. In addition, the development of leprosy in a slave might be a cause for his manumission.

In general, the differing religio-legal traditions served as the bases for various interpretations of the disease. These traditions account for the wide spectrum of behaviour by and toward the leper, ranging from his total freedom of action to segregation in lep-rosaria. The range of popular responses to the leper is reflected in early Arabic literature that deals with leprosy and other skin irregularities. Al-Dājīzī and Ibn Kutayba [q.v.] collected poetry and narrative accounts on this subject. Al-Dājīzī’s compilation of material is to be found in his al-Burṣān wa t’-urdān (Cairo 1972, 8-110), which is concerned with a large number of physical infirmities and personal characteristics. The author’s objective is to show that physical infirmities and peculiarities do not hinder an individual from being a fully active member of the community or bar him from important offices. Al-Dājīzī maintained that such ailments are not social stigmas but are what may be called signs of divine blessing or favour. The afflicted were spiritually compensated by God and special merit should be attached to their lives. Thus he countered the contrary opinion that the infirm should be disparaged or shunned for their afflictions. Most of the poets quoted by Ibn Kutayba also appear to say that skin disorders should not be the cause of scorn and revilement but should prompt the sufferer to repentance (‘Uyūn al-ālkāhār, iv, 63-7). Ibn Kutayba and al-Dājīzī cite numerous references to leprosy in Arabic poetry, as in the fierce poetic duels of Dājrīr and al-Farazdak, and mention those poets who were themselves leprous, such as Ayman b. Kharaṣ. [q.v.] These leprosy verses are other historical accounts of probable instances of the disease in early Islamic history, such as that of Ibn Muḥrīz [q.v.].

The most important political figure in early Islam who was probably afflicted by leprosy was ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān [q.v.]. It is reported that he suffered from “lion-sickness” i.e. djudhām. He was given many medications for the ailment, but they were ineffective. Therefore, his physicians advised him to move to Hulwān [q.v.] because of the sulphurous springs there, and he built his residence there (Abū Sallīḥ’s, The churches and monasteries of Egypt, ed. and tr. B. Evetts in Anecdota Oxoniensia, vii, Oxford 1895, 154). Shortly after the time of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, we have the brief but significant statement of al-Tabārī that the caliph al-Walīd I was in Syria, probably Damascus, in 88/707 and conferred a number of benefits upon the people. Al-Tabārī says “He awarded the lepers [al-mudiḥadhīmīn] and said: ‘Do not beg from the people.’ And he awarded every invalid a servant and every blind man a leader (tārītīh),” (Cairo 1963, 56). The specific discrimination against lepers in these two instances appears to show that the theological proscription of contagion had very little practical effect (see M. Ullmann, Islamic medicine, Edinburgh 1978, ch. vi). Furthermore, lepers commonly begged in the streets of the cities, despite the pious endowments on their behalf and laws against mendicancy. While many must have been genuinely leprous, it was not unusual during the mediaeval period for men and women to feign the disease by intentional disfigurement in order to receive public charity (C.E. Bosworth, The mediaeval Islamic underworld, i, Leiden 1976, 24, 84, 100). Deception of the opposite kind was also common in the slave market, where a buyer had to be on his guard against the concealment of leprous sores on the bodies of slaves. During the later Middle Ages, the reappearance of plague must have destroyed large numbers of lepers because of their exceptional vulnerability to diseases other than leprosy. The Black Death in the mid-8th/14th century and the serious recurrences of plague thereafter may account for the particular depopulation of lepers among a generally-diminished population.

In the Islamic West, leprosaria were established and special quarters were designated for lepers. The quarters seem generally to have been located outside the walls of many Muslim cities, often in conjunction with leper cemeteries (Leo Africanus, Description de l’Afrique, ed. and tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i, 60 f., 229, ii, 399; E. Lévi-Provençal,
The traditional ways of dealing with lepers in Muslim society lasted well into the 19th century. Lepers and leprosaria were particularly noticed by Western travellers, and their accounts add to our Description de l'Egypte, i, Paris 1809, 492-8, ii/2, Paris 1819, 217-219.}


Moses of Khoren refers to Golt’n as ginetac (“wine-rich”). On the main route northwards from Tabriz to Nakhidjevan and Tiflis, in the 10th/16th century Djulfa became the centre of a flourishing community of Armenian merchants, trading as far afield as Europe, India and Central Asia, and with a special interest in the traffic of silk. According to Cartwright, at the end of the century the population was 10,000, with 2,000 houses (John Cartwright, The Preachers Travels . . ., London 1611, 35-6).

After his successful campaigns against the Ottoman Turks, Shah Abbās I resolved to depopulate eastern Armenia and to create an empty tract between him and his enemy. To this end, he transferred the major part of the population to Persia, estimated at some 60,000 families, including numbers of Georgians and Jews besides Armenians. The exodus is described by the Armenian chronicler Arak’el of Tabriz, who refers to it as the great surgin (“exile, expulsion”) (Arak’el of Tabriz, Livre d’histoires, St. Petersburg 1874, tr. M. Brosset); it was considered disastrous in the eyes of the Armenians, who composed many bitter folk-songs lamenting their eviction from a prosperous area. Shah Abbās I captured Djulfa in 1013/1604, and recognising the useful role that the merchants might play in his new Central Asian empire, he invited them to Isfahān; he gave them three days to gather their possessions, and then destroyed the town and bridge. Although Djulfa was ruined, a few Armenians made their way back later in the 11th/17th century. Remains of churches and the ancient cemetery still survive.

The extension of the Russian railway system to Tabriz in 1078/1667, when Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich granted the Armenians special privileges, including the right to travel north from Astrakhan and deal directly with European buyers, was established, with Armenian merchants settled as far afield as Tonkin, Siam, Java, the Philippines, the Far East and India; silk was exported from Persia to Europe; in return, a large variety of European goods was imported into Persia, including cloth, glass, clocks and watches, metal-work and oil paintings. As one traveller observed, “All the commodities of the East were made known to the West, and those of the West serve as new ornaments for the East . . . in the midst of Persia is now (ca. 1112/1700) seen everything that is curious throughout all the countries where the merchants have extended their correspondence and their trading” (Berkeley, Relation d’un voyage du Levant, Paris 1717, iii, 232-5).

Shah Abbās I accorded the Armenians something close to equal status with his Muslim subjects; New Djulfa was organised as a separate entity within the city, under the jurisdiction of its own kalāntr (q.v.), responsible for the collection of taxes, and a kadkhuda (q.v.) for the maintenance of civic order (see Isfahān, Vol. IV, p. 103). Foreign embassies and missions were generally housed in New Djulfa, as the Armenians were skilled linguists and often acted as interpreters and intermediaries, this gave them a double advantage in the conduct of exchanges between the foreigners and the Persian court. Foreign missionaries, such as the Jesuits, Dominicans and Carmelites, were also established in New Djulfa; so were foreign craftsmen, like jewellers, gunsmiths and watchmakers, who often took Armenian wives. Shah Abbās I took a personal interest in the affairs of the Armenian community, visiting them in New Djulfa and even attending religious ceremonies, such as Christmas and Easter. In 1029/1619, he took part in a special ceremony on the banks of the Zayandārūd, afterwards dining and spending the night with his Armenian hosts (P. della Valle, Voyages, iii, 100-13).

The increasing wealth of the Armenian community was reflected in the erection of numerous churches and private houses erected in New Djulfa in the first half of the 11th/17th century. The churches, of which thirteen still survive, combine Armenian plans with Persian construction, brick replacing the Armenian traditional use of dressed stone; two of the churches have onion-shaped domes with double shells. The decoration is an eclectic mixture of Armenian, European and Persian elements. The interiors of the two largest churches, Surb Amenaperkitch (All Saviour’s Cathedral) and Meydani Betghahem (Bethlehem Church), contain carved gilt stucco, cuerda seca tile panels, and wall-paintings in European style; the paintings are probably the work of Western artists and Armenian assistants. New Djulfa was also a centre for copying and illuminating manuscripts; a number of these are among the collection of almost 700 Armenian manuscripts in the Museum adjacent to the Cathedral, which also contains other items of historical
interest. A few private houses still survive of the Safawid period, either built round a central courtyard, or in the middle of a walled garden, with separate quarters for men and women. Several are decorated with wall-paintings in European manner, as well as in more conventional Persian style. When Sir Thomas Herbert visited the house of the kalantar Khādija Nażar in 1038/1628, the impropriety of the wall-paintings earned his disapproval.

The Armenians were responsible for introducing a number of Western innovations, the most significant of which was the printing-press using cast metal type; the first Armenian work printed in New Ɗjufļa was the Book of Psalms (Saghmos), which appeared in 1638.

Sbāb ‘Ābbās I’s friendly policy towards the Armenian minority continued under his successors, Sbāh Sa’d and Sbāb ‘Ābbās II, but by the second half of the 11th/17th century, during the reign of Sbāh Sulaymān, relations between the Persians and the Armenians became strained. In the 12th/18th century under Nādir Sbāh, the Armenians suffered excessive taxation and other penalties, and many Armenians emigrated, particularly to India. At present the Armenian community is reduced to less than 500 families. A large Armenian cemetery, with several thousand carved gravestones, including those of a number of Europeans, lies to the south of the town.


II. New Ɗjufļa. The leading Armenian source is Y. Tēr Yovhantantz, Patmouc’in Nor Ɗulaj or yShparhan (History of New Ɗjufļa in Isfahan), New Ɗjufļa 1880; see also V. Gregorian, op. cit.; On the special dialect of Ɗjufļa, see K. Patkanov, Izledovanie o dialekcti armianskogo yazīčka, St. Petersburg 1893, 76-103; Ismā’īl Rā’īn, Iranian ARMANI, Tehran 1350 sh, gives a general history of Armenians in Iran. The history of the community in New Ɗjufļa is richly documented in the works of European travellers; in addition to those already mentioned, see Pietro della Valle, Della conditioni de Abbās Ri di Persia, Venice 1628; idem, Viaggi di P. della V. . . ; Venice 1661; G. de Silva y Figueuera, L’ambassade de D.G. de Silva y Figueuera en Perse, Paris 1667; Sir Thomas Herbert, Travels . . . with some account of some thousand carved gravestones, including those of a number of Europeans, lies to the south of the town.
the Armenian cemetery at Isfahan, in JRAS, xi (1919).

(J. CARSWELL)

**DJULLANÂR** is the blossom of the pomegranate (< Persian gâl-i anâr), in Greek pòlakuotiov, the wild pomegranate tree (rummdn barnâ], bdlawustiyun al-mazz Stephanos-Hunayn translation. It is the blossom of Yemen highlands, puts forth blossoms but does not bear fruit and has a hard, inflammable wood. The outer layers of the seedshell—and not the blossoms themselves, as the texts have it—yield a jelly-like, tasty juice which produces a satisfying effect and is used as a medicine. **Djullanâr al-arî** is occasionally put together or compared with the Hypokistis (hvbakistidhâs = șonxvutidôc), a pulpy herb growing in the roots of the Cistus and also used for extracting juice. Both also largely correspond as far as healing effect is concerned, as was already emphasised by Dioscorides in the respective sections: they have an astringent effect and are good for gastric complaints, dysentery and enteric ulcers; they knit together fresh wounds, staunch venous and arterial blood and secure loose teeth (al-asndn al-muthar-îka); applied on the head in compresses with vinegar, they check congestion of the blood to the brain. In the absence of blossoms, one can also use the shells of the pomegranate.


(A. DIETRICH)

**AL-DJURDJANI** is the blossom of the pomegranate by Asma’i (K. al-Nabdt, Abd Allah al-, in Greek pòlakuotiov, the wild pomegranate tree (rummdn barnâ], bdlawustiyun al-mazz. According to this source, the tree grows in the detail by Abu Hanffa al-Dmawarf (Le dictionnaire Ghunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 36) and described in detail by Abu Hanifa al-Dinawari (Le dictionnaire Ghunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 36) and described in detail by Abu Hanifa al-Dinawari (Le dictionnaire Ghunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 36). It is the blossom of Yemen highlands, puts forth blossoms but does not bear fruit and has a hard, inflammable wood. The outer layers of the seedshell—and not the blossoms themselves, as the texts have it—yield a jelly-like, tasty juice which produces a satisfying effect and is used as a medicine. **Djullanâr al-arî** is occasionally put together or compared with the Hypokistis (hvbakistidhâs = șonxvutidôc), a pulpy herb growing in the roots of the Cistus and also used for extracting juice. Both also largely correspond as far as healing effect is concerned, as was already emphasised by Dioscorides in the respective sections: they have an astringent effect and are good for gastric complaints, dysentery and enteric ulcers; they knit together fresh wounds, staunch venous and arterial blood and secure loose teeth (al-asndn al-muthar-îka); applied on the head in compresses with vinegar, they check congestion of the blood to the brain. In the absence of blossoms, one can also use the shells of the pomegranate.


(A. DIETRICH)
phorical language, kināya and one type of tamthil. An image is thus viewed not as an alternative to, or ornamentation of, literal statement (as widely believed in both Arabic and western criticism until this century), but as a distinct act of imaginative creation which expresses a meaning otherwise impossible to express.

The āsrār is devoted to the study of imagery, its nature, function, relationship to thought and various forms. Al-Djurdjānī identifies two types of maqāḍīz, one pertaining to language (bughāṣa'), the other to the intellect (āṭā'), and differentiates the types of maqāḍīz based on transference from those involving no transference, distinguishing sharply between two fundamental relationships, contiguity and similarity. The latter he asserts to be the raison d'être of istī'āra (q.v.). Defining the concept of istī'āra further, he denies the dominant view that istī'āra involves transference. One type of istī'āra shows clearly to be based on proportional analogy and to involve no transference of a single word at all, the other type (involving the usage of a single word) he defines in contextual terms. Istī'āra, he believes, consists in using a word to refer to a thing other than its original referent, on the basis of some similarity revealed between the referents, while however still possessing its literal meaning and thus becoming a double-unit underlined by tension. In this fashion he anticipates I. Richard's work which has revolutionised the study of metaphor.

All types of imagery, except kināya, originate in similarity, and similarity, al-Djurdjānī argues, is a sharing (istibārāk) of an attribute, or set of attributes, between two entities, which may occur either in the attribute itself (fi-l-ṣya nafshu wa-ha-kākit ḥānis-hā), or in something presupposed by or resultant from the attribute (fi-bhām l-ḥāl wa-nukta'dā). Similarity also varies in its remoteness and intensity from one image to another. Al-Djurdjānī uses these basic distinctions to classify the various types of imagery and explore their imaginative and stylistic role. He thus establishes two inseparable criteria to define an image: the imaginative basis underlying it and the linguistic apparatus in which it is formulated. Tāshkhīṣ is thus differentiated from tāmthil and istī'āra, and the ambiguous structure involving the copula "wa" (a noun) is described as an intensified simile (tāshkhīṣ bālgh) rather than an istī'āra (a distinction not yet made sufficiently clearly in modern European criticism). Consequently, al-Djurdjānī denies the interchangeability of tāshkhīṣ, tāmthil and istī'āra.

The central piece of al-Djurdjānī's work on istī'āra is his classification of its types according to the nature of the dominant trait or point of similarity in each type. This fundamentally anti-Aristotelian classification represents one of the later developments in the analysis of metaphor in European studies (e.g., K. Abu Deeb, Al-Jurdjanī's classification of istī’āra with special reference to Aristotle's classification of metaphor, in Journal of Arabic Literature, ii (1971)).

Throughout his analysis, al-Djurdjānī uses psychological criteria of a strong Gestaltian nature. He also hints at an organic approach to poetry according to which a poem is to be studied as an organic whole whose parts interact with, and modify, each other, their interaction being determined by the dominant emotion underlying the poem. His practical criticism is a fine example of the power of this approach to illuminate aspects of the poem which would remain otherwise hidden.

**Bibliography:**
become known as al-Rashidiyya and had obtained a membership in Syria, Egypt, Sudan and Yemen, has passed under the leadership of his successor Muhammad b. Sali̇h (d. 1909), his nephew, a decline principal centre ceased to be paid by Ibrahim's

of the latter's disciple Muham-

devol-

a membership in Syria, Egypt, Sudan and Yemen, an independant branch known as al-Dandarawiyya emerged mad Guled al-Rashldi (d. 1918; cf. E. Cerulli, in Egypt. In the latter country, an inde-

3

pendent branch known as al-Dandarawiyya emerged

in Somalia under the latter's disciple Muham-

[dv].—[dv]

[see FILAHA, MAL, SINA'A, TI-

ECLIPSE

[see IBRUH].

EBRO

[see ABANUS].

EBONY

[see ABANUS].

ECONOMIC LIFE

[see ADWIYA].

EDICT

[see FARMAN].

EKINÇI B. KOŞAR, Turkish slave com-

mander of the Sakidjiks and governor for them in Khūra-

zam with the traditional title of Khūra-

zam-Shîh 4 in 490/1057. He was the successor in this office of Anuğhîn Ghârâ̄t, the founder of the subsequent line of Khūra-

zam-Shîhs who made their province the centre of a great military empire in the period preceding the Mongol invasions. According to Ibn al-"Atâ', x, 181-2, Ekenî was one of Sultan Berk-Yarûk's slaves (but according to Diwâynî, ii, 3, tr. Boyle, i, 278, one of Sancar's slaves), and was appointed to Khūra-

zam by Berk-Yarûk's representa-

tive in the east, the Dâd-Beg Hâshêh, probably when Berk-Yarûk came himself to Khûrashân early in 490/1097. Ekenî did not enjoy power there for long, however, being killed later that year by a conspira-

cy of ghulâms, his successor as Khūra-

zam-Shîh then being Anuğhîn's son Kubh al-Din Muhammad. Ekenî's son Toghrîl-ıgîn is mentioned also by Ibn al-"Atâ', as one of the famous towns of the northern Deccan. The Dhil Sultan 'Alâ' al-Din Khalâjî captured it in 695/1296 during his first expedition against the Râdja of Deogiri Râmâcândra [see DAWLATABAD], who was made tributary to the Sultans; and when
Deogiri finally fell in 719/1318, Elícpur and Berar came under direct Muslim rule. Under the Bahmanis [q.v.], it was the capital of Berar province, and featured prominently in the campaigns of the Khálidí ruler of Malwa [q.v.], Mahídíd Sháh (839-65/1436-62) against the Bahmanis, being sacked in 870/1466, so that the Bahman Sultan Muhammad III Láhidji was compelled to cede to Malwa Berar as far as Elícpur [see also KÁLÁ]. From 890/1485 to 980/1572 Elícpur was under the Bahmanis' epigoni, the 'Imád-Sháhids [q.v.]. Under the Mughals, it was at first placed in the shade by the new centre of Bálápur, but soon regained its importance as the capital of the súba of Berar, with a fort being built there of brick and stone; according to the Aátn-i Ahkání of Abu l-Fadél, the revenue of Elícpur (which Akban gave its name at first to one of the Districts of Berar, de nominally on perpetual lease, and then it became 26,082, including 18,500 Hindus and 7,250 Muslims), now the largest town in Berar (population in 1901, near by). After the rise of the first independent ruler in Haydarábád, the Ásaf Dítn Nízhám-Múluk (d. 1161/1748 [see HÁYÁRÁBÁD, b. Haydarábád State]), Elícpur sank to only local significance under governors of the Nízhám. The governor Saláhát Khán erected various public buildings in the town in the early years of the 19th century, and he and his son Nargís Sháh Khán held the title of Nawwáb of Berar till the latter's death in 1843 and the subsequent extinction of the line.

In later British India, Berar was taken over in 1853 from the Nízhám as the "Hyderabad Assigned Districts," nominally on perpetual lease, and then it became de facto part of the Central Indian Province. Elícpur, by now the largest town in Berar (population in 1901, 26,082, including 18,500 Hindus and 7,250 Muslims), gave its name at first to one of the Districts of Berar, but in 1905 it was incorporated in the Amraoti (Amravati) District. In the present Indian Union, Elícpur is now called Ácálpur and falls within the Amravati District of the Nagpur Division of Mahárañátrí State. The 1971 census gave population figures of 43,326 for Ácálpur town and 24,125 for Ácálpur camp.

The monuments of Elícpur include a famous shrine of darghá of the Muslim warrior 'Abd al-Ráhmanda Sháhí, described as a kinsman of Mahmidí of Gházna like the much more celebrated Salár Máhadí, buried at Bahráré in Uttar Pradesh [see GÁRÁZ MÝJÁN], but more probably a commander of Frúz Sháh Káhjdí. To the south of Elícpur is the hill fortress of Gáwílgárh [q.v.], and there is a group of Jain temples at Muktagíri nearby.


ELÓLÁ [see ELÚRA].

EMANCIPATION [see TÁHRÍ].

EMERALD [see DÁWÁRÁN, ZUMURÚD].

ENCYCLOPAEDIA [see MAVSÁFÁ].

ENSIGN [see 'ÂLÁM].

EPITHET [see NÁṬ, SÍFA].

ERG [see ŞÁHRÁ].

ERGÜN, Şáh al-Dín Nízhéht, modern Turkish Sádettn Nínezéht Ergün, Turkish scholar and literary historian (1901-1964). Born in Bursa, he was educated at the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University and taught Turkish literature in various secondary schools in Anatolia and later in Istanbul, where he also worked as a librarian. He started his career as a scholar while he was a teacher in the Konya lycée, with a book on the folk-lore of Konya. A hard-working and prolific scholar, his works are based on first-hand research into what is mostly original manuscript material; this being presented with only limited criticism. He is the author of a great number of studies and monographs on many classical and folk poets and on some modern writers. His major works are Konya kálklýkát vet harkýlýkát, (with Mehméd Ferit), Istanbul 1926; Muhkt jáwt-lrrleri, 3 vols, Istanbul 1926-7; Karacagönü, hayatté ve şüretleri, Istanbul 1932 (a pioneer work on the great folk poet); Baki divam, Istanbul 1935; Türk şairleri, 3 vols, Istanbul 1956-65 (his most important work, published in fascicles comprising alphabetical biographies of poets, together with examples, which stopped at the letter F, in the 96th fascicle); Türk muskísi antolojisi 2 vols, Istanbul 1943; Cenap Şebeketin, Istanbul 1934 (a pioneer work on C. Ş., whose poetical works are put together for the first time in this monograph); and Bektaçý şairleri ve nefseleri, Istanbul 1944.

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ERMÉN [see FARKW].

ERSÁRI, one of the major tribes of the Turkmen [q.v.] in Central Asia.

The name is not mentioned in the lists of the Oghuz tribe of Emperor Mahmid al-Káshghári and Kashid al-Dín. It appears for the first time in historical works of Abu l-Ghází [q.v.] written in the 17th century. According to the Turkmen tradition as rendered by Abu l-Ghází (Seláhíd-ye Tabriíka, ed. A.N. Kononov, text, 67-9, Russian tr., 72-3), Ersári Bay (the eponym of the tribe?) was the great-grandson of Oghurúddí Alp, a descendant of Salár Kazan (cf. on this personage, Káhjd-ï Dedem Korkud, passim), who left Irák after a quarrel with Bayandur Bek and came to Mangháshí [q.v.] with a part of the Salár tribe. Thus this tradition indicates the genealogical kinship of Ersári with the well-known Oghuz tribe Salár (Seláhíd of Mahmid al-Káshghári). In another place of the same work (text, 73-4, tr., 75), Abu l-Ghází tells that Ersári Bay, who lived in the Bálkán [q.v.] mountains, was a contemporary of Shaykhy Sharaf Khán adá of Urgenc, who wrote for him, on his request, the múl'm al-múrát, a religious and didactic treatise in verse, in Turki (about the book, written in 713/1313-4, and the author, see: A.N. Samoylovic, in Mir-âl-šáhí, Leningrad 1928, 138; A.Z. Velid, [Topul], in Turkát mecmuus, [1928, 315-30; J. Éckmann, in Philologica turcae fundamento, iii 279 f.]) Ersári Bay appears also in another place of Seláhíd-ye Tabriká (text, 78, tr., 77-8) as an ancestor (udaw atá "great-grandfather") of the tribe Ersári, which owned a number of springs in the Great and Little Bálkán mountains. The Turkmen tradition, as related by Abu l-Ghází, places this story in the middle or the second half of the 14th century (after the death of the káhjd of the Golden Horde Berdi Bek, 1359); the same tradition shows that the tribe Ersári was already rather numerous by that time, so that its origin must be related to some earlier period rather than the beginning of the same century, when Ersári Bay allegedly lived.
ERSARI — ES'AD PASHA

ERSARI Bay was probably an historical figure; his tomb, known as Ersari Baba, is situated near the south-eastern corner of the Kara-Boghz gulf, on the heights bearing the same name Ersari Baba, and was described by Russian traveller N. Murav'yev in the early 19th century, as well as by modern archaeologists. The latest archeological researches in western Turkmenia, as well as in Afghanistan, have revealed a Turkmen genealogical tradition connecting the Ersari with the Salur (see S.P. Polyakov, Etniceskaya istoriya Nezairo-Zapadnykh Turkmenii v srednej veka, Moscow 1973, 122-3, 102-4).

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Ersari were spread over a vast territory in western Turkmenia, from Mangiaghlagh to the Little Balkhans mountains. Not only the tribe itself, but also its main clans are mentioned in the Shagano-ji Turk by Abu 1-Ghaiz (ed. Deirmasinos, text, 237, 267, 313, tr., 254, 286, 337) in connection with the history of the Khânaate of Khiwâ in the 16th century. At the beginning of this century, the Ersari were at the head of the tribal group known as the "outer Salur" (Tâtkhi Salur, iibl., text, 209, tr., 223), which included also the tribes Teke [q.v.], Sârîk [q.v.] and Yomut [q.v.], nomadising between Mangiaghlagh and northern Kharasân, while the "inner Salur" (Bík Salur), or the Salur proper, remained on the territory of Mangiaghlagh. However, already by the end of the same century, the Ersari began to move eastwards, partly as a result of pressure from the north by the Mangit [q.v.], but mainly because of growing desiccation of western Turkmenia, salinisation of wells and shortage of pasture. At the beginning of the 17th century, at least part of Ersari returned to Mangiaghlagh, but in the second quarter of the same century they were finally driven out of this region, this time by the Kalmuks [q.v.]. For a short time, during the reign of Isfandiyar Khan (1032-52/1623-42), Ersari apparently played some role, together with the Salur, in the Khânaate of Khiwâ, but they had to leave it as a result of the military campaigns of Abu 1-Ghaiz and his son Anûgha against the Turkmenia described in Shaqano-ji Turk. Apparently, at that time the Ersari migrated to the middle course of the Amû Darya [q.v.], the Labab (cf. A. Vâmbéry, Travels in Central Asia, London 1864, 231), where there had remained till the present time. There are also, probably, some indications of another route of their migration, through Marv (either directly from Mangiaghlagh and Balkhans or from Khârazm) and Marûchak to the Afghan Turkustain. In 1740 they fled before the army of Nadîr Shâh which marched on Buhkârâ along the Amû Darya, and came again to Mangiaghlagh (Muhammad Kâzîm, Nâma-i Ilâm-brî-yi Nâdir, facsimile ed., Moscow 1965, ii, f. 257a), but in the next year they returned to their homes.

On the Amû Darya, the Ersari became mostly sedentarised and settled in a narrow strip of land (from 4 to 20 miles wide) along the river, mainly on its left bank from Denau in the north to Karîf in the south, where they were occupied with farming based on irrigation. This territory formed a part of two wilayats of the Khânaate of Bukhârâ, those of Çârdûyâ [see Amû] and Karîk; now it forms the Kanjou region (oblast') of the Turkmen Soviet Republic. Shortage of land suitable for cultivation caused permanent emigration during the 19th century, especially to Afghan Turkistan, where Ersari settled in the regions of Andkhûy [q.v.], Aka and Mazâ-ri Sharîf [q.v.]. It seems that cattle-breeding was for these groups of Ersari of greater importance than for their kinsmen on the Amû Darya.

The exact number of Ersari has never been known. Figures given by 19th century travellers vary greatly (from 25 to 110 thousand families); at present, neither in the Soviet Union nor in Afghanistan are there any statistical data on individual Turkmen tribes.


ES'AD PASHA, ŞAKİZİ AHMED, twice Ottoman Grand Vizier and holder of various high offices, military and civil, born in Scios (Tkish. Sakiz) in 1244/1828-9, son of Mehmed Ağa, locally known as Kule aghasî. A graduate of the War College at Istanbul (Harbiye [q.v.]), Es'ad was appointed aide-de-camp to Fu'ad Pasha [q.v.], who, when Grand Vizier, appointed him as director of the Ottoman military school in Paris as well as military attaché. Es'ad in 1868 became lieutenant-general (fetîk) commanding Bosnia-Herzegovina and governor-general (valî) of Scutari (Ishkodra). His career, military and civil, was a succession of appointment, dismissal and reappointment, characteristic of this period: field-marshâl marshal or commander (magîfî) of the First Army (Istanbul), valî of Yemen, minister of war and commander-in-chief (ser'asker), commander-in-chief of the Fourth Army and valî of Erzurum, valî of Ankara (for one day only), valî of Sivas, Minister of Marine, again ser'asker, Grand Vizier from 15 February until 15 April 1873, valî of Konya, field-marshâl commanding the Fifth Army in Syria and valî of Damascus, again Minister of Marine, and from 26 April till 29 August 1875 again Grand Vizier, then Minister of Works, and valî of Aydûn. He visited his birthplace Scios again, and he died at Izmir in the same year of 1875. Es'ad Pasha was chosen for the suite of Sultan 'Abd al-Azîz on his European tour in 1867. But his lack of political experience caused him to stay only a short while at the top; thus he could not deal effectively with the revolt in Herzegovina (July 1875). In politics, Es'ad seems not to have belonged to a leading group. He was a young military man enjoying the Sultan’s favours up to a point, but was a mere figurehead in politics.

Bibliography: Sâmi, Kâmüs al-âlam, ii, 910; Siğîlî-î Oğlundî, i, 342 f.; İ.H. Dânîşemend, Içihî Ormanlı tarhi kronolojisi, Istanbul 1971,
The page contains a biography of Memduh Eyref, a Turkish short story writer and politician, born in 1883 and died in 1952. He was a member of the Nationalist government and wrote satirical poems and short stories. The biography mentions his political involvement, including his service as a government official in neighboring provinces and his work as a representative of the Nationalist Republican People’s Party for four years. It also highlights his diplomatic roles, such as serving as an ambassador in Tehran, Kabul, Moscow, and as Secretary-General of the Committee of Union and Progress. The text notes his retirement from politics in 1925 and his death in Ankara in 1952.

Memduh Eyref was a native of Gelenbe, near Manisa, and began his political career in the Ottoman empire. He was introduced to the famous 9th/15th century Sufi Tarika, the son of Hafif Musa, of the Usuoghullari family. He attended for a while a madrasa in Manisa, where he learnt Arabic and Persian, and after serving as a government official in neighbouring provinces, went to Istanbul (1878), where he was allowed to go to Izmir (1903) where he became a very popular character, although under strict supervision. In 1904 he went to Egypt where he continued to write his satirical poems against Abd Al-Hamid II and his regime.

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which he founded is a blend of the Kadiriyya tarika and the Bayramiyya, with special emphasis on isolation and asceticism.

Eshrefoghlu's poems are written in a warm and flowing style, where both tazir and hadis metres are used, following the poetic and mystical traditions of Yunus Emre. His divān was printed in Istanbul in 1280/1864 and in Roman script in 1944 (edited with an introduction by Asaf Halet Celebi). Another popular edition was published in 1972.

Eshrefoghlu is also the author of many popular mystical works on an edifying nature, the most famous of which is Mevâdî 'l-nafîsî ("The Purifier of souls"), which remained a practical manual of dervish life for centuries and is a masterpiece of 9th/15th century Turkish prose; it was printed in Istanbul in 1281/1865 (for a good MS., see Konya, Archeol. Lbr. no. 5452, for specimens based on MSS, see Fahim Iz, Eski Türk edebiyatında nesir, Istanbul 1964, 70-92).

Bibliography: İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, in Türk anıkslopodisi, xv, 1967, 477-8; A. Gölpınarlı, Türkiye’de meşcileşer ve tanıklar, 1969, passim (with further bibliography). Asim Bezirci, (Fahim Iz)

Esrar Dede, Turkish Mevlevi poet of the 13th century, a close friend and protege of the great poet Ghalib Dede. Born in Istanbul, Esrar was trained as a Mevlewi dervish in the Galata convent, under the supervision of Ghalib Dede, its shâhâr. He died in 1211/1796-7 before his master (who wrote a famous elegy for him) and was buried in the convent cemetery.

Esrar wrote mystical poems in the line of Ghalib Dede. His little Divân has not been edited. Esrar Dede is also the author of an incomplete Tâdikriye-i gülâva-i mevlâviye which contains the biographies of more than 200 Mevlevi poets. The work, which has also not been edited, is based on Sâhib Dede’s Seftinâ mevlâviye and was published in a shortened form by ’Ali Enver under the title of Semîkâtîne-i edeb (Istanbul 1309 Rûmî/1893).

Bibliography: Gibb, HOP, iv, 207-11; A. Gölpınarlı, Mevâlîan男主 sonsu mevlevî, Istanbul 1953, passim; S. E. Enun, Türk şairleri, sv. (see Fahim Iz)

ETHICS. ETHOLOGY [see ATAC].

ETYMOLOGY [see HİTİRŞAK].

EUROPEA [see EKİRBOZ].

EUROLOGY [see MADIN].

EXCHANGE VALUE [see 'IWWAD].

EXPIATORY OFFERING [see KAFÂRÂ].

EYYÜBOĞLU, BEŞİR KÂMİ, modern Turkish Bezîrî RaMI EYYÜBOĞLU, Turkish poet, writer and painter (1913-75), younger brother of the following. He was born in Gorele, near Trabzon on the Black Sea. Educated at Trabzon lycêe and the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts, he spent two years in Paris for further study in painting. On his return (1933) he was appointed to the staff of the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts, where he taught until his death from cancer on 21 September 1975.

His writings and sketches began to appear in Yeni Adam in 1933. As a painter he became interested in folk arts and crafts and studied popular motifs in rugs, scarves, socks and colour patterns, and was greatly inspired by them. In his predominantly descriptive poetry, which brought a new tone to contemporary Turkish verse, he used the same colourful technique, strongly influenced by folk poetry and music. His first volume of verse was published in 1941: Taradana mektublar ("Letters to the Creator"), followed by Karadut ("Black mulberry") in 1948. Then several volumes followed which were all put together in Dol karabakr dol (1974). His essays, written in an informal small-talk style, were posthumously published in book form, Deftikat (1973) and Tazik (1976).

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EYYÜBOĞLU, ABÂH-AL-DİN RAŞMI, modern Turkish, until 1934 SABAHATTİN RAŞMI, afterwards SABAHATTIN EYYÜBOĞLU, Turkish essayist, writer and translator (1908-73). Born in Akçaabat (Polatkan) near Trabzon, the son of Raşmi Eyyûboglu, a civil servant, he was educated in Trabzon. He then went to France on a government scholarship and studied French literature and aesthetics in Dijon, Lyon and Paris universities (1928-32). Becoming lecturer (doçent) in French literature in the University of Istanbul (1933-9), he was invited, together with some of his colleagues, by Hasan Ali Yîngil (Yücel), the reforming Minister of Education (1938-46), to Ankara where he served respectively as member of the Advisory Board (Talim ve terbiye kurulu) of the Office of Translation (of world classics) and teacher at the Hasanoglan Higher Village Institute (see KÖY ENSİTÜLERİ). Back in Istanbul after one year's study leave in France, he taught in Istanbul Technical University (1951-8). Because of his liberal ideas, he was arrested and detained for several months in 1971, during the emergency régime of 1971-2. He died in Istanbul of a heart attack on 13 January 1973.

Sabâhab-Din Eyyûboglu developed a theory of nationalism which is mainly based on Kemalism, with particular emphasis on secularism and "populism" (halkçılık) and with the addition of the notion of an "Anatolian" people accepting as "ours" all the peoples, arts and cultures which have flourished on Anatolian soil (without distinction of race, language and faith). Many of his essays elaborate on this theme, rejecting rival ideologies like Turkism, Turanism, Islamism and Westernism. His numerous essays were published in various periodicals, particularly Varlık, İnsan, Yaprak and regularly in Yeni ufuklar, and they cover a great range of subjects from literature, language and cultural change to art, folklore and politics. He always laid special emphasis on the need for the fusion and identification of intellectuals with ordinary people in order to develop an original culture.

Eyyûboglu writes in a simple straightforward style and is considered, together with Ataç, as a master of contemporary Turkish prose. However, he lacks Ataç's originality and conciseness and is often shallow and repetitve. His major contribution is his translations from the French, some of which are masterpieces of the genre (see below). Sabâhab-Din Eyyûboglu is the author of the following major works: Misir ile kara ("Blue and Black"), Istanbul 1961, enlarged edition 1967, a selection of his essays; Saniat özorine denemeler ("Essays on art"), Istanbul 1974, published posthumously, contains most of the essays omitted from the previous work; Yunus Emre, Istanbul 1971, an impressionistic study of the 13th century Turkish poet; and Turan yolunda ("On the way to Turan"), Istanbul 1967, which satirises Pan-Turanism and is based on a misunderstanding.
of the allegory in André Malraux's autobiographical work *Les noyers de l'Altenberg*. Among more than fifty titles of his translations, the following are outstanding: Montaigne's *Essais*, Rabelais' *Gargantua* (mainly based on *Umar Khayyam's Rubâ'ïyat*), and verse translations of La Fontaine's *Fables*. Among more than 10,000 works, the famous circle of *Les nqyers de l'Altenberg*. Of the allegory in Andre Malraux's autobiography, *MÉTHODES*, F. Sezgin, GAS, ii, 623-4; M. Stiglauer, Die Sängerinnen am Abbasidschen Hof um Die Zeit des Kalifen Al-Mutawakkil, Vienna 1975, 31-4.

(E. Neubauer)

**FAITH, BELIEF (in God)** [see *AKIDA*].

**FAKHR-I MUDABBIR**, the *sadra* of Fakhr al-Din Muhammad b. Mansur Murak Shâh al-Kurâshî, Persian author in India during the time of the last Ghaznavids, the Ghurids, and the first Slave Kings of Delhi (later 6th/12th century-early 7th/13th century).

His birth date and place are both unknown, but he was a descendant, so he says, on his father's side from the caliph Abû Bakr and on his mother's from the Turkish amir Bârîk, the immediate predecessor in Ghazna of Sebiiktîgin and father-in-law of Izz al-Dîn or Shihab al-Mu'tamid, who dedicated his other great Persian prose work, *Adab al-harb*, to al-Mu'tadid (279-98/892-902), was able to obtain one verse of *Shâhnamah* and *Kazbind Tabakht al-shifara* al-djâhiliyyum, which brought him to the attention of Kutb al-Dîn Aybak [q.v., 373; Ibn al-Nadîm) knew a small collection of her poetry. Her verses were set to music by several contemporary court musicians.

**Bibliography:** *Aghâni*, xix, 300-13 (see also indices); Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tabakht*, 426-7; *Fihrist*, 104; Ibn al-Sâ'î, Nârî al-mulbaqâ', 84-90; Kutubi, *Fawa'id*, ii, Cairo 1951, 253-5; Suyûtî, *Mustażraf*, 50-6; Cl. Huart, La poésse Fadhlî, in JAS, v, 7, xvii (1881), 5-43; F. Szczin, GAS, ii, 623-4; M. Stiglauer, Die Sängerinnen am Abbasidschen Hof um Die Zeit des Kalifen Al-Mutawakkil, Vienna 1975, 31-4. (E. Neubauer)

**FADL AL-SHA'IRA**, al-Yâmmiyya al-'Arâdîyya, Mawlât al-Mutawakkil, Arab poetess, died in 257/871 (or 260/874). Born probably as a ma'ullaîda and brought up in Bârsra, she was presented to and later on freed by al-Mutawakkil. She was called the "most gifted poetess of her time" by Ibn al-Sâî and, being a good songstress and lute player too, held a famous literary circle in Bârsra. Amongst her admirers were the poet Sa'id b. Humayd and the musician Bûnân b. Amr al-Dârîb. Ibn al-Dârîb (quoted by Ibn al-Nadîm) knew a small collection of her poetry. Her verses were set to music by several contemporary court musicians.

**Bibliography:** *Aghâni*, xix, 300-13 (see also indices); Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tabakht*, 426-7; *Fihrist*, 104; Ibn al-Sâ'î, Nârî al-mulbaqâ', 84-90; Kutubi, *Fawa'id*, ii, Cairo 1951, 253-5; Suyûtî, *Mustażraf*, 50-6; Cl. Huart, La poésse Fadhlî, in JAS, v, 7, xvii (1881), 5-43; F. Szczin, GAS, ii, 623-4; M. Stiglauer, Die Sängerinnen am Abbasidschen Hof um Die Zeit des Kalifen Al-Mutawakkil, Vienna 1975, 31-4. (E. Neubauer)

**FATIMAH** [see *MATHALI*].

AL-FADL B. AL-HUBBÁB A. KHALÎFÁ MUHAMMÁD B. SHU'AYB B. ‘SHÂKIR AL-DJUMÁRÍ, (d. 305/917-18), littérateur, poet, traditionist and kâdid of Bârsra. He was a ma’alla of Djjumah of Kuraysh and the nephew, on his mother’s side, of Ibn Sallâm [q.v.]. He was born in and died at Bârsra, where he made himself the transmitter of a fairly extensive number of religious, historical, literary and genealogical traditions. He also received a legal training sufficient for him to act as the kâdid of Bârsra towards 294/907 in Murûdî, viii, 128-34 = §§ 3264-70. His biographers kâdi with functions delegated by the Malikî kâdi Abû Muhammad Yûsuf b. Ya’qûb b. Ismâ’îl al-Azhdî, whose seat of office was in eastern Bâr-rid (L. Massonneg, in WJ, 1948, 108) but who also had jurisdiction over southern ‘Irâk (Wâdi), Akhîr al-sûdâât, Cairo 1366/1947, ii, 182.

At this time, Abû Khalîfá was already famous in his native town, where he was in contact with well-known personages, especially the Tanhhîs [q.v.]; he had a particularly deep knowledge of Arabic poetry, taught the works of his maternal uncle and was himself the author of a Kitâb ‘Tabâkht al-qulwâ’ al-djâhiliyyin and a Kitâb al-Farsân. He also gathered into a diwan the poetry of ‘Imrân b. Hîtjân [q.v.], which brought him accusations of Khândîr sympathies, but Shî’i tendencies were also imputed to him, and one verse implies that in fâh he was a Hanâfi. His works do not seem to have survived, and his verses only exist in part, but his name is often cited in adab works. He is, moreover, the hero of a certain number of anecdotes in which his tendency to express himself in rhymed prose is ridiculed. One of these, if it is authentic, allows one to affirm the survival at the end of the 3rd century of a Basran tradition which sent as delegates to the caliphal court officers charged with expressing, in rhymed prose, the people’s complaints, which had always cause to lament the hardness of the times and the arbitrary ways of the local authorities. Abû Khalîfá, as the mouth-piece of a delegation sent to al Mu’tadid (279-98/892-902), was able to obtain satisfaction through provoking his audience to mirth because of the affected nature of his speech (al-Masudi, c. 18), litterateur, poet, traditionist and kâdi of Bârsra.

**Bibliography:** *Aghâni*, xix, 300-13 (see also indices); Ibn al-Mu’tazz, *Tabakht*, 426-7; *Fihrist*, 104; Ibn al-Sâî, Nârî al-mulbaqâ’, 84-90; Kutubi, *Fawa'id*, ii, Cairo 1951, 253-5; Suyûtî, *Mustażraf*, 50-6; Cl. Huart, La poésse Fadhlî, in JAS, v, 7, xvii (1881), 5-43; F. Szczin, GAS, ii, 623-4; M. Stiglauer, Die Sängerinnen am Abbasidschen Hof um Die Zeit des Kalifen Al-Mutawakkil, Vienna 1975, 31-4. (E. Neubauer)
cribess himself as being by then an infirm old man (pir-i dāyż), he probably died before the end of that sultan’s reign in 633/1236.

There is some uncertainty over the possible identification of our Fakhr-i Mudabbir with a Fakhr al-Dawla wa’l-Din Mubarak Shah b. al-Husayn al-Marwarrūdhi mentioned by the literary biographer ‘Awsfī in his Lakhū b-istahbī, ed. ‘Sa‘īd Naqish, Tehran 1335/1956, 113-17, as a good poet in Arabic and Persian and a nādīm or confidant of the Qhurid Ghiyāţ al-Dīn Muhammad b. Sām (558-99/1163-1203). E. Denison Ross, in his edition of the introduction and early part of the Shadj_ara-yi ansdb, London 1927, accepted this identification. Storey, however, rejected this, despite a similarity of names, adducing detailed arguments in his Persian literature, i, 1166-7, and his reasoning seems conclusive; the poet Mubarak Shah al-Marwarrūdhi seems to have been the author also of works on astronomy and ethics.

The main claim of fame of Fakhr-i Mudabbir himself is his authorship of the Adāb al-ḥarb wa’l-sha’dā’a, or as the name appears in one of the extant ms.s., the Adāb al-mulâk wa’l-kifṣayt al-mamluk (edition by Ahmad Suhayli Khānsārī, Tehran 1346/1967, unfortunately based on the shorter mss. and not on the fuller India Office one, which has 40 abwab or chapters as opposed to only 36). This is both a treatise on kingship and statecraft (hence partaking of the "Mirrors for princes" genre) and also a rather theoretical and idealised consideration of the art of war. In addition to advice on tactics, the organisation of troops, the use of various weapons, etc., the book is liberally interspersed with historical anecdotes, giving it a distinct value as a historical document, above all for the development of the eastern Islamic world. The eighteen anecdotes relating to the Ghaznawids have been translated into English by Miss Iqbal M. Shafl as Fresh light on the Ghaznavids, in IC, xii (1938), 189-234; they furnish useful information on the dynasty not found elsewhere. A translation of the whole work into a western language would be welcome.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 1164-7; C.E. Bosworth, Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977-1064), in IQ, vii (1965), 16, also in The mediecal history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, London 1977; idem, The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040, Edinburgh 1963, 20-1. (C.E. Bosworth)

FAKIR OF IPI, the name given in popular parlance to Hādżī Mirzā ‘All Khān, Pathan mul-lah and agitator along the Northwestern Frontier of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent in both the later British Indian and the early Pakistani periods, d. 1960.

A member of the Torī Khel group of the ‘Uthmānīzāy Wazirs of North Wazīristān, probably one of the most unreconciled of the Pathan tribes of the Frontier in British times, he came to especial prominence in 1936-7, inflaming the Torī Khél and the Mahśīds of the Tochi valley against the British military presence, and then retreating to a series of caves at Gorwekht near Razmak, not far from the Afghan frontier, which served as his headquarters for the rest of his life. In 1941 he was apparently contacted by Axis agents from the German and Italian embassies in Kabul with a view to raising the frontier against Britain, but nothing much materialised. After the Partition of 1947 between India and Pakistan, the Fakīr actively identified himself with the Afghan-sponsored “Paštūnistan” movement, and after 1950 became president of a southern “Paštūnistan” local assembly based on Gorwekht, where stocks of food and arms and a small Pashto printing press were kept. He died in 1960.


FAMILY [see ‘ARū]

FA’R (A, pl. faran, fāra, fā’ar) masculine substantive with the value of a collective (noun of singularity fa’rī) designates, like the Persian māgy, firstly, among the Rodents (kāwānd, kāwāḏom), the majority of types and species of the sub-order of the Myomorphs (with the Dipodids, Glirids, Murids, Spalacids and Cricetida, secondly, among the Insectivores (dīlūl al-haḡār, the family of the Soricids. The term is applied equally well to the largest rats as to the smallest shrews and gerbils. The adjectives of abundance fa’ar, fa’ara, mafara and maf’ira which are derived from it contain the same general idea, so that, in texts, fa’ir and farān always present a problem of discrimination between rats and mice; this lack of precision persists with the dialectal form far, fā’ar, as well as with its Berber equivalent agherd, pl. agherdan. However, jointly with this collective of broad semantic extent, several more precise nouns fortunately help towards a skeleton classification of all this prolific world of mammals which flee the light and whom humanity treats, in general, as undesirables, by reason of the depredations to which their way of life forces them. Without pretending to be able to apply, with the existing Arabic philological resources, a scientific system which proves most complicated, it is, nevertheless, possible to give a glimpse of all the known species of the Muslim populations by dividing these species under one of the four following most significant rubrics: djarabh, fa’ra, khudl and yarba.

A. Djarabh (pl. djarabhan, djarabhan) and its derivative djarabawm, with the dialectal forms djar, djar in the Maghrīb and djarun in Syria, defines all rats of a large size without distinction of species. Among the numerous strains of rats, the ordinary man of every people has for long recognised two categories according to their ethology, the town-dwellers and the rustics, and the fable of the meeting between the town rat (hadāri) and the country rat (rīf) remains one of the themes of fables common to all literatures. The majority of rats whose life is linked with towns are of a large size (‘udul pl., sūlān), the Brown rat (Mus domesticus) or “Surew rat” which is grey-brown, hence his name mutnah (Maghrīb: tabba, Tamaḵāx tagẖālī, pl. tīghālīn) and the Black rat (Mus ratti), both of which owed their rapid extension of their area of distribution to the maritime commercial traffic in the Mediterranean basin since the high Middle Ages. It was the same for the Alexandrian rat (Mus alexandrinus) also called “palm rat” or “roof rat” (Mus sectornum) and whose chosen habitat is in high places (granaries, terraces, the tops of date-palms) and not in the infrastructure of buildings. Proper to Egypt, this rat was introduced into Italy by merchant shipping; it makes a nest at the top of palms and, when it is hunted, is able to let itself fall to the ground without injury by blowing himself up like a balloon. In the
large oases it is confused with the “palm rat” (Saharan: tunba, Tamahak akkolene), an erroneous name of a small ground squirrel (Eusurus erithopous) which feeds on dates. Still included among the “true rats”, so the naturalists say, there must also have been the large burrowing rats of Egypt and Arabia called the Fat sand rat (Ps. oculus) which is cream-coloured. All the Maghrib used to know the Striped rat or “Barbarian rat” (Arviculthus barbarus) by the name of zarâdînî (Tamahak akkender, pl. ikkender). Numerous geographical strains, such as the Mus colopus and Mus peregrinus, still remain to be studied in Morocco.

In the vast group of country rats, scoundrel of farmers and habitual nourishment of nocturnal predators, the Voles and Field-mice (types: Arvesola, Microtus and Apodemus), confused under the name of akbar (Hebrew ‘akbâr, i.e. I. Sam. vi, 4-5; Isaiah ii, 20, lxvi, 17; Levit. xi, 29), have had since the most ancient antiquity the just reputation of being terribly harmful. The most common, the Common vole (Microtus arvalis) ‘akhar hakli, fo’rat al-ghayî, is present in all the cultivated zones, along with the ahbar hakli, cannabis (Microtus arvalis) rat al-ghqyt, microtus, (in Syria, al-Thurah al-kharâmîn, Arabic ‘tesircelâris). The Field mouse (Apodemus sylvaticus), dojâmîna, fo’rat al-hirâdîn (in Syria, djûrânî) prefers living in trees, and is found in company with the Dormouse, the Garden dormouse (types Glis, Myoxus, Eliomys), djûrânî singâbîî, karkadân, and the Small dormouse (Muscardinus), zgûhîa. On the Saharan borders lives Munby’s dormouse (Eliomys minutus), thâdghagath in Berber, which the Tuareg eat on occasion, as well as the Goundis (types Ctenodactylus and Massoteria), kundî/gûndî, Tamahak tellât, taralent, large, very suspicious, burrowing rodents rather similar to the Cobaye (Cavia porcellus). It is perhaps to the latter as well as to the Hamsters that the Arab philologists attribute the name of yahyâr, defined as being “the largest of all the rats”.

Al-Djahiz was happy to record all the information that he had been able to glean on the subject of rats (Hâyânûn, v, 245 ff. and passim). Regarded as noxious creatures, he tells us that in Khurâsân and Anatoch the rats are particularly aggressive, holding their own against cats and going as far as nibbling the ears of sleeping persons; the frightful trench wars with their train of rats which our century has known, alas, only confirm these sayings.

Their depredations and their less engaging aspects are in every man’s repugnance, as nothing resists their inexorable incisors, unless it is metal. On the other hand, al-Djahiz shows, out of concern for justice, a positive aspect in the presence of these parasitic hosts; if they invade a dwelling, it is because they find there something to satisfy their appetites and so it is a sign that it enjoys a certain prosperity. Hence the wish expressed in this old adage is understandable: akhânî ‘illîh “djûrânînî haythî ‘may Allah multiply the rats of your house”.

With the same intention, a storyteller of Medina used to offer up this prayer: Alâhûmmà akhîr ‘djûrânînî namâ láydhûhî (y)îyânî“O Allah, give us many rats and few children”, evoking implicitly the danger of misery which overpopulation could bring about.

On the contrary, the expression tâfârâkab ‘djûrânînî haythî “the rats of his house have dispersed” may be an image of being wrecked by poverty; in our days and with the same idea, sailors may see a sign of the inescapable loss of the ship when the rats desert it. Furthermore, rats often show proof of ingenuity; faced with an oil container, the rat will know how to sample the contents by dipping in its tail a number of times. Caught in a cage, it soon manages to escape with the help of its sharp teeth. In the countryside, rats take care not to dig their hole (‘hkbâr) on roads in order to avoid the danger of being trampled by beasts of burden. Some rats may be attracted, like the so-called “thieving” Magpie (‘akêkî), by anything which shines and steal jewels and money, and the adage asrîk min qârât “more thieving than a rat” is truly spoken; al-Damîrî records, with reference to this, (Hâyânûn, iv, 191-2) the discovery, in the time of the Prophet, of a cache concealing several dinârs thanks to a rat, and the one who discovered it had full possession of the find, which was attributed to divine intervention.

Before Islam, certain rats, especially the country ones, were hunted for their flesh, as were the uromatix lizard [see Sâbb], the hedgehog and the porcupine [see kafrûn] and the jerboa [see below].

These primitive tastes did not disappear immediately with Islam since, according to Abû Zayd al-Nabîwi (Hâyânûn, iv, 44, v, 253, vi, 385), the famous ra Düja poet Ru’ba b. al-‘Adjdîjdî [q.v.], of the 2nd/8th century, used to feast on roasted rats caught in his own house.

In the Hijâz, the palm rat used to be so common that the expression umm ‘djûrânînî “mother of rats” designated metaphorically the top of the date palm where the animal chose to live, and ‘djûrânîn became the name of a variety of date. Finally, authorities on horses gave the name al-djûrânînî “the two rats” to two symmetrical dorsal muscles of the horse because of their shape.

B. FA’RA, while being the noun of singularity of fa’r, designates more especially the mouse and every small rodent which resembles it. The Common mouse or “grey” mouse (Mus musculus), fo’rat al-bqyt, present wherever there is man, numbers numerous geographical strains, of which M. m. gentilis, aëreus fir and Hâyânûn, i, 191-2) the discovery, in the time of the m. variegatus in Egypt, M. m. pretextus in Syria and M. m. flaviventris in Arabia.

At every time, the mouse was at the origin of misdeeds, seen as catastrophes, coming unexpectedly to disturb daily life. Already in the Ark of Noah, according to the legend, its depredations excited the complaints of the women, from which resulted the creation of the pair of cats, then that of the pair of pigs [see imâte]. The Prophet Muhammad himself had set a trap to get rid of his “little rascal” (fuwâsak), which, according to several traditions, had only just missed setting fire to his house by pulling, in order to nibble it, the wick of the lighted lamp; thanks to the immediate intervention of the master of the house, the only damage it did was to make a hole in his prayer carpet. From this episode, which was no doubt authentic and not the first of its kind, an irrevocable curse fell upon the mouse, which was then added to the list of the four execrable species (fawâisik), i.e. the crow, [see Gârib], the kite, hida’, the scorpion [see Tâkhr], and the bating dog [see Kálb], a list to which Mâlik b. Anas added the lion [see Asâd], the panther, namir, nimr, the leopard [see Fâhir] and the wolf [see ‘Adirn], to be destroyed at all times and everywhere in Islam, even by the pilgrim in a sacrificial
state. It was, furthermore, enjoined on the young community to extinguish every lamp at night, in their homes and in the mosques, and not to do as the Christians who imprudently left permanently lighted a sanctuary night-light in their churches and chapels (Hayawān, v, 121, 269, 319).

Fa'ra was also widely enjoyed, among the Arabs, any greater credit, since it passed as being the metamorphosis of a Jewish sorceress to some and that of a dishonest crow to others which propose that the mouse was a creation of Ahriman, genius of Evil.

The words fa'ra and bīrār include, apart from the Common mouse, all the other species of small rodents such as the Dwarf mouse (Microtus minutus) also extends to cover Fa'ra (Hayawan, iii, 298 ff.) the words of the Avesta which propose that the mouse was a creation of Ormuzd, genius of Good, while the cat was that of Ormuzd, genius of Good, while the cat was that of Ahriman, genius of Evil.

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like a spear and its head, hence its ancient name of *diy√a* "t-rumayh" "with the small spear" given to every species. The Arabs, nevertheless, distinguished the jerboa and gerbil, calling the former *yarbâ‘* *ǧafrîl* "the great" and the latter *yarbâ‘* *ta’dîri* "the small"; in our own time, the Marâzîg of Tunisia make the same difference with *dibb* and *fâr ad-îmar*. From Africa to Arabia, as many geographical strains of jerboas are enumerated as of gerbils and jirds, but, without attempting a system for the most part complicated, it is to be maintained that the most common jerboa is that said to be of Egypt (*Jaculus jugularis* or *Jaculus aegyptiaca*) which is to be found from Mauritania to the Arabo-Persian Gulf; it is this of which the Arab authors speak and al-Dhârî († Hayân, v, 260, v, 385) then al-Dâmîrî († Hayât . . , ii, 409) mention some similarities between its behaviour and that of the hare [see ARNAB, above], notably in their common usage of *tawbîr* or *zamâ‘* consisting of only resting, in light soil, on the shaggy pads (*zamâ‘*dt) of the heels in order to leave the faintest possible tracks. But it is especially for its genius at escaping (*nîfâk, tanfîk*) when it is hunted that the jerboa is famous among the Beduins who, at all times, eagerly hunted it as choice game. By day, the jerboa lies asleep at the homes of its burrows under ground lair with many obstructed outlets, with a small pile of spoil earth showing them on the outside. The hunter who, in order to dislodge it, sounds the corridors of the burrow with a long stick can then easily make it come out; if it finally comes out, it is with such bounds and such abrupt swerves that it very often keeps in check the most alert saluki. After tens of metres of frantic running, it soon seeks to plunge back into the ground. These retreat outlets of the jerboa bear the names *nîfâkât*, *ka‘îsât*, *râhînât*, *dâm-mâ‘* (see Ibn Sîdûh, Makhâsas, viii, 92), and it is from the first of these words (root *N-F-K*) that there is derived (according to the philologists and exegetes) the Kur‘ânic meaning of *nîfâk* "dissimulation, duplicity, hypocrisy" in the matter of faith (al-Dâmîrî, *Hayât . . , ii, 408-9*).

In the pre-Islamic period, the Beduins used to refrain from hunting the jerboa by night for, like the hedgehog and porcupine [see KUNFUDH], it passed as a mount of the *al-jîm*. Jerboas, gerbils and jirds live in small societies, of which each one colonises a sector (*a‘id marhâ‘a*), and it was also believed that, as with the monkeys [see *kîr†*], they each had a chief in the role of nocturnal sentinel of the group and ensuring a permanent surveillance for the security of the young (*dirr, p. a’drâs, darîs*) who could easily stray, as the proverb says *afjll min wâlîd al-yarbâ‘* "straying more than the young of the jerboa"; if the chief relaxed his vigilance, he was hunted and replaced.

Finally, the great round, jet black eye of the jerboa is used as an image in the Maghrib, where *‘a‘in al-ĝarbi‘a* designates a large buck-shot for shooting large game and, in Tunis, the colour "mouse grey" is called *ĝarbi‘* "jerboa grey".

Of all these small creatures of the soil (*haqâqât al-ad*) which *fâr* represents, only the jerboa, in Kur‘ânic law, was recognised as legal for consumption by three of the four juridical schools of orthodoxy, the Hanafis contesting this legality. For all the other rodents, the prohibition of consumption relates not only to their flesh, but also to every commodity in which they have put their teeth (*‘a‘r al-fâr* "rats, mice scraps") and every alimentary liquid (oil, milk, honey, vinegar, etc.) in which one of them has fallen (*fâr‘î*; also any product "contaminated" cannot be put on sale.

In urban areas, the destruction of invading rats and mice has always been a permanent necessity and the means employed, in mediaeval Islam, were very varied, but their absolute efficacy was rarely assured. The most widespread method and was poisoning with the aid of baits prepared for the purpose; the poisons which they contained were either of vegetable or chemical origin. As toxic plants they used the sea-onion (*scilla maritima*), *‘anjyl bâ‘rî* called *basal al-fâr* "rat onion", the rose bay (*merian oleander*), *dîfîl, sâmîn al-hâmîr* "donkey’s poison" and the hyoscyamus (*hyoscyamus ather*) and *bîndî*. Among chemical products they had vitriol (*kalândîn*), sulphur of arsenic (*gâshûk, gâshûb, rats, naçûb*) or *ratsbane* (*sâmî fl-fâr‘î*), called in Irâk *târdh bâ‘lîk* "killer earth", which was extracted in Khûrâsân, and litharge (*marâk, mar-dîsângdî*); oxgall, donkey’s urine and iron filings were also included in these preparations. Another practice was to smoke out the holes of the rodents by burning cumin, horn of horse’s hoof and natsor (*ma’tîrîn*). Cages were made with several systems of fall-traps and box-traps in pottery, whose patterns are still in use, but the simplest and most effective was that which al-Dâmîrî called *dâmîrî*, . . . ms. Eскорial, Ar. 903, fols. 165b-166a. This advocate in the 11th century in the Maghrib of a small pit, and consists of a basin filled with water and on which is placed a rolling-pin (*gaukhalî*), baited in the middle with some dripping or cheese; attracted, the greedy rodent, creeping along this unsteady pole, makes it shake unavoidably with its own weight from one side to the other and ends up by drowning. Complementing all these stratagems, a permanent hunt was assured in homes and shops by small domestic carnivores such as the cat, the aforementioned weasel, the civet (*zâbîh*) and the genet (*dîrât*). The protection of doves [see *HAQÂQÂ‘A*] against the rats which preyed on the eggs consists, in our own time still, of encircling the outside of the flight grilles with a covering of completely varnished ceramic squares at the bottom of a slope; sometimes the exit holes consisted of pottery pipes going well outside in order to place an insurmountable obstacle in the way of every climber, and this is a method constantly employed in the pigeon-houses which adorn the Nile Valley. To all these direct means of defence must be added the rich arsenal of magic formulas, talismans and conjuring practices which serve to reinforce in the imagination the chances of success; of these, one of the most widespread was to kill a mouse, cut off its tail and bury it in the communal room of the house.

In ancient healing, the specific virtues attributed to the corporeal elements of rodents were relatively limited. The head of a mouse placed in a linen cloth and applied to the head was used to dispel migraine and headache. The eye of a rat carried as a talisman alloyed malaria; the upper lip of a Mole rat had the same effect, while the blood of the latter was a beneficial eye-lotion for all ocular troubles. The spoil earth of its galleries and its brain mixed with rose water made a good plaster against gout. Finally, one of the most curious and useful properties was that of the urine of a mouse which, it appears, perfectly erases ink on parchments. It is to be supposed that the difficulty was in procuring a little of this precious liquid, but it could be achieved by capturing in a small cage-trap, one or a number of mice and rigging up at the bottom of the device a small spout leading to a bottle. It was then suffi-
cient to provoke a sudden irruption of the house cat in order to achieve, under the effect of the terror, among the captives, the awaited physiological reaction of urination; it is this, at least, which al-Damlrl (op. cit., ii, 2009 suggests, who seems to have experienced this in Al-Ma'arr, about the use of urine with the aim of reuniting parchments, this material being always very highly valued in the Middle Ages.

From this glimpse of the manner in which Muslim opinion treated rats and mice, these terrible carriers of plague and cholera, it is evident that in Islam they scarcely enjoyed any more credit than in Christianity and that there was no good to be expected from this race of parasites on the fruits of man's labour; the experience which this old Moroccan adage conceals: el-far mā la-yūl el-ghāfīr “the rat/mouse can only beget a grave-digger” sums up well this general contempt.


**AL-FARĀBĪ, AḥĪ IBRĀHĪM IṢRĀʾ B. IBRĀHĪM**, lexicographer.

The early sources are sparse in regard to him. Only Yākūṭ gives him a whole notice (Udāhā', vi, 61-5 = Ḥadîdā', ii, 226-9); al-Suyūtî reproduces a few extracts from this adding nothing (Bagyūs, i, 437-8); and al-Kīfī speaks of him only incidentally in his Inbā' (i, 52-3), in his notice on Abu l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī.

His date of birth is unknown, but he probably died in 350/961 (the date given by Brockelmann, F., 133, and Kraemer, 212). He was the maternal uncle of al-Djawharî, author of the Sīhāt (d. ca. 400/1009 [q.v.]), which keeps al-Farābī within the 4th/10th century and excludes the date of 450/1058 (Yākūṭ, vi, 62; cf. al-Kīfī, Inbā', i, 53). He lived in his natal town of Fārāb (q.v.). Yākūṭ, loc. cit., reports, however, on the authority of the kādī Yūsūf b. Ibrahim al-Kīfī (father of the author of the Inbā') from the Yemen, where he resided, that al-Farābī went to the Yemen, lived in Zabīd, composed there his Diwān al-adāb and died there also, before he had been able to teach it, at a date ca. 450 A.H.; but Yākūṭ himself, on the basis of all the historical details which he had brought together (vi, 63-5), rejects the reports of the kādī Yūsūf (vi, 65). Yākūṭ bases himself here on, in particular, the fact that he had read as follows, written in al-Djawharî's own hand, kaw'tahu ʿalā Ibrahim, yakumahu Allāh, bi-Fārābī “I read it [sc. the Diwān al-adāb] at Fārāb with [Abū] Ibrahim [the author]”. Elsewhere Yākūṭ says (vi, 159, notice on al-Djawhari), “I found at Tibriz a copy of the Diwān al-adāb, written in al-Djawhari's hand (bi-khāṭṭ al-Djwārī) in the year 383”. It is also appropriate to consider the old ms. to be mentioned further on.

For his part, al-Kīfī (Inbā', i, 52) repeats an anecdote which brings in Abu l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī in order to explain how the Yemenis were able to believe that al-Farābī had come to the Yemen, as they asserted; that anecdote has pungency, but hardly any value.

The Diwān al-adāb's editor, Ahmad Muqmîr 'Umar, in his sketch of the author (i, 3-10), also rejects this alleged trip to Yemen (6) and considers it reasonable to think that he went to Bukhārā and Baghdađ, especially as he would only have been able to find in the latter city the necessary material for the composition of the Diwān al-adāb; hence it is very probable that it was put together in Baghdađ. All this, however, is a question only of probabilities.

For al-Farābī's sources, see ibid., i, 31.

He taught his book at Fārāb and it became known in neighbouring regions (i, 7), and it was there that the earliest study on his work appeared, in the shape of the Tahjīb Diwān al-adāb of al-Ḥasan b. al-Muzużafir al-Naysārībīr, a luḥāṭī who lived in Khāzām and died in 442/1050-1 (ibid.).

The Diwān al-adāb [fi biyān luḥāṭ al-Amān], according to the complete title in the Oxford ms. (Kraemer, 212) is an original dictionary. The vocabulary is set forth according to the forms (waṣṩ̮̣); under each waṣṩ̮̣, in the alphabetical order of the last radical consonant. This innovation had a great renown in Arabic lexicography; al-Djawhari adopted this arrangement for his Sīhāt, and it became widespread. Al-Farābī nevertheless retained something of al-Khalīl's way: he divided the subject-matter up into six kata (1) the Kībūt al-silm; (2) the K. al-mudāf; (3) the K. al-mūm; (4) the K. al-dhawdt al-arabī; and (5) the K. al-khoms. In each kitāb there first came the nouns and then the verbs, strictly separated.

This dictionary arranged by waṣṩ̮̣ is a precious aid for Arabic philological studies, for it permits one to study these waṣṩ̮̣. But for practical consultation it is not easy. Ahmad Muqmîr 'Umar's edition is with the mutāfaqāt of Ibrahim Anīs, who opens the first volume with a taqaddum. So far, three volumes have appeared at Cairo (1394/1974 and each following year), and a fourth will give the kitābs 5 and 6 and indices. Brockelmann lists 30 mss. (F., 133, S.I., 195-6, III, 1196); the editor cites 23 of these (i, 31-2), but has based his text on five, and especially on the two oldest, from 391 and from before 390 (i, 57-60).

Ḥaḏīrī Khalīlī in his Kaḥīl al-zānīn confused the Diwān al-adāb with al-Zamakhshārī's Mukaddemat al-adāb, see the editor's makaddema (p. 1), and there is also a confusion between al-Farābī the lexicographer and al-Farābī the philosopher (ibid.).

The Diwān al-adāb had a deep influence on al-Djawhari's dictionary, which not only followed the arrangement by the last radical, but also took over the same subject matter, māliq Kopf observe już̮̣t [see al-Djawhari] that the latter's own contribution was minimal. Al-Farābī's work also had an influence, in regard to method, on the Shāms al-'ulūm of Nashwān al-Himyari, according to the editor (i, 52-3), and on two Arabic-Persian dictionaries, those of Abū Abī Allāh al-Husayn al-Zawzawī (d. 486/1093) and of Abū Da'far Ahmad al-Bayhaqī (d. 504/1110-11). It was further the model, in regard to form, of the Turkish dictionary by Mahmūd al-Kāshgārī, the Diwān luḥāṭ al-tārkh (Kraemer, 212).

Lost works of al-Farābī include a Bayān al-ilāb and a Shāhīd Adāb al-kābit, mentioned by Yākūṭ (vi, 63), al-Suyūtī, Muṣārīrī, i, 211, gives an extract from a K. al-Abīz; wa ʿībarī on the value of the tribes for their 'advarma. It begins it thus: kān Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, which was the kunya of the philosopher, and the editor, following Ibrahim Anis, sees here an error by al-Suyūtī (as earlier by Abū Hayyaṇ) and prefers to connect the work with Abū Ibrahim al-Farābī the lexicographer. Both these scholars are unaware of the K. al-Ḥuruf of Abū Naṣr al-Farābī, published in Beirut.
FARĀMUSH-KHĀNA

As the oldest title by which the work has been known, but since Ibn Abī Uṣayyibā'ī has been known as the K. al-Alfāz wa 'l-hurūf (mukaddima), 34. Al-Suyūṭī’s citation is indeed there (147, and at not the beginning), but not word-for-word. From there the attachment of the impressive and generally mis-leading slogan “liberte, egalite, fraternite” to continental freemasonry. Thus we see spokesmen of modernism such as Sayyid Djamal al-Dīn Asadabdī who, after Ilīf’s initiation became the British ambassador to Iran. Ilīt’s friendly relations with the British were so close that he received a monthly payment from the East India Company from 1810 till his death in 1846. Another early Iranian man to have been happily initiated into freemasonry was Mīrzā Sālih Shīrāzī, one of the students sent to Europe in 1815. In 1857 Mīrzā Malkam Khan Nazīm joined the farāmūsh-khāna in London in 1817. A “Mr. Harris” who was known to Mīrzā Sālih as “the chief of the farāmūsh-khāna” had honoured him with two masonic ranks. A week before his departure from London, Mīrzā Sālih was urged by Mr. Harris to attend their masonic lodge in order to receive the rank of a master in masonic hierarchy; “otherwise”, Harris said to Sālih, “you will go back to Iran with defects” (Mīrzā Sālih, Safar-nāma, Tehran 1968, 109, 372, 374).

Generally speaking, almost all the Iranian notables who went abroad in the 19th century, either as exiles like Rādī-kulf, Nādīf-kulf, and Taymūr, three Kādjar princes (in 1835), or as diplomatic representatives such as ‘Abd Allān Garmrūdī (in 1839), Farrūk Khān Amīn al-Dawla (in 1857), and many others, were initiated into freemasonry lodges. According to some reports, the Iranians were very curious to find out about freemasonry; they were given the impression that freemasonry had an oriental origin and that the Persians should revive this ancient tradition. Masonic activity particularly appealed to Iranian modernist thinkers because of the attachment of the impressive and generally misleading slogan “liberte, egalite, fraternite” to continental freemasonry. Thus we see spokesmen of modernism such as Sayyid Djamal al-Dīn Asadabdī “Afghānī” and Mīrzā Fath ‘Alī Aḥfand-Zāda well-inclined to freemasonry. It seems, however, that Aḥjūdandbāhī, who believed that the farāmūsh-khāna “lacks anything which may bring benefit to religion and state”, was one among few exceptions (Muhammad Muḥīrī, Șarb-i mu‘ānīyat-i ʿAǧādāndbāhī, Tehran 1968, 398).

Despite their existence in Iran, the Iranian masons do not seem to have carried on any noticeable masonic activity during the first half of the 19th century. However, in 1858 Mīrzā Mārkam Khān Nāzīm al-Dawla who had been initiated into the Sīmar-e ami-ūt, a masonic lodge in Paris, in 1857, established for the first time a farāmūsh-khāna in Tehran. Malkam had reportedly secured Nāṣīr al-Dīn Shāh’s full consent for this, but his farāmūsh-khāna was not recognised by any internationally-known masonic lodge. Many distinguished individuals joined the farāmūsh-khāna. Accounts of the motives behind the establishment of the farāmūsh-khāna are abundant, but it seems clear that through this secret organisation, Malkam was able to introduce his audiences to modern social and political ideas. However, some internal forces, including traditionalist conservatives, and external elements such as the Russians, turned Nāṣīr al-Dīn Shāh against it, so that he declared its abolition in 1861 in these words: “From now on, if the phrase farāmūsh-khāna comes out of anyone’s mouth, let alone his possible involvement in its organisation, he will be most severely punished by the government” (Muḥamd Kāṭrāt, ʿArāmānīn dar Iran, Tehran 1968, 74).

Mīrzā Khān’s farāmūsh-khāna was accordingly closed, but the secret activities did not entirely die out. Those who were acquainted with the farāmūsh-khāna gathered together secretly and, after the assassination in 1896 of Nāṣīr al-Dīn Shāh, they

1969 (Recherches, Série i, vol. 46) and edited by Muḥīmūn Maḥdī. K. al-Hurūf is the oldest title by which the work has been known, but since Ibn Abī Uṣayyibā'ī has been known as the K. al-Alfāz wa 'l-Hurūf (mukaddima), 34. Al-Suyūṭī’s citation is indeed there (147, and at not the beginning), but not word-for-word. From there the attachment of the impressive and generally misleading slogan “liberte, egalite, fraternite” to continental freemasonry. Thus we see spokesmen of modernism such as Sayyid Djamal al-Dīn Asadabdī who, after Ilīf’s initiation became the British ambassador to Iran. Ilīt’s friendly relations with the British were so close that he received a monthly payment from the East India Company from 1810 till his death in 1846. Another early Iranian man to have been happily initiated into freemasonry was Mīrzā Sālih Shīrāzī, one of the students sent to Europe in 1815. In 1857 Mīrzā Malkam Khan Nazīm joined the farāmūsh-khāna in London in 1817. A “Mr. Harris” who was known to Mīrzā Sālih as “the chief of the farāmūsh-khāna” had honoured him with two masonic ranks. A week before his departure from London, Mīrzā Sālih was urged by Mr. Harris to attend their masonic lodge in order to receive the rank of a master in masonic hierarchy; “otherwise”, Harris said to Sālih, “you will go back to Iran with defects” (Mīrzā Sālih, Safar-nāma, Tehran 1968, 109, 372, 374).

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founded a secret society called the Qâmî-i 'adâmiy-yât ("League of Humanity") on the basis of Malkam Khan's forâmidî-khâna and propagated Malkam's ideas. This secret society was headed by 'Abbâs-kuli Khân Adâmiyât and composed of Iranian intellectuals who were actively involved in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906. Certain members of this society organised a masonic lodge (iâbîd, 95), and, according to Ismâ'îl Râ'tîn, the society itself contributed to the forward-ing of British policy in Iran (Fârâmush-khâna va forâmidî-khâna dar Írân, i, Tehran 1968, 576-7). This society was banned by Muhammâd 'Alî Shâh in 1908. The angumân-i mlâsâhat which began to operate openly in 1899 and was active in the Constitutional Revolution is also known to have been formed of members obedient to the international masonic lodges.

Although Sir Arthur Hardinge speaks of a certain amount of masonic activity in Iran at the turn of the present century (Ismâ'îl Râ'tîn, Angumânâ-yi sîri dar inkâlib-i mu'âsâmât-i Írân, Tehran 1967, 45 ff.), it seems that the first internationally-recognised masonic lodge was established in Tehran in 1907 by the Great Orient of France and called "Loge du Roiâ de Perse". Some of the men initiated into this masonic lodge was established in Tehran in 1907 by the Grand Orient de France and called "Loge du Roiâ de Perse". Some of the men initiated into this lodge were reportedly affiliated to the Rotary Club, World Free-Masons, and Moral Re-armament (Raî'n, Farâmûsînîyân, iii, 11-477).

Due to the secret character of freemasonry, literature on Persian masonic experience was quite scanty and fragmentary until recently. Some treatises were written for and against the Malkam Fârâmush-khâna in the 1860s, but they were not then published (for the text of two such treatises, consult Kutîfî, fî cit., 159-93). Apparently the first Persian book which was wholly devoted to the subject was published in India in 1874. For more elaborate accounts of Persian freemasonry, we have to had wait until the 1960s, when a number of informative books and articles appeared, although most of them were largely inaccurate and poorly-documented. The most informative of all is Râtîn's above-quoted three-volume work (1968) which contains, among other things, the names of many living Iranians who have been affiliated to masonic lodges. The author's own name, however, was omitted "despite his alleged membership of an American affiliated lodge" (Hamid Algar, An introduction to the history of Freemasonry in Iran, in Middle Eastern Studies, vi (1970), 293).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Kasîm b. Zayn al-'Abîdîn, Fihrist-i kutub-i khatib i examines the text of the Declaration of Independence; the text of the Constitution of 1906-7; the text of the first internationally-recognised masonic lodge; the text of the first Persian book which was wholly devoted to the subject; the names of many living Iranians who have been affiliated to masonic lodges; the author's own name, however, was omitted. The author's own name, however, was omitted "despite his alleged membership of an American affiliated lodge".

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(ABDUL-HADî HARI) FARÂNGî MAHALL, a family of prominent Indian Hanîfî theologians and mystics flourishing from the 12th/18th century to the present day. The family traces its ancestry through the great scholar and mystic Khâdîja ‘Abd Allâh Aqârûn of Harât to Ayyûb Aqârûn, the Prophet’s host in Medina. It is not known when the family migrated to India but, according to the family biographers, one ‘Aqla’ al-Dîn settled in Sihâlî of the Awadh [q.v.] province of north India during the 8th/14th century. His descendant, Mullâ Hâfîz, was acknowledged as a distinguished ‘ulîm by the emperor Akbar who made a generous mujâdîd-i mâ‘âqgrant in his favour in 937/1530 (Aqârûn, A very early farman of Akbar, see Bâhî). In 1103/1692 the great-great-grandson of Mullâ Hâfîz, Mullâ Kûthî al-Dîn, who was also hailed as a leading ‘ulîm of his time, was murdered in a squabble over land and his library burned. The emperor Awanrâgî recommissioned his four sons by assigning to them a European indigo merchant’s palace in Lucknow and by granting pensions to support their scholarly work. Around 1106/1695 the family moved from Sihâlî to the palace which was known as Farângî Mahall.

The descendants of Kûthî al-Dîn made Farângî Mahall into a centre of learning which for 250 years attracted scholars not only from all parts of India but also from places as far away as Arabia and China. Teaching was the profession of most Farângî Mahallîs and the man who first established their reputation was Mullâ Nîzâm al-Dîn [q.v.], the third son of Kûthî al-Dîn. In the early 12th/18th century he made Farângî Mahall into the biggest centre of learning in north India. Students from outside Lucknow were boarded at the city’s Tîla mosque, which had room for 700, and the expenses involved were met in part by the Mughal emperors (Aqârûn, Bântî-i Darsî-i Nizâmiyya, 88-9). Yet there was at this time no madrasa in Farângî Mahall, and no central organising institution; members of the family simply taught in their homes those who came to them. This remained the pattern of teaching for over 200 years. Attempts were made to found a madrasa in the 19th century but only in 1232/1805 did one Farângî Mahallî, ‘Abd al-Bârî [q.v. in Suppl.], coordinate the efforts of his relatives and bring them within an institutional framework. This Madrasa-yi ‘Âliyâ Nizâmiyya continued its work until the 1830s/1960s.

Although Farângî Mahall always remained their base, many of the descendants of Kûthî al-Dîn travelled widely as teachers. Some like ‘Abd al-Bârî and ‘Abd al-Bâkî (b. 1288/1869-70) taught in Medina; others taught and set up madrasas in India. Notable amongst these are: the great logician, Mullâ Hâsân (d. 1209/1794-5), who left a reputation in Rampûr capable of winning respect and support for the teaching efforts of the Farângî Mahall family nearly 200 years later; the extremely successful Mullâ ‘Ulamâ’ Mullâ Hâydar (d. 1256/1840-1), who established the Hyderabad branch of the family and brought Farângî Mahall into a continuing association with India’s most powerful Muslim state; but most important of all, ‘Abd al-‘Alî Bahir al-Ulîm [q.v.] who in the sixty years before his death in 1225/1801-0 after his death in 1225/1801-0 taught in Lucknow, Shâhidjâbânpûr, Rampûr, Buhâr and finally in Madras where, through his teaching and through the madrasa which he set up in the Wâlîgâhî mosque, he inspired a revival of learning in South India.

In Lucknow and wherever they travelled, the Farângî Mahall family pioneered a new curriculum known as the Darî-i Nizâmiyya. Till recently this curriculum has formed the basis of most madrasa courses in India, including that of the Dîr al-ulâm at Deoband. The Darî-i Nizâmiyya was created by Mullâ Nizâm al-Dîn. It is designed to direct the student not only to the most difficult or most comprehensive books on each subject, so that he is both forced to think and has a chance of finishing his education by the age of sixteen or seventeen. The curriculum has been criticised for placing too much emphasis on the rational sciences. This seems unjustified. It stipulates no specific bias and insists on no particular books. It is at both the teaching and the emphasis is left to those who use it.

Members of the Farângî Mahall family also wrote much, and amongst the most prolific were Mullâ Mu‘ûn (d. 1225/1801-0-1) and ‘Abd al-Bârî who wrote 111 books. Of course, many of their books were glosses and super-glosses on the classical texts they taught, but there were also works on mysticism and collections of poetry; there were biographies like ‘Înâyât Allah’s Tadhkîra-yi ‘ulâmâ’i Farângî Mahall which is the major source of family history; and there was a collection of works from notable scholars like Wâli Allah (1182-1270/1768-1853) who ranged from a commentary on the Kurân in five volumes to a treatise on government, Adâb al-salatîn. Works which should be noted in particular are: Mullâ Hâsân’s text on logic which has been popular for nearly 200 years amongst those teaching the Darî-i Nizâmiyya, Bahir al-Ulîm’s study of Rumî’s Mu’âdînât, and Mullâ Nizâm al-Dîn’s work on the life and deeds of his friend and teacher, Mullâ Mubîr (d. 1225/1810-11) taught in Lucknow, Shahjahanpur, Rampûr, Buhâr and finally in Madras where, through his teaching and through the madrasa which he set up in the Wâlîgâhî mosque, he inspired a revival of learning in South India.

The scholarship of the Farângî Mahall family placed particular emphasis on jurisprudence and logic, which was to be expected from ‘ulâmâ’, many of whose pupils were initially destined to become government servants and who with this in mind were patronised by the Mughal emperors. They represented a distinctly different tradition to that founded by Shâh Wâli Allah [q.v.] of Dîhî in the 12th/18th century and sustained by the Deoband school from the 13th/19th century. The Farângî Mahallîs fostered the skills designed to support Muslim states; the followers of Wâli Allah were concerned to develop the resources to enable Muslims to cope with the loss of political power. They looked
back to classical Islam emphasising in their scholarship the Qur'an and the Hadith. Followers of the two traditions of course crossed swords. 'Abd al-Hayy had a notable exchange with Nawâb Siddîq Husân Khân [g.v.], the leader of the Ahl al-Hadîth (madrassah) in the Madrasa of the Farangi Mahall family. Abd al-Ali debated successfully with 'Abd al-'Azîz of Dîhil, Shâh Wâli 'Allî's son, that 'Abd al-'Azîz felt compelled to address him as Bahîr al-'Ulûm or "Sea of knowledge" ('Imâyî âlîh, Tâhâkîn, 141). A further feature of the Farangi Mahall tradition was tolerance, and though Lucknow is renowned for its Shirk-Sunnî quarrels, many Shî'îs sat at the feet of these learned Sunnis. Their independence of mind was another characteristic. Mulla Nizâm al-Dîn, for instance, gave fatâwâ at variance with many of those in the great legal guide of his time, the Fatâvâtâm Aâtâmîr (Aynârî, Bârî; Dârs-i Nizâmî, 163-4), while the great strength of 'Abd al-Hayy as a scholar was his capacity to cast aside precedent and go back to first principles in promulgating an understanding of Islam. Much work needs to be done before the scholarly achievement of the Farangi Mahall family can be fully appreciated, but Shîhîb Nû'mân did not exaggerate when, after visiting Farangi Mahall in 1313-14/1896-97, he summed it up in these words: "This is the Cambridge of India" (Shibîlî; 99).

The Farangi Mahalls, however, were not just scholars; they were also, to a man, mystics. Even 'Abd al-Hayy, whose grave is one of bare earth open to the skies, stressed the benefits of visiting the shrine at Bânsa and in his will urged his relatives to study the works of Ibn al-'Arâbî up to the 20th century. Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzâk (d. 5 Shawwâd 1366/27 June 1724), the illiterate "pir" of the Kâdirî order, was the saint to whom all members of this learned Farangi Mahall family looked. They regarded their association with 'Abd al-Razzâk as crucial to their spiritual well-being, while the sajdât of his shrine at Bânsa some 30 miles from Lucknow were careful to pay the scholars of Farangi Mahall special respect. There are also three important centres of devotion within the family. The shrine of Mulla Nizâm al-Dîn in Lucknow, which is renowned for the benefit it can bring the mentally disturbed and scholars in difficulty; the shrine of Shâh Anwâr al-Âkhâr, and has successors and followers, which is also in Lucknow, and the shrine of Mawlânâ 'Abd al-'Ali Bahâr al-Âlûm which is the Maâlîjâh Mosque at Tripicanic, Madras. There are, furthermore, three important sâlihât which run through the family: the Kâdirî flowing from Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzâk of Bânsa, the Cîshî-Nizâmî from Shâh Kudrat Nizâmî ofSaîpûr, and the Cîshî-Sâbîrî which goes back through Mulla Kuth al-Dîn to Shâykh Muhîb Allâh of Allâhâbâd, the great proponent of Ibn al-'Arâbî, to Shâh Ahmad 'Abd al-Âkhâr of Radawî.

By the present century, the springs of Indian mysticism were failing, but where they still flowed, the Farangi Mahall family were often prominent. They had connections with many of the major shrines in North India. They taught the sons of many sajdât at the Madrasa-yi 'Aliya Nizâmîyâ, the calendar of which was arranged to enable students to attend important 'urs. Consequently, the Farangi Mahalls were given much respect. The last important pir of the family was 'Abd al-Bârî. His influence was ramified widely throughout North Indian society, where his disciples ranged from the cadets of great landed families to politicians such as Muhammad and Shawkât 'Ali and to relatives of the sajdât of the most important shrine in India, that of Mu'în al-Dîn Cîshî at Adjîmir. His influence, and that of Farangi Mahall, was demonstrated when at the 'urs of Mu'în al-Dîn Cîshî in 1334/1916 he played the leading role in founding the Bazm-i Sîfiyya-yi Hind, which aimed to revive and to reform Indian mysticism.

From the time when they were established in Farangi Mahall, the descendants of Kuth al-Dîn, through the expansion of the family, through teaching, through writing, through giving fatâwâ and through providing spiritual leadership, made wide connections throughout Indo-Muslim society. As modern politics developed, these connections represented a significant network of influence reaching from Lucknow to Madras and from Karachi to Chittagong. When the Farangi Mahalls wished to organise an India-wide movement, as in the campaign to protect the shrines of great places of Islam embodied in the Angumânsi Khudwâm-i Ka'ba [g.v. in Suppl.] founded in 1331/1913, or in the campaign to support the Sharîf Husayn against Ibn Sa'ûd in 1343-4/1925-6, their activities were based on this network. Moreover, it played a similar role when Farangi Mahalls joined "modern" politicians in the great religio-political movements of the period. They were in the forefront of those driving forward the Indian Khilafat movement up to the end of 1338/1920, while they were again prominent in the revival of the All-India Muslim League after 1356/1937. In all these campaigns Farangi Mahall 'ulamâ' promoted policies which, as in most other things, Deobandi 'ulamâ' either found difficult to support or opposed outright. This Deobandi opposition only serves to illuminate the point that the Farangi Mahalls were the first 'ulamâ' to enter modern Indian politics. Men such as 'Abd al-Bârî, Salâmât Allâh and 'Inâyât Allâh, orators, writers and builders of organisations, were important channels through which modern politicians based in Dîhil and Lucknow made contact with the Muslim masses.

The contributions of the Farangi Mahalls to Muslim education, learning and politics over three centuries make them remarkable among Indo-Muslim families. Family tradition itself helps to explain this record of sustained achievement. Each generation has placed orators, writers and builders of organisations, were in the family's network. Moreover, the family has remained united except for one division which developed over the succession to Bahîr al-Âlûm in Madras. Only from the middle of the present century, as Islamic education has retreated before western education and as the partition of the subcontinent has divided the family between India and Pakistan, has the hold of family tradition weakened, and the record of achievement declined.

Bibliography: Much biographical material relating to members of the Farangi Mahall family may be found in: Wali Allâh Farangi Mahall, al-Aghsân al-arba'î, Nadwa ms., Lucknow;

(F.C.R. Robinson)

**FARAS AL-MĀ’** (A., pl. *khayī al-mā’, khāvīl al-mā’*) and synonyms *faras, al-bahr faras al-nahr, faras nawřt, bīṣān al-bahr*, denoting the hippopotamus, are nothing other than Arabic translations of its Greek name ʿʾṭatōs the ptolemid in the works of Herodotus, then ṣināb ṣināb in the works of Galen and Aristotle; Herodotus also calls it ṣināb to Nīlōu, whence *faras al-Nil*—”horse of the Nile” and Pliny simply translated the Greek as *eōpous floraŭlīs*. In Nubia it bears the name *bitūnī* and in the Touareg country, *gambant* (Amin al-Mal’ūf) attributed to the hippopotamus seem to be errors of definition.

Belonging to the order of non-ruminant artiodactylae, this bulky African pachyderm (*Hippopotamus amphibius*) forms, with its dwarf relative from Liberia, the recently-discovered pygmy hippopotamus (*Choeropotamus liberiensis*), the family of hippopotamids, which is closely related to the suids and whose habitat at the present stretches over central and south-eastern Africa, from Senegal to Ethiopia and the Transvaal. In the mid-Quaternary period it was present in large numbers in Europe and North Africa, as is proved by fossil remains. It was widespread throughout the Sahara in the Neolithic period and at the dawn of recorded history; Hannon, in the course of his famous journey, came across the animal in a river which was probably the Saguiet-el-Hamra flowing to the north of the Jordan were acquainted with the creature in close proximity to women and children; this was said to be an effective means of protecting them from the jaws of the ever-lurking crocodile. When it leaves the river to graze, adds al-Djahiz, the hippopotamus is that “innoc, toth, Neil, whence ʿʾṭatōs, the hippopotamus, to the extent that in his *Treasury*, the Florentine Brunetto Latini (13th century) could still write: “I yopotame est un peissons qui est apelez cheval fluvial per caque il naist el flun de Nīle.” The creature only began to be known with the accounts, in 1344, of P. Gilles and P. Belon who were able to observe at leisure, in Constantinople, one of these animals kept in captivity. In the East, Arab authors, cosmographers and encyclopaedists, while retaining the assertions of Aristotle, were able nevertheless to collect, from Nubia and Abyssinia, more precise information. Thus al-Dāhīz, without himself knowing the animal, reproduces on the subject (Hayawān, vii, 129-45, 250) some interesting details supplied by travelling merchants. He declares notably that the traces left by the hippopotamus, in the course of its nocturnal sorties, on the muddy banks of the Nile, shows to the river farmers the farthest limit to which the river will rise when in flood, and that, if captured young, the hippopotamus is easily domesticated and used to be kept in homes is easily domesticated and used to be kept in homes in close proximity to women and children; this was said to be an effective means of protecting them from the jaws of the ever-lurking crocodile. When it leaves the river to graze, adds al-Dāhīz, the hippo-
potamus goes a considerable distance and only starts browsing while returning to the water, as if it has calculated in advance the quantity of food that will be necessary for it during the night. Its teeth had the power, among the Nubians, to soothe their frequent stomach ailments, caused by their crude diet of raw fish and the habit of drinking muddy water; the invalid would wear one of these teeth over his

quent stomach ailments, caused by their crude diet

the power, among the Nubians, to soothe their fre-

hippopotamus were regarded by them as a good

remedy against the periodical seizures of epileptics

at the time of new moons

§ 805) that

(Al-Makrizi, Hitat, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 201). "...There were there," he tells "sixteen enormous quadrupeds which astonished me and which I took to be ele-

creatures that were to blame for the damage; in

three authors, made mention of the hippopotamuses content to repeat what had previously been said. It is, however, curious to find that al-Idrissi, describing the Nile and Nubia (Nachtat, climate I, section 4), devotes only two lines to the animal, stating that it has webbed feet. Still more astonishing is the lack of attention paid to it by al-Makrizi (Hitat, ch. xx) in the context of "wonders of the Nile"; repeating al-Mas'udî, he adds only that the animal is present in large numbers in the mining district of the Shanqir, on the double bend of the river. Al-Damiri completes all the pre-

with his customary rubrics about the per-

eminence of eating it, the particular qualities of its

organs and the animal's role in onirocancy. Thus

we know (Hayât al-hayawan al-kubrâ, Cairo 1356/1937, ii, 221-2) that according to the scheme of Kur'anic

law, the flesh of the hippopotamus may be consumed because it is a wild herbivore "resembling" a horse. We also learn that the skin of the pachyderm, buried in the middle of a village, protects the latter from every scourge; that after burning, the ashes of this

skin mixed in a paste with flour of the vetch (kir-

sanna) makes a plaster which, in three days, cures abscesses; and that the gall, after prolonged soaking,

is dried to make a powder for treating eyes affect-

ed with the dark cataract (al-mâd al-`asad). What al-

Damiri omits to mention is the high value accorded to the ivory of the teeth and tusks of the hippopotamus. In fact, this ivory was exported from East Africa along with that of the elephant [see 350] and Fil.] and the "horn" of the rhinoceros [see KARKADAN], but at a higher price because of the superiority of its grain, of which the pure white does not grow yellow in the course of time; confused with the ivory of walrus-tusks under the name rohart, that have left the water to graze on dry land. They are larger than horses, but they have the mane, the tail and the head, although their foot is that of the elephant. I had occasion to see these hippopotami again when we travelled down the Nile (at the Niger) in canoes to Timbuktu (Timbuctou, formerly called Gogo); they were swimming in the middle of the river, lifting their heads above the surface and breathing noisily. For fear of these animals the canoists moved closer to the bank lest they cap-

size us. The natives have a cunning method for fighting these brats; they use javelins of which the (barbed) iron tip is pierced with a hole through which they thread strong cords. They attack the animal with these throwing-weapons and, if the spear strikes the foot or the withers, the iron becomes deeply embedded; all the hunters then have to do is drag the victim to the bank with the ropes; they then dispatch him and feed on his flesh. Hence the abundance of bones strewed the whole length of the banks of the river." We may add that, since then, the massacre has not ceased and has intensified with the coming of the Whites to Africa; the hippopotamus provided, to a considerable extent, the subsistence of the armies fighting in the Cameroons at the time of the First World War, and it has since paid a heavy tribute to suppliers of shipyards and to local militia chiefs, without counting "safari" enthusiasts in search of spectacular trophies. Some partial meas-

ures towards the protection of the animal have for-
tunately intervened in some modern African states,

for there can be no doubt, as an English explorer has written, "...that once civilization has driven the hippopotami away from an African river, that river loses one of its greatest charms and one of its major ornaments."

Freemasonry was indeed a facet of European influence; their clandestine nature. Prince Halfm, Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Egypt in 1867-8, attempted to use the freemasons in his struggle against the Khedive Ismâ'îl. In 1876, the deposed Sultan Murâd V unsuccessfully sought to enlist the assistance of the freemasons in Istanbul to ensure his safety from 'Abd al-Ḥamîd II's designs and probably even for launching a counter-coup. Early in the 20th century, masonic lodges in mostly those in Salonica, served as a cover for the meetings of the leaders of the Young Turks, of whom at least one, Tal'at, was an active freemason. There is, however, no conclusive evidence that freemasonry as such played a role in the preparation and implementation of the Young Turk Revolution. True, freemasonry could—and did—operate more freely in the post-Hamidian era (it had been proscribed during 'Abd al-Ḥamîd II's reign), although only for a short period, as Enwer forbade its activities soon after World War I broke out. Persistent rumours about freemasonry have nonetheless discredited it in Republican Turkey and some of the Arab states (in Syria and Egypt freemasonry is prohibited; in several others, it is severely limited). This is hardly due to the number of freemasons: There were about 500 freemasons in Turkey in 1923 and ca. 2,367 in 1966; figures for other Middle Eastern states are not available, but seem to be equally modest (e.g. in 1931, there were ca. 1,500 in Palestine and ca. 1,000 in Tunisia) and declining since the disappearance of the Mandates and Protectorates. Rather, freemasonry's universalist and international character, partly beyond the state's immediate control, awakened suspicion in nationalist circles, while the non-Muslim origins of its founders and the marked secularist spirit in many of the lodges aroused animosity among devout Muslims. Freemasonry's social and educational philanthropy has been resented, as well, which may explain why many, if not most published works on freemasonry, in both Arabic and Turkish, tend to attack rather than defend the virtue of those printed in the Arab states link freemasonry and Zionism (without tangible proof), denigrating both. Such works have been published in Turkey, too, where the most prolific exponent of anti-freemasonry was Cevat Rifat Atılam. Recently, Turkish organs sympathetic to the Nationalist Action and National Salvation Parties have systematically been presenting freemasonry as evil and hostile to both Turkey and Islam. These attitudes notwithstanding, Masonic activity continues in Turkey, which does not at all the Arab states, with varying degrees of success.


2. In Persia. For this, see FARMASUNIYYA, above.

FAROUK [see FARK].

FARRUKHAN, the name of two ispahbadhs of Tabaristan: Farrukhan Dflanshah, ancestor of the Dbbyid dynasty of Tabaristan and of the Bdhspand dynasty of Ruyan, and Farrukhan the Great, his grandson and the second Dabuyid ispahbadh of Tabaristan.


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1. FARRUKHAN DflANSHAH, ispahbadh of Tabaristan at the time of the Arab conquest, in about 22/645. He claimed to be the great-grandson of Djamasp, brother of the Sasanid king Kawadh I (488-531), at the time of the decline of the central Sasanid power, enjoyed auton-}
Dūnbāwand, Kūmis and Djurgān, thus encircling Tabaristan. Also, "the ispahbadhs of Tabaristan became aware of these facts, they went to consult their suzerain, upon whom they all depended, and who lived at Amul, in the centre of the province. This was a powerful man, a Gīlānī, his name was Farrukhān Dījlānshāh, who was called ispahbadhs..." (Balʿamī, iii, 493). Farrukhān advised submission with the payment of a meagre 500,000 dirhams in tribute for Tabaristan (Balʿamī, iii, 493-4; al-Ṭabarānī, i, 2659-60), which was far less than the sum paid to the Sāsānids, according to Ibn Isfandiyār, 118. This submission was to prove purely formal, hence this led in 30/651 to an expedition by Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀsh, which initially met with fierce resistance (al-Ṭabarānī, i, 2656, ii, 1322; Balʿamī iv, 354-5; al-Baladhurī, 334-5; Ibn Isfandiyār, 98). The local historians indicate neither the length of the reign of Farrukhān, nor the date of his death, but state that his son Dījl Djawbara seized control of Daylam and Dījlān (which were reckoned to form part of the possessions of Farrukhān Dījlānshāh), raised an army there and threatened to invade Tabaristan (another of his father's territories). The King of Kings Yazdgird III (632-51) was obliged to accept the fait accompli and to invest Dījl Djawbara with the title Dījl Djīlān, Padshāh Tabaristant (Balʿamī, iii, 493). "Now these events are placed in the 35th year of the new Persian era, which corresponds to 667 A.D., if the era in question is that of Yazdgird III. This shows that the exploits attributed to Farrukhān the Great of the local sources correspond to the reign of the last Dabuyid, Khurshīd, a Fakhrān and a Farrukhān, both sons of Djusnas. Furthermore, Unvala declares that the coins of Farrukhān have no marginal inscription on the right, whereas those of Farrox an bear the words ʿamd and nwak (= "miraculous, marvellous, good"), after the year 72 T. (Unvala: 7, § 3; 8, § 4, 5, 7, 9, 10; 30, § 10; n. 6; 31, § 11, 15). There is no question here for 16 years, that there are two princes: Farrāx (the Farrukhān the Great of the local sources) who reigned 10-11 years, from 60 to 70 T. and another prince, whom he calls Farrāxān, who would be the son of Farrāx, and who would have reigned 8-9 years, from 72 to 79 T. (reproduction of the coinage of Farrukhān the Great, of the years 60, 63 65-70 75, 77 T. in Unvala, Plate). To justify this distinction, he stresses the difference in the orthography of the names: Farrāx and Farrāxān, which is also found in Ibn Isfandiyār, 114. This historian mentions in the reign of the last Dabuyid, Khurshīd, a Fakhrān and a Farrukhān, both sons of Djusnas. Furthermore, Unvala declares that the coins of Farrāx have no marginal inscription on the right, whereas those of Farrāxān bear the words ʿamd and nwak (= "miraculous, marvellous, good"), after the year 72 T. (Unvala: 7, § 8, § 4), who thinks that the reference is to the same individual, Farrukhān the Great, of whom the local historians speak (reproduction of the coinage from 60-2, 65-70, 75, 77, in Walker, i, Pl. xxii), but does not give reasons.

In our opinion, there are important objections to Unvala's hypothesis: seeing that Ibn Isfandiyār distinguishes so carefully the sons of Djusnas, there is no reason why he should confuse Farrāx and Farrāxān. On the other hand, Unvala (8, § 4; 31, § 15) makes Farrāxān the son of Farrāx "as the patronymic indicates", which is not conclusive, for Fakhrān and Farrukhān are two brothers, and not father and son. Finally, the supplementary marginal inscriptions do not imply ipso facto the existence of two persons: in fact the coins of the governor of Tabaristan Hānī b. Hānī have marginal inscriptions on the right, which vary (reproduction in Walker, i, Pl. xxv, 12-15, xxxviii, 12-15); some of them mention only the name of the governor, other bear the initial ʿ of ʿāš (=
"justice") above the name (accord ing to Unvala: 12, § 6). There is no question here in Unvala's mind of two distinct governors.

On the other hand, the anonymous coinages of 134 T., 135 T., and 137 T. are of three varieties: the first are marked nwak (\(\text{nwak}\)), nwak, \(\text{nwak}\) (= "very, good"); the second (\(\text{nwak}\)), \(\text{nwak}\), \(\text{nwak}\) the third ʿamd
and (according to Unvala: 12, § 9; 10, § 25; reproduction in Walker, iv, Pl. xxvi, 15-17, xxvii, 1-9, 13, xxxviii, ii, 14). The Pahlavi words apd and mwaţ are thus homologues of the initial ψ of zdr, and it is clear therefore that a Farroxd and a Farrozān cannot be distinguished in the Pahlavi dictionary of Tabaristan and Nāshapur, and put an end to the incursions by the Turks of Dihistan with whom he settled with his entourage in October 1935. Sgt.-Major W.H. Parker looked after his physical fitness training.

According to Ibn Isāndiyār, 27, Farrukhān the Great took control of the territories lying between Tabaristan and Nīshāpur, and put an end to the incursions by the Turks of Dihistan with whom he set the throne on 6 May 1936. He was proclaimed Crown Prince on 13 April 1922, officially named Prince of the Sa'd (Upper Egypt) on 12 December 1933, and proclaimed King of Egypt on 28 April 1936, in succession to his father who died on that day. He officially ascended the throne on 20 January 1938 he married Saffānā Dhu l-Fikār, daughter of Judge Yusuf Dhu l-Fikār, Vice-President of the Alexandria Mixed Court of Appeals. Saffātāz was given the name and title of Queen Farīdā of Egypt. There were three daughters from the marriage, before it was dissolved in November 1948, when Farrūk divorced Farīdā. On 6 May 1951 Farrūk, at thirty-one, married Nārinān Sādīk, the seventeen-year-old daughter of Husayn Fahmī Sādik, who was already betrothed to Zākī Ḥāshim, an Egyptian official of the United Nations Secretariat. She bore him a son, Crown Prince Ahmad Fu'ād, who was born in Cairo on 16 January 1952.

Farrūk's intended education was suddenly cut short at sixteen when his father died. It is, however, unlikely that he would have taken to serious study in preparation for his royal duties even had his father lived longer. Until he was fifteen, Farrūk spent most of his time at home. His English governess, Mrs Ina Taylor, was generally in charge. She tried to impart the main features of a typically English formative education into a prince living in ornate, European-modelled palaces, but in which much of court life, practice and behaviour remained a mixture of imported European formalities and native Ottoman oriental standards. His father tried gradually to introduce the young prince to his future royal duties. Thus Farrūk was made Chief Scout of Egypt in 1933 at the tender age of thirteen. A year before that he had made his first appearance in a public function. The following year, 1934, he deputised for his father at the Air Force celebrations in Heliopolis. At fourteen and fifteen he cut a dashing young figure of a handsome, polite prince. King Fu'ād, however, was a political-minded monarch. Between 1930 and 1935, crucial years in Farrūk's life, Fu'ād was involved in one constitutional or political crisis after another, an economic depression, and mounting opposition from the so-called popular political parties such as the Wafd. He hardly had much time to devote to his son. Consequently, Farrūk spent those crucial formative years mostly with his three sisters, his governess, his mother and her female relatives. His only frequent male companions were palace servants, guards and his French gymnastics master. It is not known, for instance, if during those formative years, he had any male friends of his age.

Farrūk failed to gain a place at Eton. Nevertheless, his father sent him to England in 1935 with a view to entering the Royal Military College, Woolwich. He was accompanied by his officially-designated tutor Ahmad Hasana'y (Pasha), a Balliol man, champion fencer and famous explorer, who was later to have a great influence over the young king, especially in the period from 1941 to 1943. The notoriously anti-British General 'Azīz All al-Masrī accompanied Farrūk as his military tutor. Farrūk failed the entrance examination to Woolwich, but he was allowed to attend some lessons two afternoons a week. The rest of the time he spent at Keny House, Kingston Hill, Surrey, where he settled with his entourage in October 1935. Sgr.-Major W.H. Parker looked after his physical fitness train-
ing, including fencing. Faruk's six-month sojourn in England was short and of limited education value since he attended no formal or regular course of study. He did, however, acquire a taste for London's attractions, particularly its famous shops.

Returning to Egypt upon the death of his father, Faruk's royal route carried him all the way until he had attained his majority which, by the Hijra calendar reckoning, was to be in August 1937. Until then a Regency Council, consisting of his uncle Prince Muhammad 'Ali, 'Aziz Pasha 'lzzat and his maternal uncle Sharif Pasha Sabri, acted for him. 'Ali Mahir, a man close to King Fu'ad, had been Prime Minister since January of that year, and generally exerted a direct influence over the young monarch. Subsequently, as Chief of his Royal Cabinet and Prime Minister again in 1939-40, he was to complicate Faruk's relations with the more popular leader of the Wafd, Mustafa Nahhas Pasha, embroil him in contacts with the Axis powers and thus further exacerbate his relations with the British Ambassador Sir Miles Lampson especially, and the British generally. Another early, dubious influence on the young inexperienced king was that of Shaykh Mustafa al-Maraghli, Shaykh of the Azhar, a man who was also close to his Uncle Sharif Pasha Sabri, the anti-British sympathies. Both these men, as well as others among his courtiers, were to involve Faruk in the treacherous shoals of Egyptian politics from 1936 to 1952. They seemed to counter the influence of the political parties and the British. By all indications is shaping for the role of traditional oriental despot. His ultimate overthrow will occur when Nahhas goes. By all indications is shaping for the role of traditional oriental despot. His ultimate overthrow will occur when Nahhas goes.

FARUK, however, began his reign quite auspiciously as a highly popular young monarch. His month's tour of Upper Egypt in January-February 1937 was a great success and the envy of the politicians. A second tour of Europe in April-July 1937 seemed to initiate Faruk into the less edifying delights of European capitals. By 1940, before he was 21, the men around him, led by 'Ali Mahir, had fully acquainted him with the need jealously to guard his political prerogatives against the Wafd and the British. Thus he tacitly approved of Mahir's use of certain new radical youth movements, such as the Young Muslims, of the Wafdist, anti-British sympathies. Both these men, as well as others among his courtiers, were to involve Faruk in the treacherous shoals of Egyptian politics from 1936 to 1952. They seemed to counter the influence of his mentor, Ahmad Heibariedoctasanaya, an ambitious though dexterous and consummate politician, who somehow tried to smooth relations between the king, the political parties and the British.

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Faruk gathered the leaders of all the political parties in his palace to discuss the crisis. As Lampson did not specify in his Note to the King what kind of government Nahhas might lead, Faruk invited him to lead a national coalition government. But Nahhas insisted on a purely Wafdist cabinet, which the King would not accept.

When Lampson marched into 'Abdin Palace at 9 p.m. to confront Faruk, accompanied by General Stone, GOC British Land Forces, and backed up by a battalion of armoured troops that had surrounded the Palace, he did not do so with the intention of imposing on the King a purely Wafdist government. Rather, the ultimatum he read to the King demanded his abdication. Faruk, however, on Hasan's advice, offered with alacrity the compromise formula of a purely Wafdist government headed by Nahhas.

The so-called Palace Incident of 4 February 1942 had paradoxical consequences. It made Faruk, temporarily at least, very popular with Egyptian nationalist leaders as well as with the Egyptian officer corps, but created a permanent rift between him and Nahhas of the Wafd, whom he planned to dismiss at the earliest opportunity. It also deepened the incurable antipathy between him and Lampson. In fact, Faruk acquired a deep resentment for the British in general. A motor accident in al-Kaṣṣāfīn on 15 November 1943 added to his fears, fantasies and resentments. Yet after the Battle of Alamein, he had no choice but to affect an overtly pro-British attitude.

Immediately after the War, Faruk faced serious political problems in the country made even more difficult by the greatly strengthened violent movement of the Muslim Brethren [see AL-MA'RIFAN-AL- MUSLIMIN], army officer conspiracies, Communist and other extremist groups. He escaped annually to Cyprus or Europe on prolonged summer holidays.

HM by all indications is shaping for the role of traditional oriental despot... His ultimate overthrow will occur when Nahhas goes. lampson was forty years older than Faruk and his opinion of the young Egyptian king may have been influenced accordingly. What is certain, however, is that Lampson did not appreciate Faruk's flouting of British war interests in his persistence appointed governments of his choice, his refusal to deal firmly with several crises in 1940-1, occasioned by Italy's entry into the war and the collapse of France, and his continued connections with 'Ali Mahir and his anti-British agitation through the use of extremist political groups such as the National party, the Muslim Brethren, the Young Egypt Society and the Azhar. It seems that he took Ahmad Hasanain's advice in appointing both the Hasan Sabri and Husayn Sirri coalition governments (June 1940-January 1942). But neither of these governments was strong enough to deal with the exigencies of war. Both were open to the machinations of the palace and to the attacks of the majority Waf party. Actually, the latter began to agitate against them in order to recapture the initiative in the nationalist cause. Nahhas Pasha in June 1941, when the British were being pressed by Rommel's forces practically at the gates of Alexandria, approached the British with a view to his returning to power. The timing was crucial, for Britain was in a most difficult military position in Greece and the Western Desert. When Nahhas threatened to foment popular agitation in the country, Lampson felt he must act. It was the concatenation of these events that suggested vigorous British intervention in Egyptian affairs. The intervention was to prove futile for the career and future of Faruk.

Amidst anti-government and anti-British demonstrations in January 1942, largely inspired and organized by pro-'Ali Mahir elements, the King procrastinated over severing diplomatic relations with Vichy France. When his Prime Minister Husayn Sirri, did so, the King dismissed his Foreign Minister, a move against which the British protested vehemently, leading to the resignation of the Sirri government on 1 February. A British request that Nahhas be invited to form a government went unheeded for three days, while Faruk gathered the leaders of all the political parties in his palace to discuss the crisis. As Lampson did not specify in his Note to the King what kind of government Nahhas might lead, Faruk invited him to lead a national coalition government. But Nahhas insisted on a purely Wafdist cabinet, which the King would not accept.
He grew corpulent, lazy and coarse. He seemed to sleep most of the day and wander at night, accompanied by his trusted servants Antonio Pulli, Ernesto Vernucci, Pietro Garo, his ADC `Umar Fathfi and his Albanian bodyguards. He divided his time between the Auberges des Pyramides and the Helmia Palace nightclubs, his various private garconnieres in Cairo and Alexandria, and the Royal Automobile Club gambling table in the centre of modern Cairo. The insecurity and unhappiness of his childhood, and his interrupted or nonexistent education, added to his inferiority complex and inability to concentrate. He was estranged from his wife and mother and sought escapist pleasures in the company of women procured for him by his servants. He became addicted to all kinds of pills, hormonal preparations, a variety of elixirs, food and gambling. He acquired a mania for collecting coins, stamps, pornographic literature, aids and ephemera. He became more elusive, unupright and socially impossible, with his coarse practical jokes, kleptomania, compulsive boasting and bad sportsmanship, characterised by a streak of cruelty. He could neither lead—and thus mitigate the internecine warfare between Egyptian politicians—nor be led by any other than by sycophantic courtiers like his Press Adviser, Karim Thalbit, or his Business Adviser, Elias Andrawus. He lived in the gilded cages that were `Abdun, Kubba, Muntazah and Ra`a-Al-Tin palaces, or in his fortress-like estate at Ingha, 35 miles from Cairo, where 2,500 feddans of the best agricultural land produced citrus fruits and housed a model poultry farm. He coveted everything which he did not own, including other men's women and possessions.

Faruk's scandalous European holiday from August to October 1950 prompted a petition signed by most opposition party leaders and politicians protesting against his shameful behaviour. At the same time, extremist groups led by Young Egypt, and other underground organisations such as the new Free Officers and the Marxists, openly called for the overthrow of his régime. Considered widely to have committed the ill-equipped and unprepared Egyptian army to the war in Palestine in order to indulge his rivalry with King `Abd Allah of Jordan, and openly accused of having profited from arms purchases connected with that war, his marriage to Naramin in 1951 and the birth of the Crown Prince in January 1952 did not improve Faruk's image or fortunes. The rot was too advanced. By autumn 1951 Faruk was set on a collision course with the stirring forces in the country, chief among them the Free Officers. He appointed the pro-British Hafiz `Alfi Pahta as Chief of his Royal Cabinet and recalled his ambassador to Britain, `Abd al-Fattah `Amr, to serve as his political adviser. More significant was his attempt to pack senior military posts with his own men, such as General Haydar, the Chief of Staff, and General Husayn Sirr `Amir, who replaced General Muhammad Nadjib (Naguib) as Commander of the Frontier Defence Force.

The violent events which accompanied the problems of Anglo-Egyptian relations since 1946 culminated in the Wafd's demagogic and fateful unilateral abrogation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in October 1951 and the explosion of the mob that destroyed the centre of modern Cairo on 26 January 1952, Black Saturday, and these gave Faruk the pretext to dismiss `Ahmed and the Wafd from power. A succession of palace-appointed ephemeral governments, including one led by his old mentor `Ali Mahir, were unable to deal with the drifting, explosive political situation. In the meantime, Faruk had himself proclaimed a Sayyid, or descendant of the Prophet, a most unlikely genealogical claim in view of his Macedonian-Albanian forefathers. Neither Lampson nor his successors were able or willing either to deal with Faruk firmly or to conjure up a formula to resolve the impasse. Nor was a Conservative government in London after 1951 willing to play an impartial role in Cairo, barely four years after leaving India.

Yet Faruk's security agents had uncovered the real threat to his throne, namely, the Free Officers. His couriers, however, were suspicious of each other as always, ever-solicitous and sycophantic, but were incapable of concerted action. Equally, the politicians were sunk in their petty quarrels, all anxious to keep the Wafd, by now weakened and relatively corrupt, out of power at any cost. On the very day when Faruk in Alexandria ordered the arrest of the Free Officer conspirators at 9 p.m. (22 July 1952), the latter seized power three hours later.

Faruk believed that the British were behind the army conspiracy. Even though he tried to contact British GHQ in the Canal for help, he did not trust them. Instead he sought the help of the Americans with a view to saving his and his family's lives. Ironically, his old friend and mentor adviser, `Ali Mahir, brought Faruk the army officers' demands, signed by Naguib, requiring the dismissal of his immediate entourage of courtiers. Two days later on 26 July `Ali Mahir returned as Prime Minister of the new military régime with the order for Faruk to abdicate in favour of his infant son, Crown Prince Abase Facad, and to leave the country permanently by 6 p.m. Less than a year later in June 1953, the monarchy in Egypt was abolished in favour of a republic.

Like his grandfather the Khedive Isma'il, Faruk sailed off to Naples on the Royal Yacht `Mahfusa' with his family, gold ingots and over two hundred pieces of luggage. He had been depositing money in Switzerland, Italy and the United States for many years, at least since the end of the Second World War. What he could not take with him were the vast tracts of land (over 30,000 feddans) and palaces, a collection of books, his remarkable coin, stamp and pornographic collections. He finally settled in Rome. His daughters from his marriage to Farafa were packed off to Switzerland, and his second wife Naramin soon returned to Egypt with her mother. She was divorced from Faruk and remarried a Dr. Adham Nakib. Faruk reverted to his life of girlfriends and nightclubs, a familiar massive and rotund figure in the bistros and nightspots of Rome, interspersed with occasional visits to Switzerland and to the gambling tables of Monaco, which principality had granted him citizenship.

Two weeks after he had left a heart clinic in Switzerland, he drove one of his Italian girl friends to a roadside inn, the "Ile de France", for dinner around midnight. He suffered a heart attack while just starting to enjoy the Havana cigar which he had lit after a gargantuan dinner. He died two hours later at 2.08 a.m. on 18 March 1965 in a Rome hospital, aged 45 years, 2 months and 7 days. At the request of his family and according to his will, he was buried in Cairo two days later very quietly and in the dead of night, alongside his forefathers. His was the last effective reign of the Muhammad `Ali dynasty, founded by that soldier of fortune from Kavalla in 1805.
Al-Fāsī, individual nisba of the members of a prominent family of Moroccan scholars. Descended from the Kuraybītīe clan of the Banū Tibār, originally established in Spain but settling in Fās at the end of the 10th/16th century, this family is known collectively under the name Fāsiyyūn, while the citizens of the town are called rather Ahī/Al-Fāsī. In view of the fact that the author article AL-FASĪYUṺ in Volume II of the EI deals with the population of Fās in general, it has been considered useful to supplement this with the basic facts relating to the members of this line who have contributed the most actively, over the last four centuries, to religious, intellectual and literary life, without limiting themselves solely to passing on a varied, and still highly appreciated, form of teaching.

In general, the genealogical tree drawn by E. Levi-Provençal (Cherja, 242) continues to be valid, and we shall confine ourselves to referring the reader to it; the accounts devoted by the learned historian to the most notable personalities of the Fāsiyyūn have lost none of their value, but they can be considerably enlarged and made more accurate in the light of documents, mostly manuscripts, that are now available. The work of Muhammad al-Fāsī and M. Hajji in Arabic or in French, of 'A. Gannūn in Arabic, of M. Lakhdir in French and of still others, enables us to acquire an increasingly clear view of the merits of a group of eminent scholars who could, however, be better served by a detailed monograph in view of the extensive documentation provided by biographical sources, whether long-established or recently discovered.

I. — Abu 'l-Mahāsīn [q.v.]. Yusuf (d. 18 Rabī‘ I 1013/14 August 1604) was the founder, in Fās, in the district of the Kalkaliyyūn (see Le Tourneau, Fes, Casablanca 1949, index), of the zāwiya of the Fāsiyyūn, which was given the name Sīdī 'Abd al-Kādir al-Fāsī. He was born, according to the autobiography that it gives of his father and the early history of the family.

II. — His brother Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (d. 1036/1626) founded a second zāwiya in the same district and wrote commentaries and annotations of religious works; a number of these have been published, notably al-Anwār al-dāmiyya fi 'l-dhār 'alā 'l-ghiyb, lith. Fās 1317/1899.

III. — Among the four sons of Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, Ahmad al-Hāfīz (971/1021/1564-1612) also wrote commentaries on works relating to liturgical pieces (al-īqār bi 'l-īqār, lith. Fās) or ecstatic dancing (bukm al-sama‘ wa 'l-raks, lith. Fās).

IV. — The brother of the latter, Abū 'Abd Allāh/Hāmid Muhammad al-‘Arabī (988/1052/1580-1642) was the author of a number of works, among which the most notable is al-mahānā mīrakā shaykh Abū 'l-Mahāsīn (lith. Fās 1324) important for the account that it gives of his father and the early history of the family.

V. — The following generation is represented most notably by 'Abd al-Kādir (1007-91/1599-1680) [q.v.], b. 'Ali (960-1030/1553-1621) b. Abū 'l-Mahāsīn who left only some responses, but whose prodigious scholarship and teaching inspired his son 'Abd al-Rahmān (no. VI) to write two hagiographic pieces (Tuhfat al-akhdār fi mādhīk al-shaykh Abū 'l-Kādir and Badrīn al-azghīr) and a treatise relating to his disciples (Iḥtīyāj al-ḥaṣrā‘ir); this last has been studied by M. Ben Cheneb, in Actes duXIV Congrès des Orient., vi, Paris 1907).

VI. — The son of the preceding, Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Rahmān (1042-96/1631-85), has been made the subject of an article in vol. I of the EI; add to the bibliography M. Lakhdir, La vie littéraire, 88-95, and bibliography cited; see also 'Amal, 3.

VII. — Another great-grandson of Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, Abū 'Isā/Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Mahdī (1023-1109/1614-98) b. Ahmad (d. 1062/1653) b. 'Ali b. Yusuf, was the author of a number of important works some of which have survived, on the Kur'ānic readings, the Šīrā, law, mysticism etc. and most notably of a biography of Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, al-


(F.J. VATIKIOTIS)
Dinawir al-safiyya (ms. Rabat D 1234), an abridgment of his Rawdat al-maḥsūn al-taḥṣīla.

VIII. — Ābū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib (d. 1113/1701) b. Muḥammad (d. 1116/1704) b. Ṭābāq al-Kādir (no. V) left no works of importance, but his cousin Ābū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (1058-1134/1648-1722) b. Ṭābāq al-Ḥanīfīn (no. VI) was the author of several works, among which attention should be drawn to a fahrasa [q.v.] entitled Minah al-badhīyya fiʿl-aṣāniḍ al-ulāya and used by al-Ṭirānī [q.v.] (ms. Rabat K 1249; see also al-Maknūsī, Aḥmām maṣādirī, 121-2).

IX. — Ābū Mādīyān Muḥammad (1112-81/1706-65) b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Kādir (no. V), preacher and teacher at the Karawīyīn, wrote, besides conventional commentaries, some literary compositions of which the titles are sufficiently revealing: Muḥammad fiʿl-aṣāniḍ waʿl-biṣāma, Tuhfāt al-ʿarīf wa-nuzhāt al-lālīb (ms. Rabat D 590, fols. 81 b - 144 b; summarily edited and translated into Latin by Fr. de Bombay, Vienna 1805), Māṣīmān al-zuwaq wa-dījāmīn al-turaj (ms. Rabat K 1717, fol. 2-93); these are adab compilations.

X. — Ābū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (1118-79/1706-65) b. Muḥammad. Muḥammad, brother of the preceding, was the author of biographical works of which only one, a short treatise on the Chorfa of Morocco, would appear to have survived.

XI. — The son of the preceding, Ābū ʿAbd Allāh Al-Mālikī ʿAbd al-Wajhī (1172-1213/1758-99) was a poet who wrote a fahriya partially in verse, a monograph on the Sīḥīliyyīn Chorfa (ms. Rabat G 97) and an udqāqa on the Kādirīyyīn (ed. Tunis).

XII. — A descendant of Muḥammad al-ʿArībī (no. IV), Ābū Ḥaṣīf ʿUmar (1125-88/1713-74) b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Ṣuṭūn b. Muḥammad al-ʿArībī was a psephograph who composed various commentaries, annotations, letters of a judicial nature and a Dīdān containing numerous imitations of more or less well-known poems on subjects generally of a mystical flavour.

XIII. — A distant cousin of the preceding, Ābū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (1300-1214/1718-99) b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad al-ʿArībī (no. IV) specialised in the Kurʿānic readings, to which he devoted a number of writings that have in part survived.

XIV. — Ābū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṭahiri (1246-85/1830-68) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is considered to be one of the most brilliant members of the family, although he went against the example of his parents and entered government service; as Palace secretary he was a member in 1276/1860, of a diplomatic mission sent to London, to the court of Queen Victoria, by Sultan Ṣūṭūn Muḥammad (1276-90/1859-73) and, on his return, composed an account of his journey which has just been published by M. El Fasi (Rabat 1976-7, index).

- The son of the preceding, ʿAbd al-Ḥāfīz b. Muḥammad (no. IX) a preacher of Fās who is said to have been the author of a chronological index entitled Taqāṣīrāt al-maḥsūn bi-nuwaṣṣāṣ al-dīn wa-nawāṣṣāṣ al-nīn, which is still missing.

- We are one to attempt to assess the contribution of the Fāsīyyīn to Arabic culture and literature, it would appear from their impressive corpus of writings that they contributed most of all, as much by their teaching as by the commentaries and annotations that they composed, to the maintenance of the classical tradition in the intellectual capital of Morocco; some of them were composers of verse, but not one of them proved to be a true poet. Hence we can doubtless declare without injustice that their most tangible contribution consists in their fahrasas, their accounts of journeys, and their monographs on their family or on certain of its members.

Bibliography: In addition to the general biographical works, see especially Muḥammad al-Fāṣī (no. IV), Mirāt al-maḥsūn, lith. Fās 1324; Sulaymān al-ʿAlawī, Inṣāṣāt ʿulā miṣāṣi bi-ḍaḥāk āl Fāṣī b. al-Ḍād, Fās 1347/1892; E. Lévi-Provençal, Chorfa, index; M. El Fasi, in Hesperis, xxix (1942), 63-81; A. ʿAmmānī, al-Naḥḥād al-maghrībi, Beirut 1961, index; M. Lakhdar, Le vie littéraire, index; M. Hajji, L' activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque sa'dide, Rabat 1976-7, index.

(C. PELLAT)

FAṢĀD, ḤADJDJĀM (A.), two terms denoting blood-letter (fasād, lit. "phlebotomist" and Ḥadjdjām, lit. "cupper"). Al-Dajīḥī indicates that Ḥajdjām (cupping) and fasād (phlebotomy) are similar professions. Some pseudo-scientific books on phlebotomy and blood-letting were written by reputable physicians in "Abūsād Baghdādī and Aghlabīd Kayrawān in the 3rd/9th century, e.g., Yūḥāmā b. Māṣawāy (d. 232 H./857) wrote a Kitāb al-Faṣād wa-liḥājīmān ("Book of phlebotomy and blood-letting"), and Ḥākāh b. ʿUmrān (d. 279/892) wrote in Kayrawān a medical treatise called Kitāb al-Faṣād (cf. Ibn Ḍuḏḏul, Tabakdt al-atibba wa'l-hukamd', Cairo 1955, 65, 85). The phlebotomist was required by customary law to be learned and reliable in the anatomy of organs, veins, muscles and arteries, and he practised his craft in consultation with a physician. They bleed veins of the human body and also performed circumcisions (ṣīḥān) for men as well as women in Arab society. Phlebotomy involved some hazards. Many persons actually died as a result of improper venepuncture, according to Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasīb. Arab customary law made the fasād liable to pay compensation in the event of injury or death of a patient resulting from careless opening of veins. This was probably the reason why the maḥṣīb stipulated that the faṣādīm should practise their craft in public places and that they must keep a number of their instruments, including lancets, in good condition. Among Muslim jurists, Ābū Ḥanīfā reckoned phlebotomy much-satirised character in Arabic tales, and had a
very low status. Unlike the phlebotomist, the cupper practised blood-letting on parts of the human body other than veins, and used his cup for relief of pain or itching.

Abū Tayyība was a ḥāджdjām who served the Prophet Muhammad and was much honoured in early Islamic society. He performed ḥāджdām on men as well as women. Although ḥāджdām was permitted by the sunna, there are conflicting Islamic traditions about it. A saying attributed to the Prophet described the earnings of a cupper as evil (ḥabāḥīḥ), analogous to the earnings of a whore. Some other traditions state that the cupper was paid in cash and kind by the Prophet. The anti-ḥāджdjām traditions are likely to be apocryphal and they only express the prejudices of the Arabs of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods. Arab writers cite instances of cuppers, including the poet Abū l-Aslāhīyā, who did not accept any fee for ḥāджdām from their clients. Tuesday and Saturday were regarded as auspicious days of the week for ḥāджdām, according to an Arab taboo of the 3rd/9th century, as it is mentioned in early poems like Zuhayr b. Abī Su Cóma al-Shammarī. The Prophet sometimes referred to ḥāджdām in the same way as the jāhīm of the jāhīmī jūdūlī, and the term was analogously used for things which were regarded as auspicious days of the week for ḥāджdām.

A proverbial saying of the 3rd/9th century crystallised public opinion: “A look in the mirror of the ḥāджdīm, surviving for the ḥāджdīm, is demeaning haaj<dmdm the hiajd mj.dma. The cupper was paid in cash and kind by the Prophet. The social isolation of cuppers, including the Prophet, was extensive. One source further states that the son of a cupper was qualified from giving valid testimony in a court of law, and the cupper was deemed unfit of a whore. Some other traditions state that the cupper was said to be given to gossip, and the allegation was attributed to the Prophet described the earnings of a cupper as analogous to the earnings of a whore. Some other traditions state that the cupper was paid in cash and kind by the Prophet. The anti-ḥāджdjām traditions are likely to be apocryphal and they only express the prejudices of the Arabs of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods. Arab writers cite instances of cuppers, including the poet Abū l-Aslāhīyā, who did not accept any fee for ḥāджdām from their clients. Tuesday and Saturday were regarded as auspicious days of the week for ḥāджdām, according to an Arab taboo of the 3rd/9th century, as it is mentioned in early poems like Zuhayr b. Abī Su Cóma al-Shammarī. The Prophet sometimes referred to ḥāджdām in the same way as the jāhīm of the jāhīmī jūdūlī, and the term was analogously used for things which were regarded as auspicious days of the week for ḥāджdām.

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Ibn al-Athîr, Beirut 1385-7/1964-5, vii, 553); in 312/924 the Carmathians under Abû Tâhir al-Djânnâb massacred near there a large part of the pilgrim caravan of the East and elsewhere ('Arîb, Sîlâ T. al-Tabârî, 118-19; Hamadânî, Tahmîkât T. al-Tabârî, ed. A.Y. Kazîn, Beirut 1961, i, 43); whilst in 412/1021-2 the Nabhan of ʿAyyârît, under their chieftain Djâyy, besieged in Fâyd the pilgrimage from Khrûsânîn financed by Maâîmûd of Ghazna, after receiving already a payment of 5,000 dinars as protection-money [see gwswa], but were finally repelled (Ibn al-Djâwîrî, al-Muntazam, vii, 2; Ibn al-Athîr, ix, 325). Ibn Dûbayrî, loc. cit., and Ibn Baṭṭûtâ, Râhîl, i, 409-10, tr. Gibb, i, 252-3, record, in their time, the pilgrims entered Fâyd in warlike array in order to ward off the Bedouins.

In later times, Fâyd began to lose its importance in favour of ʿÂlî when the pilgrimage route began to pass through the latter town and caravans went via the oasis of al-ʿAdwa (cf. A. Musîl, Northern Nâjîl, a topographical itinerary, New York 1928, 66). It is described in its more modest circumstances by European travellers in the later 19th century. W.G. Palgrave passed through it on route from ʿÂlî to al-Kâṣîm (Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-3), London and Cambridge 1863, i, 227-30), as did C.M. Doughty, when Fâyd was in the territories of Ibn Râshîd, amir of ʿÂlî (Travels in Arabia Deserta, London 1921, ii, 19). Musîl says that it comprised only 35 huts, inhabited by Tamâmîs. It is now a large village, with date palms, pasture for beasts and a good supply of fresh water. The mediaeval settlement lies about one mile/1½ km. to the north, and has remains of buildings and cisterns, and possibly of a mosque, together with deep wells; these constructions have been much reduced in recent times by stone-plunderers.

Bibliography: Given substantially in the article, but see the survey of earlier historical and geographical information in Musîl, loc. cit., Appx. IV, The station of Fejd in history, 216-20, and now the doctoral thesis of S.A.'A. al-Râshîd, A critical study of the Pilgrim Road between Kafr and Mecca (Dhrîb Zuḥaydîn, with the aid of field-work, Leeds 1977 [unpublished], with a full description and plan of the site. (C.E. Bosworth)

FAYD-I KÂSHÂNî, the pseudonym by which Muhammad b. Murtâdâl, called Mawlâ Muhsîn, one of the most prolific ʿIshâfi theologians of his time, is better-known. He was a poet, philosopher, expert on hadîth and skilled authority on ʿIshâfi law; his mind dominated most of the religious sciences of his time, and his writings touched on several different domains.

The exact date of his birth is unknown, but he died in 1091/1680 at an advanced age, so that he must have been born, in the town of Kum(rîn), in ca. 1007/1598. After initial studies in his natal town, he left for Khorasan to hear the lectures of the famous philosopher ʿÎdâr al-Ḥidîr, al-Shirînî, who gave to him one of his daughters in marriage. His incisive mind allowed him to assimilate a large range of subjects, but he was generally recognised as one of those theologians especially attached to the traditions of the Prophet and the Imâms, and as a traditionalist scholar, was the adversary of the philosopher and founder of the Ṣâkhîrî trend of thought, ʿAlîbî Ahmad Abâsî [q.v.]. However, he incurred equally the hostility of some traditionalist theologians who opposed certain of his mystical ideas. He was, in fact, a poet who also excelled at the philosophical sciences. His main work is undoubtedly the Ṭabarî al-ṣawānîn ("Gates of paradise"), written in 1055/1645; as a philosophical mystic, his intuition and incisive mind made him close to al-Ghazâlî. His other works include the Ibn al-ʿalîkhîn fi wâl al-dîn, which is an exposition of the principles of ʿIshâfi faith, apparently modelled philosophically on Ibn Sînâ's Ighâsûn, since it is made up of a series of wâl or principles just as Ibn Sînâ's work is a series of jihâd or indications. His second important work here is the Munâhâr al-nuqûtîn, in which Kâshânî deals with the practice of the principles of ʿIshâfi faith. It is divided into chapters corresponding to the five articles of faith, (1) the divine unity; (2) the divine justice; (3) prophethood; (4) the immamate; and (5) the resurrection.

Kâshânî's abundant output comprises over 90 works in Persian and Arabic, in all of which is discernible his predilection for poetry; all of his prose is sprinkled with his own verses or with those of the great Persian and Arabic poets, e.g. the Arabic text of his Kolmât makhânâ is full of Arabic and Persian quotations. Several others of his family were noted as scholars, and especially his brother, the author of several works on ethics.

Bibliography: Khânsârî, Rawdât al-ṣawânîn, 522-42; Fâyûm Kâshânî, Muʾâlî al-khâtûb, introd., 1; Maʿâmûn 'Abî Shâhîn, Fârûk al-ḥalâkî, i, 177, 181, 183. (M. Aghana)

FAYOUM [see AL-FAYYUM].

FAYSAL b. 'ABD AL-'AZIZ b. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN AL SUDI (ca. 1323-95/1906-75), king of Su'udi Arabia (regn. 1385-96/1964-75). His mother was Turfâ l-Shâykhî. Educated traditionally, the young prince rode in battle at the age of 13 and soon became his father's stalwart commander; at the same age, he began his diplomatic career when, in 1337-8/1919, his father deputed him to congratulate the English king on the defeat of Germany. Abroad, he made characteristically acute independent observations of Western society and, most exceptionally, ultimately learned English and French privately. Soon after 'Abd al-'Azîz [q.v. in Suppl.] conquered al-Hîdjâz (1345/1925), he appointed Faysal viceroy of the new province and foreign minister. He lived most of the next thirty years in al-Hîdjâz, but diplomacy took him to Europe frequently, and, following the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States (1359/1940), to that country also.

Faysal had a total of four wives. First was Suṭânûa b. Ahmad al-Sudâyri, by whom he had 'Abd Allâh. In 1350-1, he married 'Ilîfah b. Ahmad al-Hîjàñûn, a relative raised in Turkey. They had six sons: Muhammad, Suʿund, Turîkî, Suʿund, 'Abd al-Râhîmân, and Bandar. Around 1359/1940 he married Hayya b. Turîkî al-Djâwîrî, and they had Kâshânî. All the sons were educated in the United States and England as, reportedly, were several of his six (?) daughters. Of his wives, two were divorced years before his death, and one died; 'Ilîfah remained his constant helpmate and encouraged him to more liberal attitudes toward women.

Before King 'Abd al-'Azîz died in 1373/1953, he had arranged that his eldest living son, Suʿund, should succeed him, and he had designated Faysal as Suʿund's successor. Faysal served as prime minister for part of Suʿund's reign as well as foreign minister. The reign did not prove successful. In 1376-7/1957 Faysal had several stomach operations in the United States, and when he returned home, he found...
the kingdom in some disorder and near bankruptcy. Senior members of the royal family decided to ease out Su'ūd, who in 1377/1958 "voluntarily" surrendered power to Faysal while remaining king nominally. By 1379/1960 Su'ūd reasserted himself, but the family will prevailed, and in 1384/1964 Faysal was proclaimed king.

Intelligent and equally at home in Bedouin tent or Western capital, King Faysal proved a masterful ruler. Domestically, he faced with considerable success the challenge of leading a very conservative traditional society, propelled by unprecedented oil-based revenues, into the modern world. Externally, he opposed Israel and communism, headed the conservative Muslim bloc, and maintained friendship with the United States. After 'Abd al-Nasir's [q.v.] death in 1390/1970, Faysal reached an understanding with the new Egyptian leader al-Sadat, financed Egypt and Syria in the Arab-Israeli war of 1393/1973 and participated fully in the subsequent oil embargo and in the phenomenal OPEC-sponsored oil price increases.

When shot down in majlis [q.v.] on 26 March 1975 at the age of 70 by a youthful royal assassin, King Faysal's country had been set on a peaceful course of modernisation and was a major force in the Arab world and enjoyed widespread respect for his astute politics, his piety, and we think, his pro-Shi'a compatriot al-Iyad [q.v.]

First four Fatimids. His life, like that of many of his contemporaries in Ifrikiya, is very little known. He was succeeded by his brother ful course of modernisation and was a major force in the subsequent oil embargo and in the phenomenal OPEC-sponsored oil price increases.

Thus there is no notice of him in the ancient dictionaries. The verbal forms of fida, fida', tafidid, tafidr, tafid, and fidd, fadd, tafdd are more common there (e.g. Ibn Nadjī al-Dabbagh, railing to memoirs of figures, and appreciations of Faysali; al-Dāra, i/4 (1395/1975), 210-62 (an index of all Faysaliana in the gazette Um al-Kurā). See also Procs. of the conference held at Santa Barbara under the auspices of the Univ. of Southern California, May 1978.

(R. BAYLY WINDER)

AL-FAZĀRĪ, Abu l-Kāsim (? ) MUHAMMAD, SUNNAH poet of al-Kayrawān and contemporary of the first four Fātimids. His life, like that of many of his contemporaries in Ifrikiya, is very little known. Thus there is no notice of him in the ancient sources, unless his grandfather Ibrāhim (?), classed by al-Khusnāni amongst the Mu'azzila; convicted of ta'if, the "stripping away of God's attributes", he was executed for it. As for his father, 'Amir, 'Abd Allāh or 'Ali, he is classed by al-Zubaydī amongst the grammarians of the Ibrīkiyyan current; he is said to have appropriated the sums of the khāragāh which he had collected in the Sahel of Tunisia on behalf of the Shī'ī caliphs and to have taken refuge in Egypt. These two "stains" on Abu l-Kāsim's "image" brought him the gibes of a certain Muhammad al-Tīnīsī, who may have been, we think, his pro-Shī'ī compatriot al-İyadī [q.v.], Nearer our own time, H.H. Abdullah has given a brief notice of him, from which it appears that the poet was born and lived at al-Kayrawān and that he died in 345/956, but these are pieces of information of little reliability since they are not based on any explicit source.

Some 112 verses only of al-Fāzārī's poetry, scattered in the text, are attributed to al-Malik al-Mammasr, one of the "85 martyrs" of al-Kayrawān who fell in the ranks of Abū Yazīd [q.v.]. To these gleanings should be added the 63 verses of the Kasida Fāzārīyya dedicated to al-Mansūr [q.v.] after his victory over the Khārджīs. This poem seems to owe its fame not so much to the originality of its laudatory themes as to its curious prologue, viz. 33 verses in which the poet passes in review the legendary heroes of the Arabic knightly tradition, in a laboured parallel between these great names and that of the dedicatee, as if the poet, ashamed of his palinode, were reducing to a strict minimum the eulogy of a recent adversary.

In sum, al-Fāzārī is a minor poet, but a representative one, at the side of his compatriot Sahl al-Warrāk, of the Mālikī current in urban Ifrikiya, divided between his hatred of the Fātimids and his distrust of the revolutionary tendencies of the "man on the donkey", Abū Yazīd.

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(Ed.)

AL-FAYṢAL B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ — FIDA'
the West by the Maliki ūkāha' as a means of redeeming believers held captive in Christian territory, is the payment of this ransom in the form of pigs and wine previously submitted by dhimmis to the Islamic community, this contribution then being reckoned acceptable as an element of the payment of the ghāṣab tax by these tributaries. But this did not often happen.

More frequently, ḥidā' operates on a financial basis. In principle, it is the Muslim state which has the obligation to provide the necessary money, deducting it from public funds; however, the ransom is usually put together by relations or friends of the captives, and it consists of contributions made for this purpose by individuals. In 578/1182, for example, in the time of the Almohad caliph Ābū Ya'kūb Yūsuf, the town of Seville ransomed, at a price of 2,700 dinār, seven hundred of its citizens who had been captured by Alfonso VIII of Castille; this money had been raised by appeals made for this ḥidā' in the mosques of Seville.

The devout individual who devotes himself totally or episodically to the ransom of Muslims held captive by infidels is called al-fakākāk. It is not often that such an agent is able to travel alone and spontaneously in Christian territory for the purpose of arranging the release of captives; the "infidel" power tends to be uncooperative. In 1318, for example, the king of Aragon rejected a request from his subjects in Lorca, asking him to grant safe-conducts for "al-ffequech" who had accompanied this accredited diplomat acting as guide to a group of Granadans whom he had ransomed in the Balearic Isles and whom he had detained in Granada, although he arrived there armed and followed. In 738/1371, for example, a Catalan slave in the Nasrid kingdom and Granadans held captive in the lands of the Crown of Aragon; also, in 837/1434-5 between subjects of Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon and Sicily, held prisoner in Hafsid territory, and Tunisian slaves in the lands of King Alfonso, etc.

There were other ways in which the ḥidā' could operate; sometimes, a Muslim captive sends for a number of co-religionists from his own land and makes them hostages, as a guarantee for the ransom which he has promised and which he himself goes to raise. This was the course followed by, for example, in Oviedo, ca. 287/900, by an important member of the court of Cordova, who left in his place one of his sons, two of his brothers and a nephew, who had come to the Asturias for this purpose. Sometimes, a slave concludes a "contract of liberation" (contract of "taliq") with his proprietor: either because he is authorised to collect money, or because he is hired out to a third party and is allowed to keep the supplementary payments given him by the latter when the occasion arises, or because he makes his living in one way or another, or because he receives money from home, such a captive is free from the day that he succeeds in remitting to his master the sum required within a period determined under the contract. In 705/1303, for example, two Muslim slaves in the kingdom of Valencia were authorised by their proprietor to travel round the country to raise a certain sum within ten months, demanding from their co-religionists (the free Muslims of the kingdom) "alms of precept" and "supplementary gifts". This fact is known to us from a deed drawn up by a kāfīr of Valencia in Rabs'ī 703, preserved in the archives of the Kingdom of Aragon in Barcelona; this is a document designed to facilitate fundraising on the part of slaves who were bearers of it, introducing them to all fakākh, ālamī, ālimī, ṣhukākh, administrators, nobles and other Muslims living in the territory of the King of Aragon.

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The esclavage dans l'Europe méditerrannienne, i, Bruges 1955; ii, Ghent 1977.
A remarkable work inspired by a ransom mission is that of Ibn 'Uthmân [q.v. in Suppl.], al-Dârî ft firâk al-âsîr, ed. Muḥammad al-Fâṣî, Rabat 1965.

GÎGS [see TDB].
FINDIKOĞLU, DÎYÂ-AL-DÎN FAHIRî, modern Turkish ZIYAEDDIN FAHRI FINDIKOĞLU (1901-74) (he was also occasionally used his original name AHMED KHALİL), Turkish sociologist and writer. He was born in Tortum near Erzurum in Eastern Anatolia, and graduated from the School of Posts and Telegraph (Posta-Telgraf mecâb-i âlîsî) in 1922, and also from the Department of Philosophy of Istanbul University (1925). He taught philosophy and sociology in various schools in Erzurum, Sivas and Ankara, until in 1930 he went to France on a government scholarship and obtained a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Strasbourg (1936), being then appointed lecturer (doçent) in the University of Istanbul. In 1937 he transferred to the Faculty of Economics, where he became Professor in 1941. He died in Istanbul on 16 November 1974.

Findikoglu became interested at an early stage in literature and folk-lure, and published poems and studies on folk poets (e.g. Baybudlu zohri, 1928). Later, he concentrated on research on 'Abdî (Ziya) Gokalp and Ibn Khaldûn and on problems of social change in their legal and sociological implications, and also on the co-operative movements, making considerable contributions to both these fields. From being a moderate liberal, he developed into an extreme conservative and traditionalist, and in his many articles in various periodicals, particularly in his own Îly ('Action'), he waged a relentless war against reformist tendencies and against all innovations (e.g. he signed 'Abdî (Ziya) Gokalp and Ibn Khaldun as the former was more in keeping with old Turkish usage). He joined the opponents of the language reform movement and carefully avoided all neologisms in his writings.


(Fahîk İz)

FINDIRISKÎ, MÎR ABU 'L-KASIM B. MİR AHMED HOSAYTÎ ASTARAŞÎ, known in Persia as Mîr Findiriskî, Persian scholar and philosopher. He was probably born in Isfahan, where he studied and spent much of his life. He also travelled extensively in India, and died in Isfahan in 1050/1640-1. His tomb is located in the Takht-i Fulad cemetery, and this shrine is visited by many devotees throughout the year. Mîr Findiriskî was one of the most famous of the philosophers and scientists of the Safavid period, respected by both Shâh 'Abbâs and the Mughal court in India, yet little is known of the details of his life. In Isfahan he taught the sciences, and especially the philosophy of Ibn Sînâ, above all the Shâhî and the Kânîn, and such well-known figures as Aka Husayn Khân 'ansârî, Muhammad Bâkî Sabzavârî, Radjab 'Ali Tabrizî, and possibly Mullâ Şadrâ, studied with him. Yet he was far from being merely a rationalistically-oriented philosopher; he was also a Stîfî, an alchemist, a profound student of Hinduism, a gifted poet and one who was believed by his contemporaries to possess supernatural powers. Besides being, along with Mîr Dâmâd and Bahâ'î al-Dîn 'Amîlî, one of the main figures of the "School of Isfahan", Mîr Findiriskî was also the most notable intellectual link between the tradition of Islamic philosophy in Persia and the movement for the translation of Sanskrit texts into Persian in India which is usually associated with the name of Dârâ Shukoh [q.v.].

Few works survive from Mîr Findiriskî's pen, but those which do are all of exceptional interest. Perhaps the most important of his works, which is also unusual in both its theme and treatment in the annals of Islamic philosophy, is the Persian Râtâ-yi șînâ'îyya, which concerns the metaphysical study of human society. In this work, various occupations and professions in society are placed in a hierarchy corresponding to the hierarchy of knowledge and also of being. Another of this treatises, Râtâ-yi harakat, again in Persian, deals with a refutation of the Platonic ideas upon the basis of Aristotelian physics. This is quite surprising, because Mîr Findiriskî is the author of one of the most famous philosophical șafrîds of the Persian language, beginning with the verse:

Heaven with these stars is lucid, pleasing, and beautiful; Whatever exists in the world above, has in the world below a form.

These verses clearly confirm the reality of the archetypal world.

As a matter of fact, this șafrîd is the best-known of Mîr Findiriskî's works in Persia, and one upon which his philosophical reputation rests. It was commented upon by such later figures as Muhammad Sâlîh Khâlîlhâri and ھâkim 'Abdâlah Darâbî. In his Persian answer to the question of ھâkî Muzaffar Kâghânî on whether there is analogy in quiddities, he follows those who believe in the principality of quiddity, and is far from the position of a metaphysician of being such as Mullâ Šadrâ. Mîr Findiriskî, this contemporary of Michael Meier and Robert Fludd, was also widely known as an alchemist, and it is in fact well established that he buried in an iron coffin to prevent his body from being stolen. He is thus the author of an Arabic treatise on alchemy, as well as a Persian poem on the royal art, both of which have been discovered recently but remain unedited. Finally, he is the author of a summary of the Yoga Vasistha and a voluminous commentary upon the Persian translation of this work by 亼nâm al-Dîn Fâânîpâbh, both of which are also still unedited. This commentary is without doubt one of the peaks of the intellectual encounter between Islam and Hinduism. Although only these few works survive from Mîr Findiriskî, and the manuscript of the Usûl al-fusul on Hinduism and a history of the Safavids attributed to him have never been discovered, he remains a vivid and lively figure in the later history of Islamic philosophy in Persia and survives to this day, even in the consciousness of the common people, as one of the greatest sages of the Safavid period.

Bibliography: H. Corbin and S.Dj. ھşhtyânî, Anthologie des philosophes iraniens, i, Tehran-Paris 1972, 62-97 (Persian and Arabic text), 31-47 (French text); Rîdâ Koli Khân Hidâyat, Rîdâ al-ârîfîn, Tehran 1344 A.H.S., 267-9; Mîr Findiriskî, Rîsâla-yi șînâ'îyya, ed. 'A. ھshîbârî,
where their treasuries and materials of war were stored; Yakut adds to this information that it was the capital of the Karinids since pre-Islamic times, an event recorded by the itineraries of the geographers, and an authority issues from 499/1105 onwards are all from the Sarāb region (iii, 890; ed. Beirut, iv, 260). The information that Firrm was the fortress of the Karinids was anachronistic by these geographers’ times, because the Bawandids continued to hold Firrm. They minted coins after the execution of Mazyar b. Karin in 225/840. The Bawandids held by the Iranian native princes of the Caspian coast, the town of Tabaristan in the region, firstly the Karinids and then the Bawandids, who were certainly installed there in the 4th/10th century (coins of Rustan b. Sharwin, no. 472 (discusses all issues then extant), and idem, ibid., 135-6). A certain amount of Muslim settlement may have taken place from early ‘Abbāsid times onwards, since Ibn Iṣḥāqī, who mentions it in his Ta’nk-i Tabaristan, considered it as a means to check in both man and animal the long for coitus (Abd Allah al-Ghunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 17). They describe it as a fragrant plant with an acrid taste, square-sectioned stalk and leaves similar to those of the “mountain-mint”, also called Mentha buluk (L.; (b) Judhanaj). The term is of Persian, and apparently ultimately of Indian origin (p. 938, fol. 99a-b) and knows the following three kinds of it: (a) the “river-mint”, also called fawdanaj, fawtanaj, fudhandj, and variants) in Stephanos-Hunayn, with the “mountain-mint”, also called fudhandj, dafelθi, the “mountain-mint”, also called ndbuta (< Latin nepeta, cf. F. J. Simonet, Glosario de voces ibericas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes, Madrid 1888, 397 f., with Mozarabic complementary forms), probably Mentha camphorata ssp. iatifolia, cultivar Camphorata.


The peppermint, also known as *Mentha pulegium* L.

This simple basic pattern was completed and differentiated by later pharmacologists. For the river-mint there appear the Arabic terms *nabak al-md* and *nabak nabri*, in Egypt *nabak al-tunsid*, in Andalusia the Mozarabic *mantarashar* (mastranto, etc., see Simonet, op. cit., 359); the last term indicates in fact another kind, namely *Mentha rotundifolia* L. In the literature of translations the river-mint probably corresponds with *siṣaṣāyūn* = *sisinbaryun* (and variants). The mountain-mint is later mostly equated with the "rocky" (*al-jākhr*) and with the wild mint (according to Ibn al-Wahlshiyiya in Nuwayri, *Nihāya*, xi, Cairo 1935, 69, 7). In Mozarabic the wild mint is called *buluyah, juliuyah* (*puleo < Latin *pulegium*, German *Peterselie*, see Simonet, op. cit., 452), and also *ghubrani* or *timid*. To this shohoh beheld above all the "cultivated mint" (*bulubani baha* that is, the peppermint, *Mentha piperita*, the *busubans* *tādżamun* of the literature of translation, well-known and favoured as a curative notion. The juice of the river-mint, taken with honey, has a strong heating and sweat-producing effect; taken with water, it helps against shooting pains and sciatica, promotes menstruation, drives off the tape-worm and is useful against jaundice since it opens up the sluggishness of the liver. Mountain-mint dilutes thick and stickly fluids which accumulate in the breast or lungs, and secretes them. Peppermint, taken with vinegar, does away with nausea and vomiting and clears haemorrhages. On the specific effect of menthol is based its use, common until now, for diarrhoea, gripes, flatulence and, above all, cardiotonic for the coronary tubes. A few verses praising the fragrant peppermint tea are found in Nuwayri, op. cit., 71 f.


**FUKĀḤA’ AL-MADĪNA AL-SABA’**

The seven "jurists" of Medina, to whom tradition attributes a significant role in the formation of *fīkh*. J. Schacht, who was especially interested in these *fukāhā*, wrote (Esquisse d'une histoire du droit musulman, Paris 1952, 28; cf. *idem*, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 31): "The Medinans... traced back the origin of their special brand of legal teaching to a number of ancient authorities, who died in the final years of the first and the early years of the second century of the Hegira. In a later period, seven of them were chosen as representatives; these are the 'seven jurists of Medina'.... Almost none of the doctrines attributed to these ancient authorities can be considered as authentic. The transmission of the jurists' doctrine of Medina only becomes historically verifiable at the same period, approximately, as in Iraq, with Zuhri (died in the year 124 of the Hegira)." It may further be noted, in this context, that the name of al-Zuhri [q.v.] figures prominently in the enumeration, by the biographers, of those who supposedly formed the audience of the seven *fukāhā*. J. Schacht (The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence, Oxford 1950, 22 f.; 243 f.) is also able to show that the list of these jurists, to some extent variable, but finally fixed, rests on no foundation, and he considered that in fact it is a question of a conventional group of *sāḥibūn* mentioned for the first time in definitive form by al-Tahawi (d. 321/933) in his *Ṣāḥib maṣāni l-īhār* (Lucknow 1301-2, i, 163), then by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isfahānī (d. 356/967) in his *Aḥāri* (ed. Beirut, ix, 136, 145). He recognises, however, that this list was definitely drawn up at an earlier date, although he cites no reference in this context. Now the *Fukahā* (ed. Cairo, 315) mentions a work of Ibn Abī 'l-Zāhir (d. 574/1179) [q.v. in Suppl.] entitled *Rā'y al-fukahā' al-sab'a min al-Madīna wa-mā al-fukahā* (Bibliography), which creates the impression that this group—whose composition had been probably already fixed—was felt, towards the middle of the 2nd century A.H. not only as a historical reality, but also as early evidence of the doctrinal pluralism accepted by Islam, since it was possible to find out divergencies of opinion from among equally-respected "scholars". The fact remains, however, that the seven *jurists* of Medina, to whom tradition attributes a significant role above all else to be purveyors of tradition, for whom the sources are, in the nature of things, almost all the same. In addition, it may justifiably be supposed that their reputation was established considerably later than the time of their disappearance, since the date of death of the majority of them is not known with certainty; one might however expect it to be fixed in the year 947/1213, designated precisely by the name *sanat al-fukahā*, since according to tradition a number of them are said to have died in that year.

Whatever the case may be, the definitely-adopted list comprises the following personalities, with regard to whom it has not been judged beneficial, following
the studies of J. Schacht, to undertake researches into the works of fikh:

I. — ABD BAKR b. `ABD AL-RAHMAN b. AL-HARIITH b. HISHAM b. AL-MUGHIRA AL-MAKHZUMI, a prominent KURAYSHITE who became blind and was surnamed AR-HAB or RABIB KURAYSH on account of his piety. AL-TABARI (ii, 272) is the only one to give him the name of `UMMAHAT and Ibn al-KALBISH-CASHEL (Tab. 23) mentions only two other sons of `ABD AL-RAHMAN b. AL-HARIITH. Too young to serve as a combatant at the Battle of the Camel [see AL-QAMAL], he remained a Kurayshite who became blind and was surnamed al-

...Hisham b. al-Mughira AL-MAKHZUMI, a prominent MALIK b. MARWAN, who commended him to the care of his son al-WALID. He passed on some HADITHS of the Prophet to a mufti secretary. Appointed mufti (ed. Beirut, ix, 135-47) and it is in the chapter devoted to him that Abu `AFARAJ enumerates twice (135, 145) the seven fikah", the second time with reference to a passage in which `Ubaydallah is supposed to cite his six colleagues; Schacht (Origins, 244) believes with some justification that this is a fabrication invented for the requirements of circumstances; it seems in fact to have a mnemonic quality, like two verses (with rhyme-`a/za`) quoted by Ibn KHALIKIN in the article on Abu Bakr b. `ABD AL-RAHMAN Ibnu `UbaydALLAH, who was blind, died in about 98/716-7 and was buried at al-BAKR.

II. — GHABISH, B. HISHAM, d. 118; in Nakt al-himydn, i, 102-3; Ibn TAGHRIBARII, ed. Derenbourg, 167, 168; Ibn al-KALBI, ed. BEITUR, ix, 135-47. He was considerably younger than his brother `ABD ALLAH [q.v.], in whose activities he played no part; in fact, he avoided involvement in politics, but it was he who is said to have brought to Abu al-MALIK b. MARWAN, in 73/692, the news of the defeat and death of the anti-caliph. He lived subsequently in Medina, where he is said to have written, on the instruction of Abu al-MALIK, a series of epistles on the beginnings of Islam. He collected traditions from his aunt `AIYSHA, from his mother, from his father (?) and from Abu Hurayra and passed them on notably to his own sons, to SULAYMAN b. Yasar (see below) and to al-ZUHRF. The biographers tell that he was most courageous and that he endured in silence the amputation of a foot.

III. — ABD ALLAH b. MARWAN, d. 185-6; in Sira, ii, 276; Mas'udi, iv, 148, 254, 255, v, 118 = §§ 1479, 1581, 1874; Ibn Khallikan, no. 215; Ibn al-KALBI, SUPRAINN, ii, 302-3; Ibn Hadjar, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, iv, 228-30; Mas'udi, v, 462 = § 2214; Ibn al-IsmAD, Shajarat, i, 134.

IV. — `UbaydALLAH b. `ABD ALLAH b. `UtbA b. Mas'ud b. HISHAM b. `ABD ALLAH b. HISHAM, great-nephew of `ABD ALLAH b. MA'UD [q.v.], who collected traditions from his father, from Ibn al-YABDIS, from Abu Hurayra and other Companions and had a number of transmitters, in particular al-ZUHRF. He was extremely learned, according to his biographers, and is said to have been the teacher of `Umar b. `ABD AL-AZIZ at Medina. He is known as a MURDJITE. He owes to his skill as a poet his inclusion in the Akhbar (ed. BeirUT, IX, 135-47) and it is in the chapter devoted to him that Abu `AFARAJ enumerates twice (135, 145) the seven fikah", the second time with reference to a passage in which `Ubaydallah is supposed to cite his six colleagues; Schacht (Origins, 244) believes with some justification that this is a fabrication invented for the requirements of circumstances; it seems in fact to have a mnemonic quality, like two verses (with rhyme-`a/za`) quoted by Ibn Khallikan in the article on Abu Bakr b. `ABD AL-RAHMAN `UbaydALLAH, who was blind, died in about 98/716-7 and was buried at al-BAKR.

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VII. — AL-KAMIS B. MUHAMMAD B. ABD BAKR, Abu `ABD AL-RAHMAN Abu MuHAMMAD. Grander of...
the first caliph, and, as the story goes, of the last Sásānid, because his mother was allegedly one of the three daughters of Yazdāḏird (see al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūḏ, index, s.v. Šahrbanu), he was adopted by his aunt ‘Aṣgha after the death of his father in 38/658. He transmitted to al-Zuhri and to a number of other recipients traditions from his aunt and from several Companions, including Abū Hurayra. He died in ca. 1086/724-5 at Kudayd and was buried at al-Abwā‘. 

Bibliography: Dāhīz, Bayān, ii, 322; Ibn Kutayba, Ma‘ṣūf, 175, 588; Mus‘ab al-Zubayrī, Nasab Kūrgy, 279; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab, 21; Ibn Sa‘d, index; Abū Nu‘aym, Hīyāt al-anwā‘ī, ii, 183; Mas‘ūdī, Murūḏ, v, 463 = § 2214; Makdisī, Création, vi, 80; Ibn Khallīkān, no. 553; Harawi, Ḥayātī, 175, 588; Makdisī to the earliest source, Gada‘ī played an important role at the beginning of Akbar’s reign, and the regent consulted him on every matter because of his familiarity with Indian affairs. The Tūrānī nobles got annoyed with him when he did not join hands with them against the Shī‘ī Bayram Khān, in spite of the fact that he himself was an orthodox Sunnī. He retired largely from politics after Bayram Khān’s dismissal and settled in Dīsālsalmer. After a few years, Gada‘ī came back to Dhilī and spent his last years as a Śufi there. On his return, Akbar showed him much respect, most probably for his past services at the crucial time of his reign, and his land was also restored to him. Being wealthy, Gada‘ī led a luxurious life; he was very fond of music, in recognition of his father’s services, Humāyūn made Gada‘ī his courtier in place of Dājmālī. Gada‘ī was also a gifted poet and musician, composing verses both in Persian and Hindi, his musical compositions in Hindi being famous during Akbar’s reign. 

After Humāyūn’s defeat by Shīr Shāh Sūrūn Kaynawd in 1941/1550, Gada‘ī fled to Gujratāt; from there he went to Arabia for the pilgrimage. On his return he remained in Gujratāt where he was joined by his murādīs, some of whom belonged even to Afghan families, and he became famous in Gujratāt for his opulent sessions of tawā‘īkh. With the restoration of Mughal rule in India in 962/1555, the political situation changed, and Gada‘ī again joined Akbar’s court in the Pandjāb some time before the second battle of Panipat took place in Muḥarram 964/November 1556. Bayram Khān Khān-i Khānān, who had become the regent, appointed Gada‘ī as Sadr of the Mughal empire for old friendship’s sake as well as for political reasons, hoping that Gada‘ī would act as a liaison between the Mughals and the Indian elite. But the Mughal historians of Akbar’s reign, who generally compiled their works after the fall of Bayram Khān, are critical of Shaykh Gada‘ī, accusing him of arrogance, high-handedness and favouritism in the distribution of land-grants and stipends among the Shaykhs, Sayyids, scholars and other deserving persons. Akbar also complains in his farnān to Bayram Khān, issued at the time of the latter’s dismissal, that one of his misdeeds was the elevation of Shaykh Gada‘ī to the Sadrī in preference to Sayyids and ‘ulamā‘ of nobler origin. In fact, all such complaints and grievances were concocted to provide Akbar with a pretext for removing Bayram Khān from power. 

According to Shaykh Rizk Allāḥ Muḥtākī, the earliest source, Gada‘ī played an important role at the beginning of Akbar’s reign, and the regent consulted him on every matter because of his familiarity with Indian affairs. The Tūrānī nobles got annoyed with him when he did not join hands with them against the Shī‘ī Bayram Khān, in spite of the fact that he himself was an orthodox Sunnī. He retired largely from politics after Bayram Khān’s dismissal and settled in Dīsālsalmer. After a few years, Gada‘ī came back to Dhilī and spent his last years as a Śufi there. On his return, Akbar showed him much respect, most probably for his past services at the crucial time of his reign, and his land was also restored to him. Being wealthy, Gada‘ī led a luxurious life; he was very fond of music, in recognition of his father’s services, Humāyūn made Gada‘ī his courtier in place of Dājmālī. Gada‘ī was also a gifted poet and musician, composing verses both in Persian and Hindi, his musical compositions in Hindi being famous during Akbar’s reign. 

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tradition from ‘Ali b. al-Din ‘Ali b. Ahmad al-Sabir (d. 690/1291) of Kalyar, the founder-figure of the Sāhibiyā branch of the Chishtiyya. Though nominally the disciple and successor (khātīf) of his brother-in-law, Muhammad b. Arif b. Ahmad ‘Abd al-Haqq, ‘Abd al-Kudūds appears to have been initiated into Sufi practices by Shāykh Piyārē, an old servant at the khānqāh. In 896/1491 ‘Abd al-Kudūd migrated to Shāhābād (midway between Sirhind and Fānpāt) at the suggestion of Sikandar Lodi’s amīr ‘Umar Kháñ Kāsi. When Bābur sacked Shāhābād in 932/1526, ‘Abd al-Kudūus moved across the Djamna River to Gangoh where he died in 944/1537 (not in 950/1543 as noted in ‘An-i Akbari), and is venerated at his shrine until today.

His most important disciples are his son, Rukn al-Dīn Muhammad (d. 982/1574) who collected the anecdotes about his father in the Latā‘īf-‘i Kudūdis (Dihlī 1311/1894; including the reminiscences of the Afghān soldier Dattā Sarwan); his chief khātīf, Dīlāl al-Dīn Muhammad b. Māhmūd Thānāsāri (d. 989/1582), the author of Tahkik arddi al-Hind (Fānsād al-Jamī‘ī, Dihlī 1311/1894; including the reminiscences of the Arab b. Ahmad Sirhindī, bir dhī al-sudr at Akbar’s court. ‘Abd al-Kudūus wrote commentaries on Suhrawardī’s Fusus al-hikam at Akbar’s court. His brief compendium of Anwar al-kudūsīyya was brought into use for measuring road lengths; while a much smaller gaz was introduced in use until 994/1586, when Akbar instituted the gaz-i ildhī, equal to ca. 32-32½ inches.

The gaz-i ildhī was the standard unit of measurement during the reign of Akbar, and continued to be so during the reign of Dijāhāngīr. During the reign of Shāh Dijāhān, a slightly longer measure, the dẓrḍ-‘i Shāh Dijāhānī, of about 32.80 inches was introduced for calculating road lengths; while a much smaller gaz was brought into use for measuring area.

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In accordance with our actual knowledge, Ibn Abū ‘Uṣayfīyya (‘Uṣayfī al-anbūhī, ii, 133, 14), Ibn al-Baytār was accustomed to take this work continuously with him on his scientific journeys, together with a few others. Other writings of al-Ghāfīkī are not known.

M. Meyerhof repeatedly expressed as his belief that al-Ghāfīkī was the most important pharmacist-botanist of the Islamic Middle Ages (latterly expressed in ‘Sahr aswād al-‘ulkār. Un glossaire de Materia medicalis composi par Marmiodes, Cairo 1940, introd., xxiv f.).In accordance with our actual knowledge, Ibn Samaḍjīn and Ibn al-Rūmīyya, both also Spaniards, will have to be put on the same level as al-Ghāfīkī. The three of them, especially Ibn al-Rūmīyya, were primarily not pharmacists but botanists; because of their exact description of
plants they were copied by Ibn al-Baytār, not entirely—as Meyerhof thought—but to a great extent. The Arabic text of al-Ḡafikī has become known only in recent times; until then one had to depend on a Latin translation from which M. Steinenschneider compiled a list of drugs, Grandmaison's Verzeichnis einfacher Heilmittel, in Virchow's Archiv für pathologische Anatomic und Physiologie, lxvii (1879), 507-48; lxxv (1881), 132-71. To the manuscripts enumerated in M. Ullmann, Medizin im Islam, 277, should be added a valuable copy, found in Tamgrut and now preserved in Rābat, which contains the first part of the work (up to the letter ẓayy) (cf. Ṣayyid Muḥammad al-Ṭāṣir, in Trudy 15. Mezdunarodnogo Kongresa Vostokovedov, ii, Moscow 1963, 19).

Al-Ḡafikī arranged his collection according to the abjad alphabet. Names of drugs beginning with the same letter appear twice under this letter; firstly as heading of a section and, as sources are mentioned, then again in a kisi fā'ir al-asmd, i.e. a short list of synonyms from various languages. As sources are mentioned Dioscurides, Gaēn, al-Ẓāri, Abū Ḥanifa al-Dinawari, Ibn Samadjun, al-Dīzmāshkī, Ibn al-Tarbāf (Abū b. Rabbān), Ibn Wāfīd, Ibn Sinān, an unknown person (maghāfīl, often), Ibn Māsawaw, al-Ṭāṣir (Ṣaybī b. Sulaymān), al-Fāliḥa al-mubātāiya—to name only those who occur most; personal observations of the author often form the conclusion. The status of the manuscripts now known is sufficient to justify a critical edition of this important work.

A century after al-Ḡafikī, Barbebraeus [see Ibn al-Bīrī] composed an extract from his book on drugs under the title Muntakhab Kitāb Dīmāt al-mufraddt li-Aḥmad... al-Ḡafikī, available in an edition, with translation and valuable commentary, by M. Meyerhof and G.P. Sobhy, that unfortunately reaches only as far as the letter ṣayn. It is a valuable copy, regarded as its suburbs: on the Golden Horn the Muslim quarter of Kāsim Piās, the site of the Ottoman arsenal (iserān-e ẓāmīr) and, on the Bosphorus, that of Ṭopkāhane, which developed after the conquest around the state cannon-foundry (topkāhane-e ẓāmīr) outside the Porta di li Bombarде/Ṭopkāhane kaplās.

Ḡalaṭa (from the quarter of the Galatians) in the early Byzantine settlement of Ṣyktā) was of little significance until the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and the restoration of Byzantine rule in Constantinople. The original concession situated in a locus apud Gathalam, granted to Genoa in 1267, lay along the lower shore of the Golden Horn, between the present-day Atatürk bridge and the ferry terminus at Karaköy, with its landward limits marked by what is now Vonyoda Ḍäd neces and Yānīk Kapl Ṣokāghī. This settlement was burned by the Venetians in 1296; rebuilt and surrounded by a wall; delimited by an Imperial edict of 1 May 1303 (translation in Belin, Latinité, 129); destroyed once more by fire in 1315 (accessiti... igne accidentalis quasi tota Peire combusta est); and, despite a Byzantine interdiction, fortified on the land side and rebuilt in the following year. Thus established, Ḥalaṭa intra muros, the “communità de Peyre”, self-governing under the authority of a podestà sent out annually from Genoa, developed rapidly to reach its final form and extent in the years immediately preceding the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. The first extension to the original mensect was constructed in 1348-9, enclosing a triangle of steeply rising ground with its base formed by the eastern half of the long land-wall and its apex marked by the massive circular Torre di Cristi, i.e. the Ḥalāṭa Kulesi which has ever since been the major landmark and symbol of the district.

From this time, i.e. from the middle of the 13th/14th century, the Republic of Genoa and its colony of Peru cultivated close relations with the rising power of the Ottomans—cf. the letter of the Signoria dated 21 March 1356 to “Messer Orscham, grande amirato (i.e. amiri kabīrī) de la Turchia”, from which it is clear that the Genoese of Ḥalāṭa—“i nostri de Peira che sum nostri figi e servioi e verai”—were already closely involved in commercial relations with the Ottomans and acting as their political allies against Venice and Byzantium. By the latter part of the same century, if not earlier, Muslim merchants must have been a familiar sight on the streets of Peru: the agreement concluded in 1389 by Murād I and Genoa (Belgrano, 146-9) provided for the partial exemption from customs dues of “Türks” who were engaged in commercial activities in Ḥalāṭa, and in the reign of Bāyezīd I Ottoman envoys were received by the podestà, and members of leading Perote families were sent to the Ottoman court as ambassadors (Belgrano, 153, 160).

In the late 14th-early 15th centuries, almost certainly in response to the first Ottoman siege of Constantinople by Bāyezīd I, Ḥalāṭa intra muros took on its final form. The districts which lay immediately to the west of the original concession and the extension of 1348-9 were enclosed by a wall which...
ran from the Tower to the Golden Horn, and slightly later the entire eastern quarter of Galata, fronting the Bosphorus, was also enclosed by a wall. The total area of Galata intra muros was thus brought to approximately 370,000 square metres, the circuit of the outer wall being approximately 2,900 metres (cf. J. Gottwald, , Die Stadtmauern von Galata, in Bosphorus, N.F. iv [1907], 22).

The fortifications of Galata were further strengthened and improved by the efforts of successive podestà in the last decades of Genoese rule. Most of the surviving or recorded inscriptions date from this period (cf. the collections, made from the 17th century onwards, by Covel, de Mat Latrie, Belgrano, Gottwald, etc., listed in the Bibliography). The Genoese colony at this time played an ambiguous role between the Ottomans and the Christian powers, e.g. in 1444 field-guns ("canons et cullevines") were supplied from Galata to Murad II (Wavrin, Recueil de chroniques, v, 49). Even at the last hour, when the fate of Constantinople was sealed, the authorities in Pera made desperate attempts to avoid the inevitable conquest by the Ottomans. In 1452 a semi-circular curtain-wall was built on the uphill side of the Tower in order to provide protection from artillery bombardment, but in the new era of gunpowder warfare it proved insufficient. Galata and its defences were vulnerable from the heights of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn and the hilly area to the north of the Tower. Two centuries after the conquest, Ewliya Celebi noted (Sevâhat-nâme, i, Istanbul 1314, 426-36) that in the reign of Murad IV, Galata possessed 60,000 Muslim and 200,000 non-Muslim inhabitants, divided amongst eight Muslim, seventy Greek, three "Frank", i.e. Latin, and two Jewish quarters (mahalle).

Simultaneously with the establishment and growth of Muslim settlement occurred changes in the composition of the Christian population of Galata. Elements of the Latin population were enumerated in 1580-1 as 500 kharâqi-paying subjects of the sultan; 5,000 liberated slaves; 2,000 slaves "of all nationalities"; five or six hundred "étrangers de passage", mostly from Spain, Sicily and Venice; one hundred staff of embassies and a further six or seven thousand slaves (excluding the labour corps of the arsenals at Topkâhâne and Kâzım Paşa). Many of these post-conquest Latin elements in Galata later came to claim a more exalted pre-conquest lineage.

After 1453 the walls of Galata lost most of their significance, and from the early 10th/16th century, settlement on the heights of Pera, e.g. by the "beys son" Luigi Gritti, son of a doge of Venice and constant and growth of Muslim settlement occurred changes in the composition of the Christian population of Galata. Elements of the Latin population were enumerated in 1580-1 as 500 kharâqi-paying subjects of the sultan; 5,000 liberated slaves; 2,000 slaves "of all nationalities"; five or six hundred "étrangers de passage", mostly from Spain, Sicily and Venice; one hundred staff of embassies and a further six or seven thousand slaves (excluding the labour corps of the arsenals at Topkâhâne and Kâzım Paşa). Many of these post-conquest Latin elements in Galata later came to claim a more exalted pre-conquest lineage.

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Ghalata occurred in the middle of the 19th century. In 1844 de Mas Latrie could still describe Ghalata as "une ville franque, qui existe encore entier avec son donjon, ses tours, ses eglises, ses creneaux". Within twenty years, the walls, with the exception of the Tower and some fragments, were demolished and the land-wall ditch filled in. This act, together with the construction of the one, later two bridges across the Golden Horn, the rapid expansion of Pera/Beyoğlulu to the north in the latter part of the 19th century; the granting of a degree of municipal autonomy to Beyoğlulu and the construction of a short underground railway (1884) from Karaköy to the heights of Pera and of tramways, began the final effacement of Genoese and Ottoman Ghalata intra muros as an identifiable entity. Since then, the process has accelerated, and the development of a new economic centre of gravity in Beyoğlulu on the axis of Taksim/Harbiye, when coupled with the decline into insignificance of the non-Muslim indigenous population of Ghalata, has tended to erase further the differences between Ghalata and the rest of Istanbul.

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GHAHÂNA (a.), a feminine singular noun with the value of a collective (with the plurals agnâm, ghânâm and agânâm) designates the class of small livestock with a predominance, according to the countries, of sheep (şevâ al-da’n, şevâh al-da’în, dâîna), or goats (Şevâh al-me’dî, ma’dîça). Like the two other collectives ibîl [q.v.] "camelidae" and kâyîl [q.v.] "equidae", ghanâm defines one of the three aspects of nomadic pastoral life covered by the term bakar [q.v.] as well as an important activity of the sedentary agriculturist countryfolk [see filâha], who may be periodic migrants; small livestock constitute for the one group a direct and unique source of subsistence (kânî al-ghanâm) with the milk, the fleece, hide and rarely the meat and, for the others, an extra product negotiable in the fairs through the intermediary of the sheep merchant (gâllâb).

The root gh-n-m implies the acquisition of goods by means other than those of barter and purchase; the synonyms ghâm and ghântîma [q.v.] "booty, war trophy" set in relief this idea, excluding from it any allusion to the means of illegal and immoral appropriation. Also, ghânâm (dialect. ghêm güiem) is understood in the sense of "sheep-goat patrimony" (see Kurân, VI, 146/147, XX, 19/18, XXXI, 78) completing with bakar [q.v.] "cattle" the full meaning of ndâm "livestock" (pl. anlâm, used 32 times in the Kurân). In Arabic, it is the equivalent of the Latin nouns peculium and pecam, derived from pecus "beast". Parallel with ghânâm and with the same meaning, one finds, especially in the Maghrib, the terms mâl [q.v.] and kasb/kiss [q.v.], whence the dialectal kiba/kib ("block of sheep" (cf. Berber ulbi, from the radical l to "possess").

Although the Kurânic verse (VI, al-An’âm, 144/143) saying: "[Allah has provided you] with eight species of animals in pairs, two for the sheep and two for the goats..." does not make any discrimination between the two species, a long polemic between intellectuals reported by al-Dâjhî (Hâjâwač, v, 455 ff.) brought into opposition the partisans of the sheep and those of the goat. However, this sheep-goat duality was not new, since echoes of it are found in the two monotheistic religions prior to Islam. In fact, to the degradation of the goats, the Jews had their rite of the "scapegoat" at the time of their Festival of Atonement, while Christian demonology saw in this animal an incarnation of the devil. By contrast, sheep enjoyed the favour of the two communities, as they were favourites of God; there is the ram of Abraham, the paschal lamb, the symbol of the mystical lamb applied to Christ and the parable of the "good shepherd" wisely leading his "sheep" (Vulgar Latin ovula, from ovis). The Arabs, long
before Islam, used to sacrifice a ewe (ṭīṭra) to their deities, in the month of Radjāb, whence its name ṭaḥābaya, by way of prayer and as an act of thanksgiving; while in the Maghrib and Tunisia in particular, the cult of the ram was widespread, remi-
nissant of the Egyptian cult of Ammon Ra, and it was only by the energetic repres-
sions of the Aghlabid amirs, in the 3rd/9th century (see T. Lewicki, La culture du bélier en Afrique du Nord, in Hesperis, xxxv [1948], 93-124). In veneration for Abraham, Islam preserves the rite of the sacrifice of the sheep on the 10th of the month of Dhu l-Ḥijja, the day of the pil-
grimage [see ḥajj], culminating at Mina [q.v.] called ẓam al-nahr “day of slaughter”; for all the Muslim countries it is the “feast of the sacrificial victims” (ṭid al-aḍḍāḥ) or “feast of the offerings” (ṭid al-karbān) and, in the Maghrib, “the great feast” (al-ṭid al-kabir). Engaging in historico-religious arguments, the apol-
ologist for the sheep would point out the superiority of the former over the goat on account of its wool, its milk and its flesh; furthermore, in grazing, the sheep does not have the “acid tooth” of the goat which uproots the plants, damages the bushes by devouring the boards and heysaks down buildings by its need to climb over everything, whence the proverb al-maṣ'āt tabāti wa-tā tabāt “the goat destroys and does not build”. Finally, the sheep with his thick fleece and covering tail decently conceals his posterior, whereas the stump of tail of the goats, shamelessly raised, is a defiance to modesty, not to mention the goatish odour which makes the company of the ṭaqyīs “goat-herd” shunned. Linguistically, to call someone a ṭaqṣ (pl. ṭaqṣa, dialect, ṭaṣ) was a great insult and, notably, in the expression mā ḥaṣṣa ʿllā ṭaqṣa fi ṣuḥma “he is only a goat in a boat”, alluding to the nau-
seous and persistent smell which the animal leaves wherever it has stayed. On the contrary, the nick-
name kabīb “ram” was eulogistic and flattering, es-
pecially in the metaphor ḥaṣṣa kabīb min al-khāliṣ “he is a chief ram”, synonymous with ḥaṣṣa faḥl min al-
ṣuḥma “he is a chief stallion”, i.e. “he is a champi-
oni”. Against these notions is the defender of the goats al-ḥaṣṣ al-maṣṣ, in whom one should see, at the time, either the Ḥijāzī or the Yemenī, their respec-
tive homelands being particularly abundant in goats; for such a person, the goat outclasses the sheep as much by the varied products which it supplies as by its vitality and resistance. In the society of go-
atherds one would say of an energetic man: ḥuṣa maṣṣ min al-nīqāl “he is a goat among men”, whereas one would snub the incapable wearing with mā ḥaṣṣ ʿllā maṣṣ min al-nīqāl “he is only one of the ewes”. Apart from the important place occupied by goats’ hair, as smooth (ṣabah) as flock (mirkūṣ), the equal of wool (lubad, ʿṣf) among weavers, goats’ hide was and still is the principal material for containers, bags, straps, shoes, cloths and covers (see the list in Hayawān, v, 485); although camel-breeders, the tribes-
men of Mudar remained faithful to their red tents of superior race). Among the great nomadic camel-breeders scorn for the small nomadic sheep-breeders was expressed by degrading proverbs such as al-ʿa ḫīl beḍ al-nīq “the she-goats after the she-camels”, stigmatising the misfortune of a group forced by poverty to give up camels for small livestock, for, to them, this meant really a descent, since al-ṣil fā ḫīl wa-l-būḥ “the cloven hoof of small livestock is not seen alongside the hoof of the camel”. All these tribal oppositions arising from the kinds of husbandry were to vanish with Islam, for the position of the Prophet in favour of small livestock was very clear; having been a shepherd himself, he was pleased to say “Among all things, small livestock is an invitation to modesty and an incitement to choose poverty, leaving aside grandeur and pomp; prophets and just men were pastors of small livestock”. In his eyes, the sheep-goat association was for man a divine gift and he used to say, moreover, “I recommend you to have the greatest care for sheep, clean their mucus (rūḥdm) and clear their enclosure of every thorn and stone, for these animals are also to be found in Paradise”, advising the shepherd to perform his prayers near the fold. Small livestock also provide him with a metaphor to express his aspirations for the Islam-
isation of the conquered regions by encouraging the crossing of beasts with a black fleece (= the Persians) with those with a white fleece (= the Arabs, of super-
ior race).

In the linguistic domain, sheep and goats were defined by a considerable number of terms which the great Arab philologists of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries attempted to gather together in specialised works, of which very few have been preserved for us. One of the first seems to be al-Nadr b. Ṣhamayl (d. 203/818) [q.v.] with his Kitāb al-ghanam, the fourth volume of his huge encyclopaedia of Bedouin life, the Kitāb al-Sifāt. At a later date there are a Kitāb al-nīq al-ghanam and a Kitāb al-ḥil wa l-ṣil of Abī Zayd al-ʾAnṣārī (d. 214/829) [q.v.], a Kitāb al-ghanam ascribed to al-Ḥijāzī al-Awṣāt (d. ca. 215/830 or 221/835) [q.v.], the Kitāb al-ṣil (ed. Hafner, 1895) of al-ʾAṣmāʾī (d. 213/828) [q.v.] and, finally, a Kitāb al-ghanam wa l-ṣilāthā of Abī Ḫubayd al-Kāʾṣim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) [q.v.]. Ibn Ṣūṭūd gives an idea of the extent of ancient terminology concerning goats and sheep in his Maḥṣāṭas (vii, 176-95; viii, 2-20) in the chapter kitāb al-ghanam, consisting of about forty pages. To this ancient base must be added the other mass of material contained in the different Arab and Berber dialects, from Ḥūrāk as far as the Atlantic Ocean, of the tribes devoted to the husbandry of small livestock. The scanning of several lexicons dedicated to these dialects, such as that of G. Boris for South Tunisian (Parler arabe des Marazig, Paris 1958) or that of Cl. Denizeau (Parlers arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine, Paris 1960) allows the evaluation of a minimum of two hundred terms, the elementary word-store which each tribal group uses in the exer-
cise of its pastoral activity; this approximate figure still remains well below the reality for some sections. Such an abundance of vocabulary sets in relief the vital character which the husbandry of sheep and goats presents for a mass of Muslim populations, sedentary as well as nomadic; this linguistic richness is not specifically that of the Arabic language, but is to be found among Turkish-speaking shepherds as
well as Persian-speaking ones and Berber speakers.

In spite of this plethora of terminology, it remains hard to define precisely the many strains of sheep and goats belonging to the Arabs and other Islamised peoples, just as in the West the zootechnicians have had some difficulty in unravelling the skeins of the domestic strains of the sheep (Ovis aries), undoubtedly descended from an oriental wild sheep (Ovis ammon), as well as those of the goat (Capra hircus), possibly a descendant of the Aegagrus or Pasang (Capra ibex aegagrus), as these two species are naturally polymorphs.

Among the sheep one can distinguish, according to the language and in a very general manner, the strains with a large fatty tail (alwa) or Barbary sheep (= from Barbary or the Maghrib), those with a long, non-fatty tail, those with long humps peculiar to India and Guinea and from which derive the strains of Northern Europe and, finally, those of Spain with the “merinos” introduced from the Maghrib under the dynasty of the Marinids whose Hispanised name it has kept. All these strains are subdivided, according to the desired aim of their breeding, into wool sheep and dairy sheep; the sheep kept for its meat, despite the absolute legality of the consumption of its flesh, has not attained in the lands of Islam the importance that it has attained in feeding Western Christendom.

On the subject of zoological strains, the Arab authors and al-Dähīz in particular (Hayawān, v. and vi, pasim, see index), speak only of a few, especially in Arabia, the most widespread being distinguished by some typical anatomical anomaly such as dwarfishness. Also among the species with a very foresh ortness shape there is the hadštāf “the docked one” of the Hijāz and Yemen with a black fleece and almost without a tail and ears; similar was the kahd, but with a russet-coloured fleece. Bahrayn had the nakad “puny beast”, a stunted sheep, but a good wool producer, whose small size gave rise to the image ādghal min al-nakad “slighter than the dwarf sheep”. In Yemen the bahālāt is still bred, itself a dwarf, and the timtim with shorn ears and with a woolly dewlap under the throat; whereas the adghīt was large and its wool of a pure white, while the gālam of Taʾīf, very high on its hooves, had a fleece so smooth that it approached half-wool of African origin. Among the strains with a fatty caudal wen, apart from the Barbary sheep (dial, mahdīyā), the “Caracul” [see KALB] of Central Asia cannot be omitted, with its long wavy black fleece whose lambs were frequently sacrificed for their precious coat called “breitschwanz” or “astrakan” [see ASTRAKHAN].

For the goats, it can be maintained that the majority of the strains of Arabia and the Near East were of African origin. The nihdīya “Nubian” and the habashīyya “Abyssinian” goat were distinguished from each other, both large with broad, hanging ears and a short fleece. Quite similar was the hadštīna (from Mount Ḥadān) in Najjd and whose hair was black or deep red. The šhamīyya “Syrian” strain was long-haired, being related to the strains of Asia whose most renowned representative across the centuries remains the “angora” (ankar) [see ANKARA] from the name of the great Turkish commercial centre where its “flock” (mirīzī, mirīzḵ, mīřīz) was known to be of Kashmir and Tibet, whose silky down covered with a sub- (samrī), unwashed and separated from the buttermilk, is given to the lambs and kids or incorporated in culinary preparations. On the other hand, the fresh milk (labān) consumed immediately either as a drink or a food or put to curdle with the rennet (infāhā) to make a mild cheese (gābn) whose residual whey (al-ʿubn) is given to the lambs and kids or incorporated in culinary preparations. On the other hand, the fresh milk and the butter as it comes from the churn would be, in the eyes of the Bedouin, an unthinkable waste in view of the three or four sub-products present in the milk; hence one of the interest shown is in the churning of the goat milk and its contents in this dialectal metaphor from the Maghrib yeddoh fi al-ṣāqṣāt tīdīl mā ḍābd el-līhīn yeghdī ez-zehdāl “He has his hand in the churn; if he does not draw out buttermilk, he will draw out butter!” to describe someone who has
found a situation which is very lucrative and not very tiring, and parallel to the French image “avoir trouvé un bon fromage” (cf. American English “He became a big cheese”).

Apart from the two daily necessities of the watering and the milking, the shepherd’s year numbers several more for the general survival of men and beasts. First, at the beginning of winter, there is the shearing (djazzza) of the wool-bearers and the shearer (djazzza) has to know how to manage the shears (djalam) with dexterity and rapidity on the animal, while it is held on the ground; the mass of wool obtained (djazzza) will serve as currency in the oases for utensils and durable foodstuffs (dates, sugar, flour etc.). Another crucial period and, perhaps, the most harrassing for those responsible for the flock who have to stay awake day and night, is that of the parturition (miñâ) of the pregnant females with all the care demanded by mothers and newborn, lambs and kids being confused at the beginning under the names sakhla (pl. sakhl, sikhâl, sakhâlûn) and bahna (pl. bahâm, biânâmûn). The latter, as they grow, take on different names whose system of nomenclature will not be treated exhaustively here, as it varies from one region to another. If a birth threatens to be difficult and may endanger the life of the female in labour and that of the young, there is no hesitation in practising a Caesarian section and the off-spring saved is called hallûn, hullûm. In ancient terminology, the distinction between lamb and kid only appeared clearly at the age of weaning (fitâm) around four or five months. Until then, the young lamb-kid (badhadj., farm, furdr, furfur...) is left to its mother and, if there are only goats. With the sheep and goats can be very variable as to the number of an infinitesimal part. Among the sedentaries, a youth suffices for the he-kid, (badhadj., farm, furdr, furfur...) if there are only goats. With the male is the (badhadj., farm, furdr, furfur...) for the shearers, the term “troupeau” (French) and “flock” (English), without numerical precision, do not have a direct correspondent in Arabic. The joining together, for common needs, of several small family flocks of ten to forty animals, (comp. “a sea of sheep and goats”) and with this idea of multitude one arrives at the ghanam mughannama (the group is very rich in sheep and goats”).

Equally highly variable is the condition of the pastor (vârî, dial. vârîb, Berber ameka, anâdâmîn), shepherd or goatherd, or most often, both at once, according to the framework of the society in which he is integrated. Among the sedentaries, a youth suffices to guard the few beasts of the family circle, but, in some villages, the livestock of each is gathered into a single flock which may be quite large, each animal bearing the mark of its owner, and they also have recourse to a professional shepherd. He is engaged under a renewable seasonal contract covering two seasons (kanâla, either summer-autumn, or winter-spring) and he is paid mainly in kind. On the day of his engagement he receives a small sum as a deposit, the other garments (tâbî, burnûn) and the hâm indispensable against inclement weather, a large woolen haversack (kurz, amârâ) to carry his personal possessions and, also, for those of the newborn who may arrive during the journey for pasture, and a crook (“nikkâz, hâsfî) which can be a strong club as a defensive weapon. He is assured of daily food and at the expiry of his contract, he has the right to twenty lambs and kids (nâdâs). In the case of his contract not being renewed, he gives back the deposit, the cloak and the haversack. In fact, the good shepherd is automatically re-employed and his services for the same employer can last a lifetime (seeCodin, Chrestomathie marocaine, 216 ff.).

However small a flock may be, the shepherd has to be vigilant at all times; he must prevent the animals from trespassing on the cultivated lands, round up the stragglers, ward off every danger from predatory carnivores and thieves, assist a female in her labour and take care of the newborn. He is bound to compensate for every animal that dies through his negligence, but if a wolf or lion or panther kills it despite his intervention, he is cleared, if he can bring the carcasse (biûtâm) to justify himself. This last clause hardly functions nowadays where governments have practically eliminated the insecurity reigning in the isolated regions, but the danger from thefts has not entirely disappeared. In addition to his dog, the shepherd may have the help of a youngster (râssûlî) to keep the young apart while their mothers are milked or to lead the animals in small groups to the watering place. It is in this school that the boys learn the craft. Even among his flock the shepherd finds auxiliary help with, on the one hand, the “leader” (dalul, marî, marîn) wearing the chief’s alf collar (gabbbâl, ghabbbânt), and old ram or billy-goat whom the flock follows blindly in ranks fleece against this extra burden. In the evening, the flock having returned to its covered or open fold (sotâ, zotûb, markâd, bazzâ, sitâ), the shepherd goes to eat with his master and returns to sleep among his animals. They, confident in the man, obey his orders expressed by fixed onomatopaeic calls such as bâhût to gather them together, sikkî, ággît, hurût, gîrît, têtî to urges them
on, highl, kakhkhl, taktabl, to stop them and hitchl to invite them to the water. Contrary to the usage in Christendom, the animals of flocks, in Islam, do not wear bells.

In the mountainous regions (the Atlas, Lebanon, Sinai, etc.) an annual migration takes place following the periods of the growth of herbage at high altitude. For these fixed migrations the flocks of several clans or villages are joined together and the long line of horns and undulating chines slowly climbs the slopes accompanied by the cohort of dogs, mules and donkeys charged with the food and necessary impediments for camps of several months. For this occasion, each owner delegates a man in charge (ka’ad) to coordinate and control the movements of the group and to ensure the feeding of the shepherds. This putting out to grass (tahrbl) can be prolonged for four or five months according to the atmospheric conditions encountered at the high altitudes. During the hot hours and the night, the animals are put under cover in caves (dial kattln, ma’zab, shakif) and other natural shelters.

Among the small sheep nomads, all the men are shepherds and their life is much harder than that of the sedentary shepherds, for it is linked to a constant quest for pastures and drinkable water, while having to face the merciless competition of the great camel nomads.

The condition of the shepherd of small livestock, notwithstanding the eulogistic Prophetic traditions, concerning him, seems always to have been the object of disrepute in general Muslim opinion; to be a ghalil still retains a pejorative nuance (see W. Marçais and A. Guiga, Textes arabes de Takrouna, i, Paris 1925, 257-9, nn. 37 and 39). In the eyes of the cultivator, the shepherd passes for a piller, when he is not reproached with particularly shameful practices with his animal (Hagawân, v, 458).

In pre-Islamic Arabia the protection of the livestock was often the task of slaves and, in the Middle Ages, this scorn for the pastor might also be reinforced by racial oppositions (see Ibn Khaldûn, Berbers, i, 106). Al-Dâhîz cites (Bukhârl, French tr. Ch. Pellat, Le livre des avares, Paris 1951, 198) this Bedouin’s curse hurled at his adversary: "If you lie, may you draw milk seated (= may Allah change your noble she-camels into vile ewes). In the Maghrib, the shepherd is in the lowest rank of the country proletariat, esteemed with a red-hot iron (dj.arab) and mange (bu battl) full of this substance to provide for a billy-goat or ram carries around his neck a cow-camels into vile ewes.

In spite of so much disgrace and by force of circumstances, the pastor of small livestock remains, in all the lands of Islam, one of the indispensable artisans, ensuring the subsistence of the rural and civic populations. Furthermore, the shepherds, constantly observing nature and the sky, and this since the domestication of the goat and sheep (the verb râ’d means at the same time "to pasture the flock" and "to observe the stars"), have made a great contribution through their experience acquired in the progress of the astronomy and meteorology proper to each season. To be convinced, one has only to consider the sum of precise evidence preserved, in a concise form, in the rhymed sayings that these contemporaries of the heavenly vault composed for each of the twenty-eight "anwal" of the year (see Pellat, Dictoms rimés, anwal’ et mansions lunaires chez les Arabes, in Arabic, ii [1955], 17-41); these sayings mention the notable influences on the flocks of the evolution of time in the course of the twelve months; for the craftsman, their laconicness is very telling. By way of example, two of these sayings taken from the fifty best known will suffice to sketch the rough contrasts of climate which the shepherd had to endure. The first evokes the dog-days and the scarcity of water (Pellat, No. 14) in these brief terms, "When Sirius rises [at the end of June] in the morning (safarî, if you do not see rain (matta’t), do not give food to the she-lambs or he-lambs (immaran) . . .” [for they will risk dying of thirst]. The second relates to mid-December when the water becomes ice (Pellat, No. 32), "When al-Nâ’îm ("the Ostriches", i.e. ð, ð, ð, ð, ð, ð, ð) rise, the animals stay motionless (al-bahd’ai’m) because of the constant (al-dô’î’m) ice, and the cold awakens every sleeper (nî’î’m)". With this monthly guide to the constellations the shepherds regulate their migrations which, far from straying, lead them where their flocks will find the best condition of subsistence.

Apart from the vicissitudes arising from the harsh weather to which the animals of the flock are exposed, they can also be victims of accidents and individual or collective illnesses. In the past, with the lack of effective therapeutics, the shepherds had to lament a percentage of certainly high losses. Epi-demics (wâbî’, maustan) would occur periodically with their terrible consequences; spontaneous abortion (âlbdâch, âkîl, âlbdâd), agalactia (ghiyûs) and sterility (’abîr). The causes were attributable especially to many neighbouring viruses of the brucel- la type entailing brucellosis or Maltese fever (kamûn mâliûtta) and foot-and-mouth disease (âlbdâch, kmunâ kâlîyûa). The sheep pos (anlika, nakkkî) also ravaged them, as did coccidiosis (qû’ûm), bringing on diarrhoea and anaemia. Sarcopic mange or "black-muzzle” (naghaf), psoroptic mange (kabîl, dial. bû tagga), gastro-intestinal strongylosis and fluke worm due to the small fluke of the liver (Dicrocoelium lanceolatum), all leading to aqueous or dry cachexia, also destroyed a great number of animals. Viral infections of the febrile bronchoes as foot rot (îlîbhî al-faus), and hoof inflammation (kuwâm), which could lead to the dropping-off of the horn cover and decalcification of the intest (’u’ub, khumûl), condemned their immobilised victims to enforced slaughter. Infections of the respiratory tubes were endemic, with pleuroneumonial of goats (kasabah, dial. bû jardû), pulmonary strongylosis provoking sneezing (kudâs, nathîr) and mucus or glanders (mahakh, chîrist, rgbûm), attested by the Prophetic tradition cited above. Finally, cases of cenurosis or turn sick (gawan, dial. bû nudu’dûl) were frequent, as were swellings (buhât) and convulsus of the oesophagus (dial. farannû) due to dehydration. Against this cohort of invisible ene-mies constituted by the microbes, the shepherd would find himself totally unarmed, attempting, despite everything, some empirical treatments for the external infections. Purulent sores were cauterised with a red-hot iron (ka’y), and mange (gara’ab and ringworm (karâz) are, even nowadays, treated by the application of tar (ka’an, kir), it is with tar also that the waters of the brackish or magnesian watering place are purified (nasâq) and, in Syria, a billy-goat or ram carries around his neck a cow-corne (batâ’ib) all of this substance to provide for the hour of waiting. Many other therapeutics, sometimes extravagant, mixed with conjuratory magical practices take place everywhere in Islam, as in Christendom, and the list would be very long.
Meanwhile, in modern times, veterinary science is propagated under the auspices of the authorities of each state, and competent services periodically bring effective prophylactic measures, to the countryside by means of vaccination (talkih), disinfection (lathir) of contaminated sites and by injection (bakht) of powerful medications absorbed into the body of the sick patients; it can also be confirmed that at present the flocks of sheep and goats of the Muslim countries are almost freed from the scourge of the great epidemics.

Man has very often known how to exploit to his profit the natural gentleness and docility of sheep and goats, and the servility in which they keep them makes them the object of griefs with which the ram reproaches him in the course of the whole philosophical "colloquium" which the Ikhwân al-Safa' (see Rasa'il) hold with the domestic animals in their memorable Epistles (see Rasa'il, ed. Beirut 1957, ii, 215). In fact, sheep and goats had not only to feed their domino, but also to amuse him; jugglers and circus performers would be seen distorting the market crowds with their "knowledgeable" (lakina) sheep and goats in association with dogs and monkeys [see KIRD] in turns of balance and dance, and the Meccan sheep (qayt makkaiyya) passed as particularly gifted in this kind of exercise (Hiyawân, vii, 218). In the East and the Near East the public still shows an indefatigable taste for ram fights (nîdâ), giving rise to bets which can reach large sums; the organisation of these fights is the affair of the kahhâbî, breeder-selector of rams, whose fortunate profession was not besmirched with the disfavour of that of the goatherd (ma'âz), for it satisfied the innate passion of orientals for the game.

The names taken from the vast Arabic terminology concerning small livestock are numerous in the fields of zoology and astronomy. In the former are found 'anîz/'aniza, designating at the same time the females of the vulture, the eagle and the houbara bustard; it is also the name of the reef heron (Egretta gularis), while the glossy ibis (Plegadis falcinellus) is nicknamed 'anîz al-mâl and ma'azat al-mâl "water goat". 'Anîz al-mâl is also the trigger fish (Balistidae carpiovus) and 'annâz "goatherd" used to designate the black stork (Ciconia nigra), one of fourteen homologous birds (nîdâz al-nîdâgh) for the sporting bands of crossbow shoot-
ers (nîdâl al-banduk) until the 7th/13th century. As for the nîdaj the "sea ewe" (nîdaj al-bahri) repre-
sents both the turnstone (Anaria interpres) and the oyster-catcher (Hausmatopus ostralegus), which are gen-
erally confused. The great white oryx and addax antelopes [see MAKH] are nicknamed nîdaj al-raml "ewe of the sands" and the diminutive mînîdaj represents the wood ibis (Ibis ibis). The manatee (Trichechus inunguis) is called "sea lamb" and, finally, the cattle egret (Bubulus ibis) is nicknamed abâ ghanam because of its symbiosis with the flocks which it clears of flies and parasites of the fleece.

In astronomy, "the shepherd" is the constellation of Ophiuchus (or Serpentarius) with the star kalb al-nâth "the shepherd's shoulder" (see Rasa'il). A similar error is that of some authors who named nîlî and kalb al-nâth the stars y Cephei and p, k Cephei; the same applies to "Rigel" (B Orionis) which is rigîl al-djauwa' "Orion's foot" and not nîlî al-djauwa'. By contrast, nîlî al-nâth is "the shepherd of the ostriches" corresponds to λ Sagittarii. The constellation of the Coachman (Auriga) is named 'annâz "goatherd", a name
pastors, in Rec. Ec. Anthrop., xvi (1906), 102-4;

GHANİMAT KUNDJÂLI, MUHAMMAD ARRAM, poet of Mughal India and exponent of the "Indian style" (zakha Hindu, in Persian poetry of the subcontinent.

He was born at an unknown date in the first half of the 11th/17th century at Kundjâl, a small village in the Gujrât district of the northern Pandjab (now in Pakistan). He was an adherent of the Sufi order of the Kâdiriya [g.], but apart from stays in Kâdiriya, Dâl and Lahore, did not go very far from his native village, where he died in ca. 1106/1695. His works comprise a Divan, mainly of ghâzâls, and a madkhâni poem written in 1092/1681 called the Nayr-ang-i 'isâk "Talisman of love", a romance set in contemporary India with mystical and symbolic overtones (Divan, ed. Ghulâm Rabbânî 'Azîz, Lahore 1958; Nayr-ang-i 'isâk, ed. idem, Lahore 1962, replacing Nawal Kishore texts) 'Azîz Ahmad has detected in the madkhâni's sensuousness and sentimentality signs of Mughal decadence (Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment, Oxford 1964, 227). A. Bausani, whilst conceding this charge, has pointed out the interest of Ghahimât's poetry as examples of the peculiarly "Indian style", and has suggested that his fondness for lengthy compound expressions echoes the enormous compound epithets of Sanskrit poetry of the Kâyâ style, especially as Ghanîmât's century was one of considerable Muslim-Hindu cultural interaction, in which, for instance, several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian at the Mughal court (Indian elements in the Indo-Persian poetry: the style of Gahamât Kûndjâlî, in Orientaux hispan- tico se studia F.M. Paredes octogenario diecata, ed. J.M. Barral, Volumen I Arabica-Islamica, pars prior, Leiden 1974, 105-19).

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GHARUKA, a system whereby a debtor landowner transfers part of his plot, and the right to cultivate it, as security on a loan until redemption. Other Arabic terms for the same system were hâzîfâ and baî' bi-isâgîfâl, and in Ottoman Turkey isâgîfâl (Pakalan, ii, 97). This is the French antichresse. It is not identical with al-baî' bi-awqâf (the French vente à révérer), i.e. a "conditional sale" to the lender to be nullified as soon as the debt is redeemed, a system preferred by fellâhs who hesitate to part with the material possession of their land. In fact, however, the difference was small, since according to the latter contract too the creditor often "leased" the land to his debtor, i.e. the yield of the land served as inter- est on the loan in the form of "rent". Both systems were rather common prior to the 19th century because Islamic and Ottoman law did not provide for mortg- ages, but they did not disappear after the introduc- tion of mortgages, because of administrative difficulties involved in the latter.

Ghârîka is a form of usury, and as such prohibited by the Şârî'a. According to all four law schools or madhîb, a profit derived from a pledge belongs to the creditor and the creditor is not required to relinquish his right to the pledge. A Mâlikî Azhari has even stated explicitly wa-mâ tâ'ala al-âmîm min al-ghârîka harâm (Shenouda, 39 n. 1). The Hanafi school, however, has created a loophole by making it lawful for the debtor to cede of his own free will the profit from the pledge to the creditor (Muhâkâ al-abhur, fâsil entitled rahana radjulun 'astrân; Hûlûya, book xlvi, ch. 4).

Early this century, ghârîka seems to have been common usage in Egypt. One of the customary systems of pledging land in 'Irâk was identical with the Egyptian ghârîka (S.M. Salim, al-Cibdyish, Baghdad 1957, ii, 281).


GHASSÂL (a, lit. "a washer of clothes and also of the dead"), is nearly synonymous with the word kâsar (al-Khaṭîb, cf. Terûkî Baghdadî, vii, 127). In classical Arabic there are a number of terms for corpse-washer such as ghâsăl al-mañâc, ghâsil al-mañâc and simple ghâsîl. The modern Arabic term for a washer of clothes is ghâsâl, but the corpse-washer (ghâsîl) in Syria is also called muqghâsîl.

The act of washing the corpse, putting a shroud on it, attending the funeral prayers and burying the deceased are some of the obligations on all Muslims, according to the Şârî'a. The minimum qualification of the ghâsîl is that he must be well-versed in the Kitâb al-Dhârâtîz (the book of funeral rituals) in Islamic jurisprudence. The corpse-washer is required to wash the dead body three times according to standard Islamic practices. In the case of a female corpse, the daughter of the deceased, a near rela- tive or a female corpse-washer (ghâsilî) is employed for ritual washing. The corpse-washer must not look at the genitals of the deceased or divulge any knowl- edge of physical deformities of the naghetti. It is, there- fore, necessary that the ghâsil should be a trusted (amin), reliable (dişka) and an honest (sâkhîr) Muslim, says Ibn Kudâmâ. A tradition of the Prophet reads: "Let the trustworthy persons wash your corpse" (al-
Some individuals performed the work of corpse-washing out of an inner sense of piety (zuhd) and observance of the sunna, wrote Khajib al-Baghdadi.

Under normal circumstances, the male as well as female corpse-washers performed their work without any interference from government officials. But during the Fatimid rule in Egypt, the caliph al-Hakim imposed a number of restrictions on outdoor activities of women, who were prevented from going out of their house, from entering a public bath (hamam) and from asking a cobbler to make shoes for them. Consequently, every female corpse-washer (ghasal) had to seek a special permission or license from the sahib al-madinah and judicial authorities to practise her trade from the year 405/1014 onwards (cf. al-Muntazam, vii, 299). However, some writers tend to suggest that a similar ban on female corpse-washers was enforced for the first time in the year 253/867 in Egypt under 'Abbasiid administration. The ghasal's work was probably a part-time occupation; it usually earned him an adequate wage which, of course, varied according to capability of payment of hirers, but in Egypt under 'Abbasid administration. The ghasal, like other workers of despised status, such as the cupper (hujjam), the veterinarian (basir), the sweep (kunnah), the watchman (hara), the fishmonger (samah) and the tanner (dabbah), were denied the honour of being addressed by their patronymic (kunya) in Arab society (cf. Tawhidi, Basir, Damascus 1964-6, i, 355).


GHAWTH (a.), literally "succour, deliverance", an epithet of the Khut [g.x.] or head of the Sufi hierarchy of saints. It is used of him only when he is thought of as one whose help is sought, or that, from the nature of the Khut, is practically always; thus it is a normal sequent to Khut. Other, however, say that the Ghasath is immediately below the Khut in the Sufi hierarchy. In Sunni Islam, such a figure as al-Hasan al-Basri [g.x.] came to be thought of as the "Institutor of Sunnism" and the Ghasath of his time; and we also find an allusion to the term in the title of one of the pseudographs of 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djilani [g.v.], sc. the Ghasathyya or Mir'djiyya, a questionnaire on Sufi terminology.


(D.B. Macdonald*)

**GHAZAL**

i. **— See Vol. II, s.v.**

ii. In Ottoman Turkish literature.

After their conversion to Islam, the Turks adopted and assimilated Arabo-Persian cultural institutions, but in literature they tended to follow the Persian type. Thus it was the Persian ghasal rather than the Arabic one which became a model both in Eastern (Caghatay) and Western (Ottoman) Turkish litera-
The Turkish ghazal, which became the most popular poetic form after the mathnawi [q.v.], is very similar to the Persian ghazal from the point of view of technique [see GHAZAL. ii. In Persian literature]. It is a short poem of 5–15 bayts, with a single rhyme. In the first bayt, called the matol', both matol's rhyme together; the last bayt, in which the author mentions his maktha ("pen-name") is called makta. The content is of love, mystical or real, the joys of life, wine, the beauties of nature, etc. There are also edifying and didactic ghazals which concentrate on hikmet [see HIKMATA], philosophical statements on the world, human destiny and actions, such as the majority of the ghazals of the 11th/17th century poet Nâbi [q.v.]. Each bayt of a ghazal is an independent unit in content, and need not be connected with the preceding and following bayt except by rhyme. Occasionally a ghazal may have a unity of subject, in which case it is called yok-dâ'âz ("one harmony"). The most commonly-used metres in the Turkish ghazal are hâzadî, ramât, ra'daî, mudânî and mutâkhirî. One shortcoming of Turkish poets writing in arûd is particularly striking in the ghazal form. This is imâle (imâla) (the reading of a short vowel as a long one in Turkish, which has no long vowels, simply for the sake of metre), which no matter of what origin, would somehow be avoided to such an extent that it has become so much so that the imâle (considered by some as a proof of the existence of long vowels in Turkish, see Bûkî) ended up by being considered as an embellishment during the post-classical period. Most folk poets (Sâz şairleri), with rare exceptions [see KâKAFAQÂN] occasionally used arûd and also wrote ghazals in imitation of divân poets (M. Fuad Kopriil, Sâz şairleri, Istanbul 1962, Introd.). The ghazal form was cultivated in Turkish literature from the 7th/13th century until the second half of the 19th one, and then only sporadically by some modernist and neo-classicists (see Kopriil-zâde Meñmmed Fu'a'd, Tûrk III. Ottoman Turkish literature, in El.). Turkish biographies of poets (sâz şairleri) list the names of several hundred poets who each produced a divân (the bulk of which, as a rule, consists of ghazals), but only half a dozen outstanding and about a dozen minor poets wrote ghazals which rise above the level of mediocrity and have a claim to art. Although Turkish poets (both Çagqatay and Ottoman) were inspired and influenced by classical Persian poets, it would be a superficial judgment to consider the former as blind imitators of the latter, as is often done. A common technique and limited vocabulary, and the same world of imagery and subject matter based mainly on Islamic sources, were shared by all poets of Islamic literatures (see Fahir Iz, Eski Türk edebiyati, Istanbul 1967, Introd.). A mere perambulation of these in poems of the same or diverse languages could easily lead to easy and misleading conclusions (e.g. by Hasibe Mavzolu, Fâcili-Hasic, Istanbul 1962). A closer study reveals that outstanding Turkish poets of the early periods such as Kâdi Burhân al-Din, Nesîmî [q.v.], 'All Şirî Newârî, Neqîji, and many of the classical era like Fudulî, Bâkî, Shaykh al-Islâm Yahyâ, NeFilî, Nâmî and particularly Nedîm, were conscious of this originality and they expressed their own feelings in many of their ghazals and fakhriyêes. It is fair to say that outstanding Turkish classical authors managed to retain their personal and their Turkish character, even though using Persian set themes, figures, conceits and imagery, in the same way that Corneille and Racine remained French in spite of their use of Greek and Latin poetic conventions, characters and plots. During the literary Tanzimat movement of the mid-19th century, the ghazal continued to be cultivated partly by modernists like Divâ (Ziva) Pasha, Nâmî Kemâl and others, and exclusively by the "neo-classicists" of the so-called Endiwin-i shir'âr group (Leskoftâlâl Çâlibî, Yehülüheiriî "Awîni, etc.). In contemporary Turkish literature the ghazal form was revived by Yahyâ Kemal Beya'dî (1884–1958 [q.v.]), who from 1918 until his death wrote a number of ghazals in the language and style of some 17th and 18th century poets (particularly Nâmî and Nedîm) which were posthumously collected in a book as Eski şairâr rûzgârîye ("With the breath of past poetry"). These very popular and successful pastiches did not go beyond being curiosities, and the ghazal form was not practised after the 1920s except by an occasional traditionalist or for humourous and satirical purposes (e.g. in Khânîl Nîhad Bostpe's Şıkâm-i ibân (1921) and Faruk Nazî Çamlîbel's Ta'lî set (1938)).

**Bibliography.** M. Fuad Kopriil, art. Anl in Id; Ahmed Ata, art. Çaz, in IA, Ma'ulânî Nâmî, Idilhârat-i edebiye, Istanbul 1307 rumi/1894, 166–78; Gibb, HOP, i, 80; Ahmed Ta'âfî, Khâkî shir'înûmi, tye hikmeti we nevliri, Istanbul 1928; Talât Tekîn, An Turkish ed edîm umûr, Ankara 1975.

**Fahir Iz**

**GHÂZI KHÂN,** Indo-Muslim military leader. Known to Kashmiri chroniclers as Sulân Çâzî Şâh Çâk, he was the son of Kâjî Çâk, the leader of the Çaks [q.v.] and a powerful chief. Nothing is known of Çâzî Khân's early life except that in 933/1527 Çâzî with other chiefs defeated the Mughals sent by Bâbûr to help Sikandar, son of Sulân Fâth Şâh, against Muhammad Şâh the reigning Sulân of Kashmir. Next year, however, the Çaks were defeated, and Çâzî Khân, who fought under his father, was taken prisoner. In the middle of 959/1552, he joined the Çâzî Khân nobles to defeat Haybat Khân Niyaizî and his Afgân followers. Towards the end of 962/1555, he became Wazîr of Sulân Ismaîl Şâh by setting aside his cousin Dawlat Çâk and blinding him. Early in 963/1556, Abu 'l-Ma'âlî, a turbulent Mughal noble, having escaped from the wrath of Akbar, invaded Kashmir, but Çâzî Khân defeated him, and then suppressed the rebellion of Çâzî Khân noble, who were against him. In the summer of 967/1560, Akbar sent Karâ Bahâdur, a cousin of Mirzâ Haydar Dughâtî, with an army to invade Kashmir, but the latter was defeated at Kânpjâri and then at Dagner. In 968/1561, under the pretext that Habîb Şâh (964–8/1557–61), grandson of Muhammad Şâh and his own nephew, was incompetent, Çâzî Khân set him aside and himself ascended the throne, assuming the title of Sulân Nâşîr al-Din Çâzî Khân and thus laying the foundation of the Çâk dynasty. He was brave, able and a man of strong will. He suppressed rebellions, established law and order and successfully defended Kashmir against the Mughals. He was a cultured man and a poet and patronized learned men; but he was also the first Kashmir ruler to introduce the practice of blinding his political rivals and cutting off their limbs. In his old age he suffered from leprosy, which impaired both his health and eyesight; hence he entrusted the work of the govern-
ment to his brother, Husayn Khan. Later, he changed his mind and tried to recover power, but Husayn Khan deposed him and himself ascended the throne. Ghazi Shah died after four years in 1576.

Bibliography: the best accounts of Ghazi Shah are in the anonymous Bahānāt-i Shāhi, India Office ms. 509, and in Haydar Malik’s Ta’ṣīl-i Kāngārr, I.O. ms. 510; see also Mohibbul Hasan, kaγmīr under the Sūlrāns, Srinagar 1974; G.M.D. Sufi, Ḵāḏīr, Lahore 1948-9.

GHAZĪPUR (area, 1.473 sq. m.), a District in the easternmost part of the state of Uttar Pradesh in India. It lies in the great alluvial plains of the Ganges and extends in equal portions on either side of the river. Though one of the smallest in size, it is one of the most thickly-populated and closely-cultivated districts of the state. For administrative purposes, it is divided into four tahsils, namely Ghazipur, Muhammadabad, Sa’fdpur and Zamānīya. Paddy, wheat, cotton, sugar and tobacco are the traditional products of the district.

Ghazipur is obviously a name of Muslim origin, and the Hindu tradition, which ascribes the foundation of Ghazipur town to the eponymous hero Radja Gadhd, who called his stronghold Ghazipur, has no historical basis whatsoever. Though the territory constituting the modern District has a long history going as far back as the days of early Indo-Aryan colonisation, the town was not really founded until about the middle of the 8th/14th century. According to reliable local records, during the reign of Sultan Ffrūz Shah, one C akawa Mandhata, a descendant of the famous Radja Prithiwraj of Dihll, with the title of Malik al-Sadat Ghazi, which was the palace of the above-mentioned ‘Abd Allāh Khan, who lies buried in the garden known as Naqīb ki Čahār Dīvārī. Another landmark is the tomb of Lord Cornwallis, who died there in 1805; this consists of a domed structure supported on twelve Doric pillars, with a marble bust executed by Flaxman.

Bibliography: The imperial gazetteer of India, xii, 1908; Ghazipur District gazetteer, Allahabad 1909; Census of India 1961, xv/4, Delhi 1965.

(ABDUS SUBHAN)

AL-GHAZZĀL. Abu ‘l-Abbās Ḥāmid b. al-Mahdī al-Ghazzāl al-Andalusī al-Malakī, the secretary of the sultan of Morocco Sūrī Mu-hammad b. ‘Abd Allāh (1171-1204/1757-89), who entrusted to him various diplomatic missions. In 1179/1766 he was the head of a delegation sent to negotiate an exchange of captives with Charles III of Spain; he was received with great honour in Madrid, and was able to return to Morocco with a Spanish mission which made a peace treaty with the sultan and an agreement about the exchange of prisoners. In 1182/1768 he was sent to Algiers to oversee the exchange of Algerian with Spanish prisoners and accomplished this with success. However, the Spanish king, after the sultan had besieged Melilla in 1185/1771, had to renounce the terms of the treaty made between the two rulers and drawn up by al-Ghazzāl, so that the latter fell into disgrace. He retired to Fās, where he died in 1191/1777 and was buried in the zāwiyā of ‘Abd al-Kādir al-Fāsī [see al-Fāsī, above].

This diplomatist left behind an account of his journey to Spain called Naqdīg āl-ad-dīhāt wa l-mahdīm, of which numerous mss. are extant; a résumé was made by Bodin in AM, iii (1918), 145-85, and it was published by A. Bustanī at Tetuan in 1941. Al-Ghazzāl’s rūḥā is doubly interesting. From the historical aspect, it is a valuable document since the author gives details about the aim of his mission and lists the names of the Muslim prisoners; from the literary point of view, although it is written in rhymed prose, it describes the stages of the journey and gives a picture of Spain under Charles III. He notes, like other travellers in Europe, the things which were new to him, but shows himself somewhat partial, insisting on the superiority of his own country.

He is, furthermore, the author, notably, of epistles in praise of his sultan and of a biography of the head of the Īsāwī religious order, al-Nūr al-shāmil (ed. Cairo 1348/1029).

AL-GHAZZĀL — AL-GHITRĪF B. ‘ĀṬA’

**AL-GHAZZĀL, Abū ‘Īsāb Ibrāhīm b. Yāḥīyā’** b. ‘Uṯmān b. ‘Abbās al-Kalbī al-Shāhi (441-524/1055-627), Arabic poet of the Ṣalṭūqī period. He was born in Ghazza [q.v.] at a time when that town was still under Fātimid rule, but as a Șaḥīfī Sunnī and as a person especially proud of emanating from the Imām al-Șaḥīfī’s own birthplace, his life was to be oriented towards the East, where the establishment of the Șaḥīfīs favoured a resurgence of Sunni orthodoxy. He was studying in Damascus in 481/1098 as a pupil of the traditionalist Naṣr b. Ībrāhīm al-Makdisī (d. 490/1096, see Brockelmann, S I, 603), but then left for Ӏrāk. Disappointed at Hīla in his expectations of the Mazyadicl Sayf al-ட, ultimately from al-Sam anī’s copy. The great majority of great contemporary poets, together with his friend and correspondent Abū Ismā‘īl al-Husayn al-Tughrī and with Abu l-Muṣaffar Muhammad al-Abīwardī and Abū Bakr Ahmad al-‘Arradī (q.v.).

**AL-GHITRĪF B. ‘ĀṬA’** — AL-DJURASHI, ‘Abbasīd governor. He was the brother of the famous Khayzurānī [q.v.], the Yemeni girl of slave origin who married the caliph al-onent and was mother of the two successive caliphs al-Ḥādī and al-Raṣīd. Al-Ghītrīf is also given the nisba of “al-Kindī” in the biography of him by Gardīzī (probably stemming from al-Sallāmī’s lost Ta’rikh al-ौl Khurāsān) and by al-Samā‘ī, and may accordingly have been a mawdū‘ī of the great South Arabian tribe of Khayzurān [q.v.].

Al-Ghītrīf was again disappointed, this time by the Yazdīds. Dawla Ṣadāk, he spent some time at the Nizāmīyya madrasa. Hilla in his expectations of the Mazyadicl Sayf al-ট, apparently fallen into poverty. Al-Sam anī, in his *Tabghū*, married Harun al-Raḥīm, his fortune rose with the disturbed situation in Transoxania, with internal threats and threats from the Turks of the Turkestan down. Al-Ghazzī enjoyed considerable contemporary renown, with some erotic poems addressed to have found favour with the Sultan Sandjar at Bukhara. The story is given in detail by Narshakhl in his Ta’nkh-i Bukhara, ed. Qutb, i, 237-8; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iṣāhāb, i, 57-62, No. 18, tr. de Slane, i, 38-42; Zirīkli, al-Ṭūḥ, i, 113; Brockelmann, F, 294, S I, 448; ‘Ali Ḍawād Al Tāhir, al-Șīr al-arabī fi ’l-Irāk wa bīlād al-ʿAḏa’m fi ’l-ṭarīq al-saljūkī, Baghdad 1961, i, 177-84.

(B.C. Bosworth)

Bibliography: given in the article.

GUDJHILA [see KULGA].
GIAFAR [see ISFAR].
GIFT [see ILGA].

GILGIT, a town in the northwest of Pakistan, with a population of 4,671, situated on the right bank of the Gilgit river, a tributary of the Indus, 4,890 ft. above sea level. Owing to its geographical position, being near the borders of several countries and because roads radiate from it into the surrounding valley and beyond to Sinkiang and Transoxiana, it has always been an important trading centre and of considerable strategic significance.

Gilgit's ancient name was Sargin, which, owing to reasons unknown, was changed to Gilgit. Ibn Hawkal, ed. Kramer, 490, tr. 470, describes Ghitrif dirhams as circulating in the region of Hayatul, i.e. Bactria and the eastern fringes of Khurasan [see Hayatul]; al-Mukaddas, 340, speaks of them as circulating in Buksara and certain other localities of Transoxiana; and the translator into Persian of Nanhakhi's history states that in his time (522/1128), 100 pure silver dirhams equalled 7½ Ghitrif dirhams, and the gold mughal equalled 7½ Ghitrif dirhams. See further Frye, Notes on the early coinage of Transoxiana, Amer. Numism. Soc. Notes and Monographs 113, New York 1949, 41-9.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but note that Zambaur, Manuel, 48, gives al-Ghitrif's name and the date of his governorship wrongly.

GHYATH AL-DIN BALBAN. [See BALBAN, in Suppl.]

GHUBAYRA, a site of an early Islamic city in Kirmân Province in Iran. It is situated some 70 km. south of Kirmân, the provincial capital, in the Bard Sir Valley, at the confluence of the Carî and Ghubayra rivers. At the time of the Arab conquest the provincial capital was at Sirjân, some 200 km. to the south. The main caravan route from Sirjân to Bagh runs considerably to the south of Kirmân city. Ibn Khuradadhbi, 49, describes the stations on this route, and Ghubayra is mentioned as the fifth from Sirjân towards Bagh. According to Iṣṭaḵrî, the stations between Sirjân and Bagh were as follows: Shâmart, Ghâr, or Bahâr, Khannâb, Ghubayra, Kûghân, Rayîn, Sarvistân and Darânî, modern Darzîn (ed. Iran) Afghar, Tehran 1933, 141 f. and map facing p. 129. A detailed account of the town is given by Mukaddasî, 462-3, who writes that “it is a small town surrounded by villages, with a fortress in its midst, while outside was the market recently built by Ibn Ilâyâ. Both this place and Kûghân have fine mosques and the water comes from kânts”. During the 8th/th century Ghubayra belonged to the Muzaffarid realm. The town was looted and destroyed by Timur's army in 795/1393. It appears that Ghubayra as a town ceased to exist at that time, although archaeological evidence indicates that there was a small settlement on the site in Safavid times.

The ruins of Ghubayra were first reported in modern times in J.R. Caldwell's excavation report of Tal-i Ilîs (Caldwell, Chase and Fehervari, in Investigations at Tal-i Ilîs, ed. J.R. Caldwell, Springfield, Ill. 1967, chs. vi, viii). Subsequently,

GÎRL [see kû.]

GŁOBÉ, TÉRRESTRIAL [see KûRRAṬ AL-HÂRJI].

GŁÔSS [see KûSHYVA].

GÔAT [see MA’Z].

GÔD [see ALLAH].

GÖRGAN [see GURGAN].

GOURARA (Gûrârâ), oasis group of the central Sahara, in Algerian territory, contained within the southern fringe of the Great Western Erg to the north (the border on this side may be located at the furthest centres of permanent settlement), the north-west flank of the plateau of Tadmait to the south-east, and Oued Saoura to the west (the border on this side being the last centre of Berber-speakers, Bahamoum, as opposed to the exclusively Arabic-speaking population of the Saoura). To the south, on the Touat side, the border was traditionally imprecise, the oases alllying themselves to Timimoun (Gourara) or to Adrar (Touat) by means of off agreements. The French administration created an artificial border here, definitely fixed in 1944. Physical geography. Between the plateau of the reg of Meguiden to the east (altitude 325 m.), a mound of clays and red sandstones of Continental Interca lary, and the Villefranchian hamada (silicified limestone) of Ouled Aissa to the west (350 m.), the heart of Gourara is constituted by a depression, the base of which is occupied by plains of salinated clay (sékba), unsuitable for any crop other than palm-trees, of which the biggest is the sékba of Timimoun, a huge channel 60 km. in length and varying in width between 2 and 15 km., lying on a north-north-east to south-south-west axis at the foot of the Meguiden, the base of which dips to an altitude of 192 m. At its extremities, the sékba adjoins sectors of more abundant vegetation, bearing the name “oued”, which seems to be synonymous with “pasturage”. The sékba corresponds to an ancient water-course flowing towards the south, founded on the hamadian surface along a pre-tertiary rib, but the erosions of the quaternary periods of humidty have eaten more deeply than pre-tertiary erosion. No importance need be attached to the remarks of Ibn Khaldûn (Histoire des Berbères, tr. de Slane, 2nd ed., Paris 1925, i, 196), who did not know the region personally, on a river “flowing from west to east”. No doubt this arises from a confusion with the Saoura. Between the sékba and the plateau of Ouled Aissa, there stretches a complex morphological zone, where the substratum of carboniferous sandstone and limestone, modified by intense pluvial plêts giving rise to appalachian relief (the mound of Timimoun, east-west), partially fossilised by deposits of Continental Interca lary and Tertiary formed into projecting hillocks, is invaded by various dunary formations, branches of erg and lesser forms.

Human geography. In severe climatic conditions (15 mm. annual rainfall), there has persisted a sedentary population, descendants of an ancient stock of judaised Zenatas, which remains for the most part Berber-speaking. In 1952, out of a total of 25,000 habitants, the Gourara consisted of 61% Berber-speakers and 39% Arabic-speakers. The Arab elements, of Hilâlian origin (Meharza and Khenafa) arrived in the 6th/12th century, and it is this period which saw the first appearance of the Arabic-speaking kour, present only in the north in the Tinerkouk and in the south in the Deldoul and the Aouguerouet, although the recent settlement of Châneba nomads has joined an important Arab nucleus to the old Berber centre of Timimoun. This settlement process is actively continuing at the present day, and the sedentary population, which has grown steadily over the past three decades in spite of a considerable level of emigration towards the Tell, must currently be approaching the figure of 40,000, with a proportion of Arabic-speakers certainly superior to that of 1952. In addition, the dark-skinned Haratîn (see HÀRTÁN), either Berber-speaking or Arabic-speaking according to the language of their masters, in 1952 constituted nearly a half (46%) of the population (compared with estimates of 29% “Zenata” and 25% “Arabs”).

This population lives today in concentrated groups in villages (kour), of which the largest is Timimoun (5,000 habitants), often dominated by a kasâba containing the individual granaries where the people’s crops are preserved (in other cases, granaries are attached to private houses). It seems that the habitat was formerly more dispersed, as is indicated by the existence of numerous small ruins, in a period of domination by nomadic tribes, the fixing of large sedentary fixed of large sedentary groups of Zenata or Arab tribes on whom the sedentary population was strictly-speaking dependent. The progressive concentration of the habitat would testify simultaneously to a trend towards sedentary living and to a renewal of instability in the 19th century. The economic basis is provided by palm-trees (about 400,000), of which the surplus production (5 to 6,000 tonnes of dates) partially compensates for the inadequacy of cereal production (300 tonnes of wheat and barley), and permits the purchase of wool used in the weaving of dokkali, dyed materials manufactured by the women (350 looms) and partially marketed abroad. Small-holding is the rule, and indirect exploitation is common. Palms and gardens are irrigated largely by subterranean drainage channels (foggara) in the sékba of the east, sometimes combined with hoisting machinery to raise the water of the channel when the level is too low for irrigation purposes, and with wells whose water is raised by balanced arms in the northern region at the fringe of the Erg. Bibliography: K. Suter, Timimoun. Zur Anthropographie einer Oase der Algherischen Sahara, in Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft Wien, xciv (1952), 31-54; R. Capot-Rey, Le Sahara français, Paris 1953, passim; J. Bisson, Le Gourara, étude de géographie humaine, Algiers 1956 (Université d’Alger, Institut de Recherches Sahariennes, Mémoire no. 3), 222 pp. (basic; contains all the preceding bibliography and refers to the sources), to be supplemented by H. Schiffer (ed.), De Sahara et sa Randgebiete, Munich 1971-3, passim. (XÀVIER DE PLANHÔL)

GÖVSA, İBRAHİM ‘ALİ AL-DİN, modern Turkish İBRAHİM ALEET'TİN GÖVSA, Turkish author, biographer and poet (1889-1949), was born in Istanbul, the son of Mustâfa ‘Aşım, a civil servant, from a Turkish family of Filibe (Plovdiv in present-day Bulgaria). Educated at the Vefa lycée, Istanbul, and in Trabzon, where his father was chief secretary (mekâtûd) of the province, he studied in Istanbul University (1907-10), subsequently taught in Trabzon lycée and in 1913 went to Switzerland with a government scholarship, where he studied psychology and pedagogics at the University of Geneva and at the
Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute. On his return (1916), he taught at the Istanbul Teachers' Training College (Dér al-mu'allimin), where later he also became Director. Appointed in 1926 as a member of the Advisory Board (T'd'dm we terbiye da'isii) of the Ministry of Education in Republican Turkey, he was later elected in 1946, with a brief interval in 1935 when he was an inspector for the Ministry of Education. He died in Ankara on 29 October 1949.

Govsa started his career as a poet, published his first poems in the traditional 'ird metre in the Thetre-i funun (1908), but later switched to syl- labic metre (ho'je wezni) following the new literary trend in Yelî mejmü'a (1917 onwards). One of the pioneers of children's verse (Çocuk şairleri, 1910), Govsa continued to write poetry until 1940 on lyric and epic (Canakkale izleri, 1926) topics, using alternately both metres. Though not outstanding as a poet, he occasionally reaches a level above the average when he is inspired by an unusual event (e.g. his famous elegy for Atatürk, Tavş, 1938). He also wrote humorous verse and prose and successful pastiches (e.g. Nazif'fcn Hamide altırret mektuplar, 1932). But Govsa is particularly known as a biographer and ency- clopaedist. A meticulous and responsible collector of materials from written and oral sources, he contributed greatly to contemporary biographical literature in Turkey. Apart from his great share in the planning and preparation of the Turkish Encyclopaedia (İnönü Ansiklopedisi, later Türk Ansiklopedisi) from 1941 onwards, of which he was also Secretary-General (1943-5), Govsa is the author of the following major works in this field: Meşhur adamlar ("Famous men"); 4 vols., 1935-8; Kâşifler ve mucitler ("Explorers and inventors"), 1939; Türk meşhurlar ansiklopedisi ("Encyclopedia of famous Turks"), n.d. (1946); and Resmiy yeri lâgi ve ansiklo- pedi ("New illustrated encyclopaedic dictionary"), 1947-9 (up to the letter L).


GUMİLĐİNE, the Ottoman Turkish form of the Greek Komotini, Komotini, a town of over 30,000 inhabitants in Western Thrace, the modern Greek province of Rhodope, which from the sixties of the 14th century until 1912 was without interruption a part of the Ottoman Empire. The name Komotino is the academic version of

Sultân, Srinagar 1974; G.M.D. Sufi, Kaşgir Lahore 1948-9. (MOHIRLU HAN) GUMĂL, Gomăl, a river of the Indus valley system and the North-West Frontier region of the Indo- Pakistan subcontinent. It rises in eastern Afganistân some 40 miles/62 km. east of the Āb-ī Istāda lake. Flowing eastwards it is joined from the south by the Kundar and Zhob rivers, and forms the southern boundary of the South Waziristan tribal agency of the former North-West Frontier Province of British India (now Pakistan). Below the settlement of Murtâdā, it leaves the mountains and enters the lower-lying lands of the Dēra Īsmā'īl Khân district [see DERRAGAT], and is diverted into many irrigation channels; from this point also it is known as the Lānī River. The bed of the river is often largely dry in rainless periods, and only in times of flooding do its waters actu- ally reach the Indus itself.

Where the river emerges from the northern end of the Sulaymân Mountains into the lower terrain we have the Gomāl Pass, a defile some four miles long and one of the routes from Afganistân to the Indus valley; although much used by nomadic Ghāţays [q.v.] and other Pathan tribes bringing merchandise down to the plains, its comparative isolation and wilderness have not made it such a historic route for the pas- sage of armies as the routes further north of the Kurrām [q.v.] valley and the Khyber Pass [see KhYBRAR], although in the spring of 910/1505 Bâbur used part of the track along the swollen Gomāl River when travelling from Bānū to Ghazna (Bâburnāma, tr. Beveridge, 235-6).

During the 19th century, Sarwâr Khân, chief of Tank in Bânû, dammed the Gomāl River just below where it emerges to the plains (see H.B. Edwardeis, A year on the Pathan frontier in 1844-9, London 1851, i, 414-15). Towards the end of the century, Sir Robert Sandeman, the pacifier of Bālūčistân, planned to open up the Gomāl Pass for general access and thus gain an alternative route to the one from Multān to the Zhob valley of north-eastern Bālūčistân, occu- pied in 1889. In that same year, as part of the "Forward Policy", the Viceroy of India Lord Lans- downe authorised subsidies for the Wazârls and other tribesmen. Tribal milâds and qiyâns were summoned to a durbar at Apozai in Zhob, and military posts established in the Gomāl valley in order to command the route and in the hope of exerting some influence in Waziristan. The system worked for some time, but in the long run hopes of making the Gomāl Pass gen- erally accessible have proved vain for both the Government of India and its successor Pakistan.

Koumoutsinas, which was already used by Cantacuzenos in the mid-14th century. The Destān of Umār Pasha (ed. Melkoff, 101, 124) appears to be the first Turkish source to use the form “Gümüldjine” when relating Umār Aydinoğlu’s actions in Thrace in and after 745/1344.

Komotene emerged as a small urban centre (polisima) after the Bulgarian invasion of Czar Kaloyan in 1207, during which the old city of Mosynopolis was thoroughly destroyed. The remaining inhabitants of Mosynopolis fled within the walls of an uninhabited but rather well-preserved stronghold, Komotene. This new town is mentioned in connection with the actions of the Emperor Andronicus III against the Turkish pirates and during the Byzantine civil war of the 14th century, which were catastrophic for the lowland population of Thrace.

The old Ottoman chroniclers (‘Ashikpashazade, Negri, Obru, Anonymus Giese, Idrīs-Destān IV) unanimously place the conquest of Komotene by the Ottoman army in or around 762/1361, after the capture of Xanthi and Karaman to Murad I, congratulating him on the conquest of Filibe, Zagora and Gümüldjine, and also the annexation of Thrace (after Xanthi or Iskece). According to the Ottoman inscriptions, still preserved, record these actions. Ewliya numbers “4,000 prosperous, stone-built houses”, 16 mahalles and 5 Friday mosques, 15 zawiyas, five medrese, seven mektebs, 17 dāms and 400 shops. A number of his figures can still be checked and are correct, others look suspiciously high (viz. the figure for the houses). This source especially sings the praises of the pious foundations of Ewrenos and Ahmed Pasha. His description of the latter’s mosque is very accurate, and in no way exaggerated.

In the 18th century, epidemics of plague ravaged the Thracian lowlands and led to the disappearance of whole villages. (A lonely minaret in the fields 4 miles/7 km. of Komotene pathetically marks the site of the village of Eski Gümüldjine.) In the 19th century, the town witnessed again a considerable revival. In Komotene he erected a small mosque for the travellers (sc. an imaret). Shortly afterwards, in the first decade of the 17th century, Komotene shared the attention of the defterdar of Ahmed I, Ekmekджizade Ahmed Pasha, who dotted most of Thrace with buildings for the promotion of Islamic culture. In Komotene he erected a small mosque, a double hammâm, a doned and lead-covered mekteb, a medrese and an imaret. The mosque is the only Ottoman structure on Greek territory which is panelled with a number of multi-coloured tile panels dating from the best period of the Iznik kilns (988-98/1580-90).

Most of the information on Ottoman Komotene is contained in vol. viii of the Seyhāt-nāme of Ewliya Čelebi, who visited the town in 1078/1667-8. By then, the place had apparently enjoyed a great expansion. Ewliya numbers “4,000 prosperous, stone-built houses”, 16 mahalles and 5 Friday mosques, 15 zawiyas, two imarets, two hammâms, five medrese, seven mektebs, 17 dâms and 400 shops. A number of his figures can still be checked and are correct, others look suspiciously high (viz. the figure for the houses). This source especially sings the praises of the pious foundations of Ewrenos and Ahmed Pasha. His description of the latter’s mosque is very accurate, and in no way exaggerated.

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Since the reorganisation of the provincial administration of the empire in the sixties of the 19th century, Komotene was the chef-lieu of a sandjak in the wilayet of Edine. In the eighties of the last century, the town is reported to have contained 13,560 inhabitants, ten Friday mosques, 15 meşids, two Greek and one Armenian churches, one synagogue, four medreses, two schools for higher education, ten mektebs and various schools for the education of the non-Muslim part of the population. The
During the First Balkan War (1912), Komotene suffered a Bulgarian occupation. In the few months between Balkan War II and World War I, Komotene suffered a Bulgarian occupation. In the few months between the political turmoil of the Balkan Wars and World War I, the area was a magnet for different groups, including Serbs, Turks, and Greeks. The town was ceded to Greece, which promised to respect the ethnic-religious composition of its population (around 1900, 149,230 Turks (including a group of 20,000 Bulgarian-speaking Muslims, the Pomaks); 58,357 Greeks; and 35,122 Bulgarians).

Under Greek administration, the Muslim element dwindled down to 112,665 in 1961, but the Greek element had mounted to 243,889 for all of Western Thrace. The Bulgarians disappeared during and after the two world wars.

Today Komotene is a mixed Muslim Turkish-Greek Orthodox town, roughly fifty-fifty between both groups. In 1961 the total number of inhabitants was 28,355. The town is the largest urban centre of Western Thrace. It is the seat of the wilayet of Edirne of 1310/1892 has substantially the same numbers, but adds details on the ethnic-religious composition of the town’s population, vary in various publications. Compare Adil Özgüç, Batı Trakya Türkleri, Istanbul 1974, and K.G. Andreadis, The Moslem minority in Western Thrace, Salonica 1956, where the Turkish and the Greek views are set forth. For the minutes of the Lausanne Conference, see for example Locanz Barj konferansis (tutukla, belgelere), in Siyasal Bil. Fak. neşr. Ankara 1969.

For the monuments of Ottoman architecture and epigraphy, see for the time being M. Kiel, Observation on the history of Northern Greece during the Turkish rule, in Balkan Studies, xxx/2 (Salonica 1971), 415-62, and also in Abdurrahim Dede, Rumeli’de biraklanlar, 53-74; A more comprehensive account is forthcoming by Kiel, The Ottoman Balkans, a survey of monuments of Turkish architecture in Albania, Bulgaria and Greece.

For the Republic of Gumiilde, with illustrations of its flag, stamps and coins, see Adil Özgüç, ott. ide., (M. KIEL).

GÜRAN, SHAHSH ABU ‘L-FATH B. SHAHSH MUHAMMAD, official and commander in 10th/16th century Muslim India. An Indian-born Muslim (shaykhzâda), he took service under Ibrahim Lodi (923-32/1525-26) and was posted at Koyl (q.v.) (modern ‘Aligarh). After the battle of Pandpât (q.v.) (932/1526), Bûbur sent Mullâ Apâk to Koyl for enlisting troops. Shahshh Güran came over with two to three thousand men. He subsequently occupied Sambhal on behalf of his new master, and shortly afterwards seized Gâwalîr from Tatár Kân. In the Battle of Kânwa (933/1527) he was one of the commanders of the right wing, and after the battle, he was sent to Koyl to expel the rebel Ilyâs Kân. In Muharram 934/ October 1527, at the invitation of Shahshh Güran, Bûbur paid a visit to his house at Plahna (12 miles south of Koyl) and was entertained there hospitably. He participated in the siege of Chandî (934/1528). In 936/1536–7 he was appointed Kûndân al-asrâf and castellan of Gâwalîr, a post which he held till Bûbur’s death (937/1530).

During the reign of Humâyûn, he was appointed governor of Mâlwa, and held this post till his death in 943/1536-7. He died in Mandore and his dead body was brought from Mandore to Koyl, where he lies buried in an identified grave.

Shahshh Güran is said to have been an accomplished musician. He was usually referred to as Hindustani Aykâr.

Bibliography: Bûbur-nâmâ, tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1922, index; Risk Allâh Mughârâ, Wâkrit-ı Muhtârî, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 11635 and Or. 1929 (see on this, Storey, i, 512-13); Râjdî Muhammad Kohî, Akhbar al-dîjamal, MS. Habib Ganj Collection, No. 22/30, ’Aligarh Muslim University.

[M. ATHAR ALI]

GÜRÂRA [see GOURARA, in Suppl.]

GÜRÇÂNI, a Balûc tribe of modern Pakistan, living partly in the Indus valley plains of the Dera Ghazi Khân District of the Punjab [see on this, Deraj], and partly in the Mârî and Drâgal hills of the Sulaymân Mountains range and the upland plateaux of Shâm and Paylîwâgh, extending as far west as the modern Loralai District of northeastern Balûcistan.
The tribe is of mixed origin, some sections being Dokans of mingled Baluch-Sindhi Rajput extraction, whilst others are pure-blooded Baluch of the Rind and Langar groups; the chief's family belongs to one of the Dokan sections.

In the early 19th century, the Gurcanis had a reputation for turbulence and bellicosity, so that Edwardes could call them "troublesome" and "a vain and capricious race, ever ready to take offence and never to be relied on". After 1819 the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh extended Sikh power across the Indus and by 1827 had overrun all the Dera Ghazi Khan district, this last being from 1832 to 1844 under the governorship (khan). Diwan Sawai Mal of Multan. He experienced much trouble from the Gurcanis, and was compelled to build a fort in their country at Harand. This fort was in fact successfully defended for the Sikh cause by Mulhammad Cand against Lt. (afterwards Sir) H.B. Edwardes during the Second Sikh War of 1848-9, although the Gurcanis, who controlled the surrounding countryside, joined the Baluchis and Pathans of the British forces against their old opponents the Sikhs. Subsequently, in British India, the eastern part of the Gurcani country came within the tribal area of Dera Ghazi Khan administered from the Pindah, and the western part within the tribal agency areas of Baluchistan and the khanate of Kalat (see Kalat); a complaint of the Gurcanis in the later part of the 19th century was that these administrative divisions weakened the unity of the tribe and exposed them to depredations of their enemies in the adjacent territory of Kalat, the Bugtis and the Marris (see T.H. Thornton, Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, his life and work on our Indian frontier, a memoir, London 1895, 337-8).

Bibliography: H.B. Edwards, A year on the Punjab frontier in 1848-9, London 1851, i, 6-7, 275 ff., 294-5, 305-6; M. Longworth Dames, The Baluch race, a historical and ethnological sketch, London 1904, 49, 58, 64-6, 84; Imperial gazetteer of India, xi, 251.

(C.E. Bosworth)

GWAÎR, a town and district on the Makran coast, formerly a dependency of the sultanate of Umân and since 1378/1958 a territorial possession of Pakistan. The district of Gwárâd extends for 40 miles along the shoreline of Gwárâd West Bay, from Cape Pishkan to Gwárâd Head, and some 14 miles inland. The town stands on a sandy isthmus, about a mile wide, at the foot of a seaward, hammer-head promontory rising to 400 feet. Its inhabitants, numbering perhaps 5,000, are mostly Makrân tribesmen of the Bulayday Maliki and Gikhii groups, along with small groups of Baluchis, Arabs, Khôijdas and descendants of African slaves. They live mainly by fishing.

Until the mid-12th/18th century Gwárd, like the rest of Makrán, was in the hands of tribes who seldom recognised any paramount authority. Thereafter Makrán fell under the sway of Mîr Nasîr Khán of Kalát (regn. 1168-1299/1750 to 1794-5), the head of the Brahui confederation of the Baluchis, who in turn acknowledged the Durrânî Shâh of Afghanistan as his suzerain (see Kalat). Nasîr Khán gave Gwárâd to Sayyid Sulùn b. Ahmad of Maskât in 1198/1784 when the latter sought refuge at his court after being driven from Umân. Whether the grant was in perpetuity is unclear; for while the Arabic sâf Sa'id apparently continued to pay tribute for Gwárâd to successive khans of Kalát, in the form of occasional gifts of slaves, until ca. 1274/1857-8, in 1277/1860-1 the ruling khán suggested that the government of India might purchase Gwárâd from Umân and make it over to him.

The completion in 1279/1862-3 of the first section of the Indo-European telegraph from Karachi to Gwárâd coincided with the assertion of Persian claims to Makrán, including Gwárâd, and led the government of India to depute Colonel F.J. Goldsmid to investigate the nature of the Umâní title to Gwárâd. He reported the right of possession to be prescriptive and indefeasible and the Persian claim to be groundless. The frontier of Persia with Kalát was subsequently (1288/1871) fixed as starting at Gwatar Bay, some 50 miles west of Gwárâd town.

The incorporation of Gwárâd into Kalát, which was under British protection, was suggested by the viceroy, Lord Curzon, in 1320/1902, both to prevent the smuggling of arms through the port to Persia and Afghanistan, and to preclude any possible French or Russian designs upon it. The suggestion was not acted upon lest it contravene the Anglo-French declaration of 1278-9/1862 on the integrity of the Umâní dominions. Gwárâd remained an Umâní possession until it was ceded to Pakistan in 1378/1958, reputedly for the sum of 3 million sterling.


(J.B. Kelly)

GYROMANCY [see râmî].

H

HABBA KHÂTÚN, Kashmiri singer and poetess. Called Zûn ("moon") before her marriage, she is a semi-legendary figure in the Valley of Kâshmîr. Daughter of a peasant of the village of Candahâr, near Pampûr, 8 miles to the south-east of Srinagar, she was unhappy with her husband who ill-treated her, so she left him. Birbal Kârûrî in his Wâlikât-i Kâshmîr, which he wrote in the middle of the 19th century, says that she was a good singer and possessed of a melodious voice, she captivated the heart of Yusuf Shâh Câk (986-94/1578-86), who married her. But this account appears to be apocryphal, for it is not supported by any earlier authority. Neither the historian Haydar Malik nor the author of the Bahâ-
prominent queens of the mediaeval period. This, however, does not mean that she did not exist, as some writers have begun to say in recent years. In the first place, there is a strong tradition, which is impossible to ignore, in Kashmir that Habba Khatun lived in the second half of the 10th/16th century; and in the second, there is a large body of her songs and poems in Kashmiri which are attributed to her and to no one else. What seems more probable is that she was a mistress of Yusuf Shāh (Ta'rikh-i Hasan, ii, 296), and Birbal waved round her all kinds of romantic stories. After Yusuf Shāh surrendered to Akbar's general, Rādja Mān Singh, at the end of Safar 994/middle of February 1586, and he left Kāmrī with Rādja Mān Singh, never to return, Habba Khatūn retired to the village of Pāṇḍačūk, about 5 miles to the southeast of Srinagar. She continued to live quietly in a cottage close to the mosque, both of which she had built, and died at the age of about 55 years.

Habba Khatūn appears to have been a cultured woman interested in music and the education of girls, for whom she opened madrasas. She was a poetess and introduced bēls or love lyrics in Kāmrī poetry. The songs which she composed are even to this day sung by the common people of Kāmrī; and it was she who is said to have introduced the melody known as nāst Kāmrī.


HABSIYYA

HABSIYYA, a poem dealing with the theme of imprisonment. The term occurs in the Persian tradition for the first time about the middle of the 6th/12th century in Niẓāmī 'Arūdī's Dāvār makāla (ed. Kazwīnī-Mu'īn, Tehran 1955-7, mast 72). It is applied there to poems that were written by Mas'ūd Sa'd-i Shāhnām (q.v.) more than half-century earlier and which were still greatly admired as the sincere expression of the poet's sufferings. Although several Persian poets have composed poetry of this nature, the habsiyya of Mas'ūd have remained both exceptional and exemplary. Not only was he the first to write them, but the theme itself was a characteristic of his work. It is developed by Mas'ūd to an extent that has not been equalled by any imitator of later times.

There is a very close link between the prison-poetry of Mas'ūd and the story of his life. Twice in the course of his career he became involved in the political downfall of his patrons at the provincial court of the Ghaznavids at Lahore. Consequently, he had to spend almost two decades, 480/1087-8 to 500/1106-7, banished to a number of remote fortresses (see C.E. Bosworth, The later Ghaznavids, splendid and decay. The dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1018-1186, Edinburgh 1977, 16, 67-8, 72, 74, 88). The habsiyya are, therefore, first of all topical poems, by means of which the poet tried to evoke the element of the Sultān's of Ghazna, either directly or through the intermediary of influential friends.

Poems of various forms could serve this purpose. The nature of the panegyric kastīlī offered the possibility to take the theme as the subject of the prologue (cf. e.g. Dīwān, 19, 335 f., 356 f., 515). More often, however, a section especially devoted to an account of the poet's condition (hash-i hāl) was added to the panegyric address of the patron (Dīwān, 58 f., 93 f., 107 f., 312 ff., 439 f., 498 f., 526 f.). In one instance, the two variants are combined (Dīwān, 427 ff.). There are also several non-panegyric kastīdas among the habsiyya of Mas'ūd (e.g. Dīwān, 63 f., 67 ff., 106, 329 f., 331 f., 351 f., 354 ff., 486 ff., 493, 503 f., 552 f.). Sometimes the characteristic habbiyya motifs only occur incidentally in poems dealing mainly with other themes. Other forms besides the kastīda lent themselves for the use of a prison-poem.

The contents of the poems vary from complaints of the prisoner's misery in more or less general terms, hardly to be distinguished from the wider category of poetical complaints about any grievance whatsoever, to the specific portrayal of his life in the dungeon. In spite of the close relation between these latter poems and the reality to which they refer, there is a certain amount of conventionalisation to be noticed in the representation of the poet's condition. Recurrent motifs are the description of the physical and mental state of the prisoner, of the dungeon, the chains and the jailer, and the poet's longing for freedom, or at least to see some bright object, such as the stars through the narrow window of his cell, and of the suffering on account of his long separation from relatives and friends. Mostly, the heavenly powers, instead of the Sultān, are blamed for the misfortune that has befallen the poet. But Mas'ūd sometimes admits that the real cause is to be sought in the fact that he, being only a poet, has aspired to political and military office (cf. especially Dīwān, 153 f., a kastīda addressed to a certain Muḥammad-i Khatūnī who had met with a similar fate).

The habbiyya elements are in these poems often connected with passages in which the poet speaks about his profession. These statements usually contain the conventional boast about the artistic abilities of the author, undoubtedly intended as an argument in favour of his release. But there are also utterances that are more specifically related to the habbiyya theme: writing poetry is the sole comfort left to the prisoner; the poet resents the favours bestowed in his absence on worthless flatterers; and he becomes disgusted with the poetry of the court and pronounces his intention to abandon it altogether after he will be released (e.g. Dīwān, 109, 516, 526). Religious elements are only rarely mingled with these ruminations.

The models for prison-poetry set by Mas'ūd-i Shāhnām have continuously influenced other poets who for one reason or another have had to undergo a period of confinement. Two poets of Shirwān, Fākār and Khākānī (q.v.), who both flourished in the middle and later part of the 6th/12th century, are among the earliest imitators of Mas'ūd's habbiyya. Khākānī's most celebrated prison-poems are the two odes in which he addressed Christian princes, although in these poems the display of the poet's exceptional knowledge of Christian terms and concepts overshadows the habbiyya-elements (cf. V. Minorsky, in BSOAS, xi [1945], 550-78). With Khākānī, the motif of imprisonment is often only a metaphor. He likes to refer to Shirwān as his "place of imprisonment" (habsgīh) where he has to stay against his will like a "captive" (gahārdand). This is particularly evident in a kastīda written on the occasion of Sultān Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz, which scattered the poet's hopes of a career in........
HABSIYYA — AL-HADI ILA 'L-HAKK

Khurāsān (cf. Diwan, 155 ff.; see also 45, 282 and Tuhfat al-clrdkayn, ed. by Yahya, 334 ff.), whose chief promoters were hunted down and banished in 1925. His experiences and his reflections inspired him to write an important work, al-'Ummāl al-tāniyyān wa-ṣaḥīh al-arḍāk al-nādākbiyya (Tunis 1927; 2nd ed. Tunis 1966), in which he gave an historical characterisation of trade unionism in Tunisia and of the Qidmi'at umm al-adhām al-tunisiyyun wa-al-dir'at bi'l-adhām al-tunisiyyun (Tunis 1925), in which he endeavoured to prove that his own liberal ideas were not in contradiction to the teachings of Islam, which had been the first to give dignity to the Arab woman, but should now develop progressively further. In this work, he inveighs against polygamy, the wearing of veils (assimilated to muzzles), the marriage of Tunisian males with foreigners, divorce, which is a calamity, and finally, the ignorance in which women are kept. The first remedy for the ills of society is thus the education of girls and consequently, the setting-up of schools in which they can receive an education complete in every sphere, so that once they reach adult years, they will be on the way to organising more rationally the life of their family and to sharing in national activities just like the menfolk. Inevitably, there were criticisms. The main one directed at him was that of Muhammad al-Salih b. Murād, in his al-Hidā' 'ala 'musrat al-Haddad wa rallat al-klhadat wa'l-huwiya wa'l-kujr wa'l-bida' allati hawdhd Kitāb 'Imrā'atun Nakd (Tunis 1931), see also ‘Umar b. Ibrahim al-Barri al-Madani, Suyf al-hakīk ‘ala man mā xāra al-hakīk, Tunis 1931.

Al-Ṭāhir al-Haddad, who died at Tunis on 7 December 1935, left also behind a certain amount of poetry in which he expressed some of his social ideas. Finally, in 1975 a collection of his reflections was published in Tunis under the title of al-Masuqīn.


(J.T.P. de Brujin)

AL-HADDĀD, AL-ṬĀHIR, nationalist and reformist Tunisian writer, considered as the pioneer of the movement for feminine liberation in his country.

Born in Tunis ca. 1889 into a family of modest status originally from the Hāmān of Ulūm, he studied at the Zaytūna (q.v.) from 1911 to 1920 and gained the ṭatārī (corresponding to the diploma for completing secondary education). He then took part in the trade union movement and was put in charge of propaganda in an organisation founded in 1924, the Qidmi'at umm al-adhām al-tunisiyya, among the poets who composed [q.v.], have also been written in Urdu (cf. Annemarie Schimmel, The Islamic literatures of India, Wiesbaden 1973, 11).

As far as modern Persian poetry in Iran is concerned, the best examples of prison-poetry are to be found in the works of Muhammad-Takfī Bahār [q.v.], who was imprisoned for political reasons on three occasions. Most of his ḥabsīyya came into being during the last two periods, which occurred respectively in 1929 and 1933-4. It is evident that Bahār was inspired directly by the mediaeval ḥabsīyya, although he introduced many contemporary elements, such as a complaint about the traffic noise outside his Tehran prison. Like Ṣa'dī-Dīn al-Salmān, he used various forms of poetry. His most interesting work of this kind is a majnūna entitled Kāmurīn al-ṣādān (Diwan-i aṣgār, ii, 2-126) in which the theme of the ḥabsīyya is combined with a wide range of other subjects. The poem has been designed to provide a narrative about a meeting with the poet Sanā'ī [q.v.].

Modern Persian prose has also become a vehicle for the expression of the experiences of political prisoners. Outstanding examples of this new branch of the ḥabsīyya are Ayām-i mubāhas by 'Ali Dāghī and Warākpadā-yi zindān by Buzurg 'Alawī.

by his family, including his fathers and uncles, as the most suitable candidate for the Yazdî imâmât. Between 270/884 and 275/889 he visited with his family Amîn in Tabaristan, then under the rule of the Zaydl Alîd Muhammad b. Zayd, evidently in order to seek the support of the adherents of the doctrine of his grandfather al-Kâsim b. Ibrâhîm [q.e.] there. His activity soon aroused the suspicions of Muhammad b. Zayd and he was forced to leave precipitately. He also seems to have visited Baghdad briefly. In 280/893-4 he came to northern Yaman for the first time, invited by tribes in the region of Sa'da who were hoping that he might put an end to their feuds. He led a campaign as far south as al-Shârafâ near San'â', but meeting much disobedience among his followers, decided to return to al-Fâra', a day's trip southwest of al-Madînâ. Three years later, he was again urgently invited and on 6 Safâr 284/15 March 897 entered Sa'da which became his capital and permanent base of opera-tion. Shortly after his arrival, he issued his formal call (da'îwan) for support as the imâm and assumed the title amir al-mu'mînîn with the caliphal name al-Hâdî ila 'l-Hâkî.

After consolidating his control over the area of Sa'da, he extended his rule over Nadîrân in Djiinâdâ II 284/July 897, where he concluded a special treaty with the large community of Djiinîs. In the following year he conquered the towns of Khyâyân and A'dhâfîn south of Sa'da. His efforts to gain possession of San'â' were only temporarily successful. The town was voluntarily turned over to him by its ruler, Abu 'l-'A'tâhîya of the Alî Tarîf, who had already previously supported him, and he occupied it for the first time on 22 Muharram 288/19 January 901 and then pushed his conquests south as far as Dhamâr and Djâyshân. The opposition of the Alî Yûfîr and the Alî Tarîf, who had been entrenched in these regions, was strong, and he quickly lost them again and definitely relinquished San'â' in Djiinâdâ II 289/May 902 in a state of severe illness. A year later, a new campaign to take the town ended in failure and the capture of his son Muhammad by the enemy. In Djiinâdâ II 293/April 906 he again entered San'â', invited by a coalition of Yamanî chiefs opposed to the Karmat'î leader Alî b. Al-Fadlî. After a quarrel with Alî's Abd Yûfîr, he left voluntarily in Muharram 294/November 906, and the Karmat'îs took possession of the town. Only during a campaign of Alî as well as to Tihâmâ, capitam of al-Hâdî once more occupied San'â' from 19 Rajab—12 Shawwâl 297/7 April—23 June 910. Also abortive was a campaign of al-Hâdî to Tihâmâ, probably early in 293/august 905. Even his rule in northern Yaman was shaken by numerous tribal rebellions, especially in Nadîrân, where the Banu 'l-Hârîth revolted on every occasion. In 296/908 they succeeded in killing his governor, and al-Hâdî, already plagued by illness, was apparently unable to restore his rule over the province. His most loyal supporters were, besides members of his family and various other 'Alîs, a small troop of "Tabarîs", i.e. Yazdî volunteers from Daylamân and Kâlâr who arrived in two groups in 285/898 and 289/902. He died on 19 Dhul Hija 298/18 August 911. His tomb in the mosque of Sa'da became a place of pilgrimage for the Yazdîs.

Al-Hâdî's doctrine in ǧihd, laid down chiefly in his unfinished K. al-Abîkâm and the K. al-Muntakhâb collected by his follower Muhammad b. Sulaymân al-Kûfî, became authoritative among the Yazdîs in Yaman as well as part of the contending Yazdî community. It was based on the doctrine of his grandfather Alî b. Kâsim b. Ibrâhîm, though in some points al-Hâdî adopted more strictly ǧihd views, and was further elaborated, in Yaman, by al-Hâdî's sons Muhammad al-Murtaḍâd (d. 310/922) and Alîm al-Nâṣîr (d. 322/934), and, in the Caspian community, by the imâm Muhammad b. Mu'ayyad b. Bilâh (d. 411/1020) and Abu 'l-Tâhîb al-Nâ'îd (d. 424/1033). In his theological works, al-Hâdî generally espoused the doctrine of the Mu'tazî school of Baghdad rather than that of his grandfather. It is unlikely, however, that he ever was a student of Abu 'l-Kâsim al-Balkhî, the contemporary head of this school, as some late sources state. Concerning the imâmât, he took a radically ǧihd position, sharply condemning Abu Bakr and 'Umar as usurpers.

HADJDI AL-DABIR — HADRAMAWT

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(P. JACKSON)

HADJDI IBRAHIM KHAN KALANTAR

Persian statesman, was the third son of Hadjdji Hāgūm, the headman, or kākhkūd-dāšt, of the Haydarīkhāna quarters of Shirāz in the reign of Nādīr Shāh. His ancestors were said to have converted to Islam from Judaism. One of them emigrated from Kāzwīn to Iṣfāhān and is said to have married into the family of Hādji Qawām al-Dīn Shirāzī. Hādji Māhmūd ‘Alī, Hādji Ibrāhīm’s grandfather, was a wealthy merchant of Shirāz. After the death of Mīrzā Muhammad, the kalāntar of Shirāz in 1200/1786, Dja’far Khān Zand made Hādji Ibrāhīm kalāntar of Shirāz, which office he continued to hold under Dja’far Khān’s successor, Luṭf ‘Alī Khān. He appears to have enjoyed a position of considerable influence in the city and among the tribal leaders and governors of the surrounding districts. Although his relations with Luṭf ‘Alī Khān were disturbed by mutual suspicion already in 1204/1789-90, when Luṭf ‘Alī set out to attack Iṣfāhān in 1205/1790-1 he left Hādji Ibrāhīm in charge of affairs in Shirāz. The latter signed the city during Luṭf ‘Alī’s absence. Disorders meanwhile broke out in Luṭf ‘Alī’s camp. He escaped and fled to Shirāz, thinking that the city was still in his hands. After Hādji Ibrāhīm had refused him access, he retired to the south. Hādji Ibrāhīm sent an army after him, but this was defeated in Tangistān. Meanwhile, Hādji Ibrāhīm entered into negotiations with Aḵā Muḥammād Khān Kāḏgar and was appointed beglarbokh or governor of Fārs. Zand resistance, however, continued and was not finally overcome until 1208/1794 [see KADJAR].

In 1209/1794 Aḵā Muḥammād Khān made Hādji Ibrāhīm sād-i ʿazam, in succession to Mīrzā Shāfi, Māzandārānī, with the title Ptimad al-Dawla, which office he held for seven years, first under Aḵā Muḥammād Khān and then under Fāth ‘Alī Shāh. He appears to have been a competent administrator and virtually to have presided over every department of state. His brothers and sons also held governments. His power, however, aroused jealousy. His enemies persuaded Fāth ‘Alī Shāh that he was plotting to overthrow him, and on 1 Dhu ’l-Hijja 1215/15 April 1801 he was arrested in Tehran. Those of his relatives who held provincial governments were also seized. He was blinded and exiled to Kāzwīn, where he died, and his estates were confiscated. Only two of his sons, twins, ‘Alī Riḍā and ‘Alī Akbar Kāẕm al-Mulk (b. 1203/1788-9, survived.


HĀDJI AL-DABIR

i.v. — See Vol. iii.

vi. — In MOROCCO.

This office, which existed already in the Almohad organisation, though with a very modest role, appears again under the Marinids (J. TEMPORAL, translator of Leo Africanus, calls the hādji “chief of the menials”, and A. EPAULARD, another translator, makes him “a chamberlain”, head of the “court attendants”) and was still alive under the Saʾids.

Under the Alawīs, the hādji was for long the most important official of the Sharifian palace. He was specifically designated as the intermediary between the sovereign and the high officials on the Makhzan [g.e.], and it was through him that they were given their orders and commissioned for missions. He kept the seal or stamp for fixing to all official documents emanating from the ruler, and he had under his command all the internal professional groups (ḫinta, pl. hāndāt) of the palace servants, e.g. tapestry-weavers, cooks, etc. In the protocol list, the chief minister came after him, and he himself had the place immediately behind the ruler, whom he followed like a shadow. The office seemed so necessary that the pretender al-Hūfa [g.e. in Suppl.], almost immediately when he was proclaimed sultan in the Sūs in 1912, nominated someone as his hādji. The Hādji Ahmad b. Mūsā known as Bā Ḥnaḏm [g.e. above] was remembered as a great man in Morocco at the end of the 19th century.

However, since the recovery of independence in 1956, the hādji has lost his importance, and many of his responsibilities have passed into the hands of the Director of Protocol appointed by the Ministry of the Royal Palaces.


(G. DEVERDUN)
our knowledge of relations between Sabaean and Hadramawt. These were sometimes peaceful, as in the case when a Sabaean mission was sent to Shabwa to take part in the festival of the Hadramite national deity (Ft tarīgh al-Taman, 184). At other times relations were hostile, and the most striking text of this kind (no. 15) shows that while the main Sabaean and Hadramite armies were engaged in battle in the Wādī Bayḥān, a small Sabaean flying column, aimed at "rescuing" the queen of Hadramawt who was sister to the Sabaean king, managed to capture the royal palace in Shabwa and hold out there for 15 days until relieved by the arrival of the main Sabaean army after it had decisively defeated the Hadramite force; the king of Hadramawt was sent back as a prisoner to Ma‘rib. Subsequently, the Sabaean forces raided the port of Cane and destroyed a number of ships there—evidence that the later fame of the Hadramiūm as seafarers goes back to early times.

In 1974-6 Garbini has plausibly argued that the view (up to then almost universally accepted) of the nature of the South Arabian pantheon is devoid of serious evidence in favour of it, and exposed to vital evidence contradicting it. Hence the reference in the earlier entry to "the astral triad of moon, sun and Venus-star", and the identification of the Hadramite national deity as a moon god, must be treated now as out-of-date. Garbini’s re-evaluation of the Sabaean evidence contradicting it. Hence the reference in the later fame of the Hadramiūm as seafarers goes back to early times.

Significant new facts are now available about the foundation of a Hadramite settlement on the coast east of Salāla; this Firenne identifies as the classical Mūsākhā. This opportunity may also be taken of saying that the spelling of the name of the sand-desert between Ma‘rib and Shabwa as Sab‘atayn (a spelling that the spelling of the name of the sand-desert moscha."

In Islamic tradition, the name is derived either from the personal name Ḥadramāwī b. Ḥimyar, or from ḥādir mayṣūṣ, or some such expression.

The name is applied to the wadāl, the area and the kabīla of South Arabia. The wādī runs roughly west-east along the 16° line about 48° 15’ to 49° 15’, at which point it becomes the Wādī al-Maṣlla, as it turns south-east and then due south to flow into the sea between Ḥayṭānū and Sayhūṭ on the Indian Ocean coast.

The area of Ḥadramāwī begins in the west at a line drawn between Shabwa in the north to the sea at Mayṣūṣ on the Wādī Ḥadqr and extends south of Wādī Ḥadramāt as far as Wādī al-Maṣlla in the east. The main towns of the area, which covers the territories of the pre-independence Ku‘ayyīr and Kuṭbīrī sultanesates and now falls within the fourth and fifth governorates of the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen, are, in the north and along the Wādī, Shabwa, Ḥurayda, Shībūm, Sayḥūṭ, Tarīm, Ibnāt [as below] and Kabr Ḥidīr. The chief southern coastal towns are al-Mukkālī, al-Shīhr (though see below, on history) and Ghayl Bā Wazīr. Ḥadramāt is thus bounded by the sea in the south, Mahra country, the sixth governorate, in the east, the desert, the Empty Quarter, in the north and the western half of the fourth governorate in the west.

The tribal group named Ḥadramāt is supposed to inhabit the east and central areas of the Wādī itself, Shībūm being described as the beginning of its territory. Its members are descended through Saba’ī al-Asghar from Ḥimyar. 1. History.

It is difficult to build up a comprehensive picture of the early and mediæval history of Ḥadramāt. This is due to the relative inaccessibility and lack of exploitation of local Hadramiūm chronicles, still with few exceptions in manuscript, and to the extremely cursory treatment of the area in the Yemeni histories, in which Ḥadramāt appears only as a distant province of the Yemen.

First contacts with Islam were made directly with the Prophet, rather than through the Yemen, however, and there was correspondence between him and the local Kinda leaders of Ḥadramāt, resulting in the visit of al-Asghar b. Kays (or perhaps Wā’il b. Ḥadqr) to Medina. There he was well received by the Prophet, who accorded to his request and appointed Ziyād b. Labīb al-Asghar as ruler of Ḥadramāt. The latter remained there until after the Prophet’s death. There can be no doubt that the conversion of the Hadramiūm to Islam was not carried out as simply and as speedily as the Muslim sources insist, and the role of Ziyād and his successors in the area must have been more one of religious propagandist than of political leader. Indeed, Ḥadramāt, like the Yemen with its appallingly difficult problems of communication, must have entered the Islamic fold very gradually over an extended period of time.

The Prophet, the Orthodox, Umayyad and ‘Abbāsid caliphs until the 3rd/9th century, all appointed governors to Ṣan‘a’, al-Dīnār and Ḥadramāt. It is clear that the governor of the first always reported directly to the seat of Islamic government and that occasionally the latter two did also. For the most part, however, the governor of Ḥadramāt was merely a junior assistant of the governor of Ṣan‘a’, and thus Ḥadramāt became a province (mālikī) of the Yemen. It should be mentioned at this juncture that al-Shīhr, perhaps because of the independence of strong local rulers, during the early and mediæval periods invariably figures as a separate political entity, not part of Ḥadramāt at all and always mentioned alongside it. Probably due to the steady exodus of many prominent Hadramiūm from their native land to other parts of the empire during the Orthodox caliphate, the area sank into relative obscurity in the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsid eras.

The year 130/747 saw the introduction into Ḥadramāt of Ibāḍī doctrines by Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtarī b. Ḥafṣī. The idea of Ḥadramāt as early as 66/685, when a party of
Nagid'iyya, the followers of Naqâda b. 'Amir al-Hanaft, arrived. It is possible therefore that the area was still receptive to Isâdi ideas in the 2nd/8th century. Al-Muhârîr b. 'Awf was a native of Baxān and met 'Abd Allâh b. Yahyâ during the pilgrimage of 128/745. He was persuaded to return to Hadramawt with 'Abd Allâh al-Manṣûr, the latter's two years later. To what extent the Isâdiyya managed to control Hadramawt is not at all clear, though al-Mas'âdî, writing of the position in 332/943, states that they were predominant in the area and that there was no difference between them and the Isâdis of Umâm. Certainly, the final blow to the movement in Hadramawt did not come until the intervention from the Yemen of the Sulayhidids. staunchly Shi'i and maintaining close ties with Fatimid Egypt, in the mid-9th/11th century.

It is evident that the Isâdiyya did not exercise political control over the entire area of Hadramawt, however. The Banû Ziyâd, originally 'Abbasid representatives in the Yemen in the early 3rd/9th century, operating from their headquarters in Zubdî, conquered Tibhâma and ruled independently. They then for some unknown reason became involved in Hadramawt also. The founder of the dynasty himself, Muhammad b. Ziyâd, had been appointed governor of the Yemen by the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun. It was his son, Yâsîn b. Ziyâd, who established his Ziyâdi rule in Hadramawt, which was to continue after his death in 245/859 until the fall of the Ziyadids in 407/1016.

In fact, Hadramawt fell into Sulayhid hands after their capture of Aden in 454/1062. The Ayyubids, Lâhîj, Abyan, al-Shîhâr and Hadramawt were all at the time in the hands of the Banû Ma'n, the little-known descendants of Ma'n b. Zâ'ida [q.v.], who were at first left to administer the territories on behalf of their conquerors. In 473/1080, however, after the Ma'nids' refusal to pay the agreed khârij to the Sulayhids, the latter installed their Shi'i protégés, the Banû Zuray', to run the affairs of the area, including Hadramawt, on their behalf. Thus the situation remained until after the entry of the Ayyûbidins into the Yemen in 569/1171.

It is difficult at this stage to work out the exact chronology of events in Hadramawt. Certainly, with Sulayhid control of Hadramawt through their clients, the Zuray'idis, lost, three powerful local dynasties appeared on the scene. Centred on Tarîm, the Banû Kâbîn took over much of the area, while the remainder fell to the Banû 'Ib-Dâ'arî in Shîbân and the Al Ikbâl on the coast in al-Shîhâr. The greater part of Hadramawt was taken by 'Uthmân al-Zandîjî, the Ayyûbidin nâ'îb, in 576/1180 after the departure for the north of the first Ayyûbidin ruler, Turân-Shâh b. Ayyûb, however, though pockets of local rule continued into the 10th/16th century, for the Ayyûbidins were never in a position to pay much attention to Hadramawt, a fact due to the local situation on the Ayyûbidin administration in the Yemen proper were too great to allow the luxury of firm control there. Other local dynasties followed: the Al Yamânî, for example, from 621/1224 in Tarîm, surviving into the 10th/16th century.

The Ayyûbidin's efforts in pacifying almost the whole of the Yemen proper and in putting an end to all local dynasties, with the exception of the Zaydîs north of Shan'âl, ensured for their successors, the Rasûlidids, a peaceful and stable country. The brilliant Rasûlid administration, which had assumed power through bloodless change, was not only able to consolidate the efforts of their erstwhile masters, the Ayyûbidins, but was also able to think of eastwards expansion and the recapture of Hadramawt, in any case a province of the Yemen. There was, therefore, considerable Rasûlid activity along the south coast, even during the reign of the first sultan, al-Mâlik al-Manṣûr 'Umar who died in 647/1249. During that of his son and successor, al-Mu'azzafar Yusuf, who died in 694/1295, Rasûlid power was first exemplified as far along the coast as the port of Zaflûr, which under the Rasûlidids marked the eastern limit of their control.

Possibly the only, and certainly the greatest challenge to Rasûlid authority in Hadramawt was that of the Habûdîs. Though originally from Habûd in Hadramawt, the dynasty was founded in Zaflûr by Muhammad b. Ahmâd (d. 620/1223). The family continued on the coast through Ahmâd b. Muḥâmmad (d. 628/1230) and Idrîs b. Ahmâd (d. 670/1271). The latter's son, Sâlim b. Idrîs, seized the opportunity to take Hadramawt in 673/1274. Despite the cries of help to the Rasûlidids from the local population in Hadramawt, it took the plundering by the Habûdîs of a Rasûlid ship off Zaflûr and the Habûdîs' urging the Rasûlid vassals of al-Shîhâr to cast off their allegiance to their masters to bring the latter with all speed eastwards from their Yemeni capital, Ta'izz. Zaflûr was recaptured and Hadramawt recovered. The Habûdî house was once more established.

It was the Tâhirîs who succeeded in the mid-9th/15th century to most of the territories held by the Rasûlidids, particularly those in the south and east, though they were never strong in the Yemen north of Ta'izz. Although much less is known of this dynasty than of the Rasûlidids, their predecessors, it is possible to assert that Hadramawt for a time came under their control. By the latter half of the 9th/15th century, however, the Kathîrîs, a tribal group originating from Zaflûr, had taken over some of the interior of the country. They also controlled al-Shîhâr which they had at first held for the Tâhirîs. Possibly as early as the beginning of the 10th/16th century, a new political force was introduced into the area, for with the Kathîrîs quarrelling among themselves, one fiction brought into Hadramawt to assist it a group of Ya'fîs, a large tribal unit inhabiting the area to the north-east of Aden. Ya'fî influence lingered on after this dispute, particularly in the seaports of al-Mukâllâ and al-Shîhâr. From now on down to the 20th century, the political history of Hadramawt is nothing more than the chronicle of disputes between the Kathîrîs and at least two Ya'fî tribal factions, though of course from the early 10th/16th century both the infidel Portuguese and the Turks had shown an interest in the seaports along the South Arabian coast and had at times attacked and even occupied them.

In the 20th century, under the British Protectorate Hadramawt was divided between the Kathîrî sultanate, with its capital in Sayûn and the Ku'ayfî sultanate, originally a Ya'fî tribal group, centered on al-Mukâllâ. Both sultanates were thus part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate until the independence of the whole of South Arabia in 1967.

2. Social organisation.

In general terms Hadramî society can be divided into four classes: the sayîdîn, the mashîyîkh, the kâblî (tribesmen) and the masâkîn or da'lî ("poor"). It is interesting to note that the pre-Islamic South Arabian inscriptions refer to an aristocratic group of musawwads, a word used to this day in Hadramawt to denote the sayîdîn. The latter are the descendants of the Prophet, while the mashîyîkh are
those noble families with the right to the hereditary title of sayyid, a word denoting class distinction, not a tribal chief. The sayyids reached Hadramawt in the early 6th/12th century, where they found many scholars, particularly in Tarfm and mainly of the mashayikh class. Petty jealousies and quarrels between the sayyids and mashayikh have continued from the time of the arrival of the former in Hadramawt, though these have never prevented the transmission of knowledge and learning between the two social strata. By the close of the 6th/12th century only the ‘Alawi group of sayyids remained to give their name to them—the ‘Alawi sayyids.

In an area of constant warfare and hostilities, the institution of the neutral territory was essential. Thus in Hadramawt the hawta [g.v.] came into being at an early date. A saint in his own life-time would demarcate the area of the hawta and arrange for the agreement of the tribes and, if necessary, the authorities in the area, that a particular hawta should remain inviolate and under the control of a manṣub. Before the arrival of the sayyids in Hadramawt, the hawtas were in the hands of the mashayikh. It was only then that the sayyid hawtas were gradually established, leading to the general decline of the mashayikh ones.

3. Geography.

Hadramawt is a hot and, with the exclusion of the coastal strip, dry land. The coastal plain is naturally extremely humid, as well as hot. Again if one excludes the coastal areas, it is mountainous too, and this, together with the extremely low rainfall throughout the area, means that very little of the total can be made over to agriculture, the chief industry. Dates have traditionally formed the main crop, though in more recent times cotton has been an important commodity also. Local grain crops include maize and oats. Tobacco is also found in places. Agriculture is watered either by the perennial flow of water in the wadis (ḥayṭ) or by wells.

4. The people.

The inhabitants of Ḥadramawt are Shafi‘i Sunnis. As is not surprising in such a poor area, they have always been prepared to travel abroad in search of earning their livelihood. Many travelled to the East Indies, in particular to Java, and their financial gains remitted home have always been the mainstay of the local economy.


(G.R. Smith)

(T.M. Johnstone)

ḤĀFĪZ TANĪSH ṢĪR MUḤAMMAD AL-BUKHĀRĪ, with the poetical name Nakhla, historian of 'Abd Allāh Kān [q.v.], the Shāybanīd ruler of Bukhārā. His father was close to Ḫubāy' Allāh Kān (940/1560), which must place the date of his birth much earlier—probably, or the capture of Samarkand (986/1578). Ḥasan Nīṭhārī mentions in his historical work that he began to write it, being 36 years old, when 'Abd Allāh Kān established his rule over Transoxania and made Bukhārā his capital. It was believed for a long time (including by the present author) that he means the official accession to the throne of 'Abd Allāh Kān, which took place in 991/1583, and therefore the date of his birth was supposed to be 956/1549 (36 years before the date of the beginning of his work, cf. below). However, Ḥāfīz Tanīsh mentions also that he wrote a kasida on the accession to the throne of Iskandar Kān, the father of 'Abd Allāh Kān (968/1560), which must place the date of his birth much earlier—probably, in the 1530s or even 1520s. In that case, Ḥāfīz Tanīsh may have meant by the establishment of the rule of 'Abd Allāh Kān over Transoxania the capture of Bukhārā by his brother Kull Khan (under whom 'Abd Allāh Kān was the actual ruler), or the capture of Samarkand (986/1578). Hasan Nīṭhārī in his anthology Muḥādkkār al-ahbāb, written in 974/1566-7 (see Storey, 802, no. 1102), mentions a poet Nakhli among those poets who had not yet reached an advanced age and lived in Bukhārā (MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, B-4020, ff. 126-7); this person may very probably be Ḥāfīz Tanīsh.

He began to write probably his Persian history of 'Abd Allāh Kān in the 1570s or 1560s; it was known already in 993/1585, when his contemporary Ṣīr Sayyid Muḥammad praised it in his Aḥākār al-azkīyā (see B. Ajmievod and K. Munirov, Ḥāfīz Tanīsh Būkhārī [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1963, 55). After 'Abd Allāh Kān had been proclaimed the supreme khan of all the Uzbeks (991/1583), Ḥāfīz Tanīsh was introduced to his court by the historian's patron, an influential amir Kutb-Bābā Kōkāštā, and became an official historiographer, usually also accompanying the khan in his numerous military campaigns. In 992/1584 he began to re-write his history according to a new plan, and gave it the title Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī (a chronogram = the date 992); both in Central Asian historiography and in modern scholarly literature it became known also as the 'Abd Allāh-nāma. According to the initial plan of this second version, as laid down in author's preface, it was to be divided into a mukaddima (the genealogy of 'Abd Allāh Kān and a short history of the Djuḍis and the Shāybanīd predecessors); two makālas (1) from 'Abd Allāh Kān's birth in 940/1533 to his accession and (2) from his accession onwards; and a kḥātima (on the outstanding qualities of the khan, the famous people of his reign, his buildings, etc.). The first makāla was apparently finished not earlier than 995/1586-7 (mentioned as the current date in the text) and before 998/1589-90 (mentioned as the current date in the preface to the second makāla, found only in one of the existing manuscripts). He carried his work up to 997/1588-9 (the date of the last event which he mentioned, the conquest of Harāt by the Uzbeks), but then the plan of the work was changed, and Ḥāfīz Tanīsh included the whole material in the first makāla. The kḥātima, absent in all existing manuscripts, was most probably not written at all. It is not known when the author finished the work in its existing form.

The Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī is based mainly on personal observations of the author, reports of other eyewitnesses and official documents. In his mukaddima, Ḥāfīz Tanīsh used various literary sources, which he partially noted as well as oral tradition. The work is written in ornate prose, with extensive use of sadja and numerous verses (their total number is 4,760); both by Tanīsh himself and other poets. The main deficiency of the work, besides its pompous style, is the frequent absence of precise dates. Nevertheless, it is one of the major works of Central Asian historiography and the most important historical source for the Shāybanīd period.

The further career of Ḥāfīz Tanīsh is not clear. Nothing is known about his life in the last several years of the reign of 'Abd Allāh Kān, nor during the short reign of his son 'Abd al-Mu'min. Some sources mention a poet with the same poetical name of Nakhli at the court of the Shīrāzī Shāhīn Ismā'īl Kūl Kān (1020/1611-42) (see Tadhkira-yi Tābir-i Naṣrābādī, Tehran 1316-17/1937-8, 435; Tadhkira-yi Mukām Kūl Kān by Muḥammad Yusuf Munšī, Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, 83, 90); according to Naṣrābādī, after the death of Ismā'īl Kūl Kān (1054/1645-4) this Nakhli went to Balkh, where he died. Two preserved manuscripts of the divān of Nakhli are preserved in Taškent and Dūghanbe; one of the kasidas in this divān is dated 1045/1635-6. If this Nakhli is identical with Ḥāfīz Tanīsh, it must mean that the latter was still active at an age of about 100 or more. Even more doubts are thrown upon this identification by the fact that none of the poems belonging to Ḥāfīz Tanīsh and cited in the Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī is included in the divān of Nakhli. Some scholars, nevertheless, accept the identification without reservations.

Bibliography: biographical information about Ḥāfīz Tanīsh is discussed especially in the following works: B. Ajmievod, in his preface to the first volume of the Uzbek translation of the Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī (see below) and in his work, together with K. Munirov, cited above; V.P. Yudin, in Materiali po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV-XVII vekov, Alma-Ata 1969, 237-40; M.A. Salakhettindinova, in VII godininya naučnogo sessiya LO IVAN (krafty svobodennya), Moscow 1971, 111-3, and in VIII godininya naučnogo sessiya LO IVAN, Moscow 1972, 48-52; N.D. Mil’khukho-Mayklay, Opisanie periyodskih i tadzhikskih rukopisi Instituta Vostochnovedenii, vplusk 3, Moscow 1975, 295-6; The text of the Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī remains unpublished. Concerning the manuscripts and publications of short extracts, as well as Russian translations of extracts, see Storey-Bregel, 1130-3, no. 990; The publication of a full Uzbek translation begun in 1966 is still not finished: only two volumes (out of four) were published in 1966-9 (see Storey-Bregel, 1132).

(H. Y. Bregel)

Hayography [see MANĀKEH]

ḤĀIFA [see ḤAYFĀ]

ḤĀFĪZ TANĪSH (A.), pl. Ḥāfīz, also Ḥayfā (synonym, nasaj), weaver. Given the supreme importance of textiles in mediaeval Islamic life and economy [see e.g. WARK and ISHW], the class of weavers was probably the most numerous and certainly one of the most important groups of artisans. The weavers of Damascus, Bagdad, Egypt, the Yemen, and a host of other towns throughout the Islamic
world wove fabrics ranging from the coarse and workaday types to the finest and most delicate (cf. R.B. Serjeant, Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest, Beirut 1972, passim). Especially high-skilled workers were to be found in the irdz [q.v.] factories producing for the court and for the state during the Umayyads, ‘Abbāsid and Fātimid periods, and these were probably somewhat better-paid than the mass of textile workers. The overwhelming majority of these last worked in their own homes for dealers or middlemen or in small workshops situated in the markets of cloth merchants. On the whole, the weavers were, as in the ancient and classical societies of the Near East, an exploited and ill-paid class, working in vile conditions, and this fact no doubt contributed to their image in mediaeval Islamic times as a turbulent and socially-volatile group, easily swayed by heterodox religious and political doctrines; one recalls the similar image of weavers in mediaeval France, Flanders and England, when in the first two regions at least, tisserand was at times almost synonymous with “heretic”. Certainly, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the Coptic weavers of the Nile delta in Egypt earned only half-a-dinar per day, “insufficient for the bread of their mouths”, as they complained to the Patriarch Dionysios of Tell-Mahre (see Mez, Renaissance, 433-4, Eng. tr. 461).

The materials used included cotton, wool, linen and silk. Some jurists recommended that a weaver should not weave silken cloth, which is forbidden for men’s wear. The legality of whether a cloth should be woven in silk mixed with other material forms the subject of juristic discussion. If the warp of the fabric (ṣād) is inūn and its weft (ḥāla) is ḫun or ḥazz (flax silk), it was permissible (cf. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Nakd al-tdlib, Chester Beatty Ms. 3317, fol. 50). Weaving was carried on by men as well as women, but spinning was done by womenfolk only.

In mediaeval Islamic times, opinion was in general condemnatory of the manners and habits of the weavers. Typical anti-ḥāʾik opinions are as follows: “The most silly persons are the weavers”; “When a weaver is asleep, he is worthless and harmful; when he is awake, his companionship brings disgrace”; “The intelligence of a woman is equal to that of seventy weavers”; and the like. According to a legend, told by many Arab and Syriac writers, Jesus’ mother Mary (Maryam) once lost her way in search of her son and asked a tailor (khayd), who showed her the right path. Thereupon Mary cursed the weaver but blessed the tailor. This is why the weaver is alleged to be damned for ever. This legend served as the basis for prejudice against weavers. Arab sentiment about the weavers is further epitomised in Džahir’s words, “The weavers in every age and in every country possess in equal measure foibles such as short temper, stupidity, ignorance and iniquity.”

In Islamic tradition literature (ḥadīth), the trade of the Ḥāʾik is often linked with other noisome and unpleasant callings, sc. those of the coppersmith (see ṭaṣṣāb in Suppl.), the tanner (see ʿabbrad in Suppl.) and the sweeper. This condemnation was noted by Goldziher, who pointed out that the reputed Roman times was despised, and that in the early Islamic period, many of the weavers, both male and female, were slaves (Die Handwerke bei den Arabern, in Globus, lxvi [1894], 205 = Gesammelte Schriften, iii, Hildesheim 1969, 318). R. Brunsvich subjected the low status of the weaver to a detailed examination in his Metters viss in Islam, in SI, xvi (1962), 50 ff. He demonstrated that this could not be from the unpleasant and polluting nature of the trade, as with tanning and sweeping, but must rather have arisen on religious grounds, from the many traditions in circulation attributing to the weaver, in addition to other prominent dignitaries of early Islam, condemning weavers as the offspring of Satan (cf. also the story of Mary and the Ḥāʾik, above). However, the gradual spiritualisation of Islamic society by the ‘Abbāsid period, the notion of the equality of all believers, and the evident high economic value of the textile trade, did eventually contribute to an amelioration of attitudes towards weavers.

Thus Islamic society adopted paradoxical attitudes towards the weaver and his craft. The weaver is despised, but weaving (ḥijāka) as a handicraft is praised. Ibn Kūtyaḥa, Ṣaʿalib, and Bayhaḵi include Ḥijāka in a list of the crafts of the nobility (ṣināʿāt al-adnfrif), and Ibn Tāmyiya, Ibn Ṭūlūn and other scholars upheld the theory that weaving is one of the obligatory duties of the collective body of the Muslims (jadr khifaya [see Fard]). Ghazāli and al-Lubūdī said that weaving is a highly beneficial and indispensable craft. “Weaving and tailoring are two essential crafts in the ordinances of Islam”, which, in the days of the Prophet, were bountifully rewarded to the weavers because of their merit for content”, argued Ibn Ḥalīfān also. In spite of these pronouncements on the importance of weaving, public invectives against the weavers persisted in traditional Islamic societies.

The legal status of weavers and other despised professions was weak, and there was discussion over their ‘adḥa, their probity and their admissibility as bearers of legal testimony (ghālida) in courts of law [see ʿadilla]. The attitudes of the law schools varied somewhat. The Ḥanafīs were inclined to admit the ‘adḥa of the despised trades, if their practitioners displayed religious and moral qualities; the Mālikūs were the most rigorous, only admitting it where necessity had compelled adoption of the trade in question; the Shāfīi’s and Ḥanbalīs took up intermediate positions. The Imāmī Shīʿi attitude was more liberal than the Sunnī one on matters like ʿadilla and on the doctrine of kafʿa [q.v.], comparability of status in marriage. Social restraints notwithstanding, early Islamic societies produced learned men among some sects of weavers, e.g. Abū Ḥamzah Māḏajma b. Samʿān al-Ḥāʾik, an Islamic traditionist, and Ibn al-Ḥāʾik, the author of Kitāb Dżazairat al-ʿArab.

After the imposition of the British mandatory rule in Iraq was partially transferred to Iran, whose then strongest man, the Sardar Sipah (later Rijāl Shāh), was in fact to curtail it; there was created in Iran a strong religious base which would by its nature weaken the young Persian Communist movement; and finally (perhaps the most important of all), clerical leadership came in part to the hands of Hā'iri, who unlike his Nadjaf colleagues, would not intervene in politics. Hā'iri only once was drawn into these: in 1924 the Sardar Sipah attempted a republican form of government which gave rise to a popular uprising and involved the clergy, including the banished ‘ulamā’ then residing in Kum. On this subject, meetings were held by the ‘ulamā’ of the exodus and chaired by Hā'iri in Kum (F.O. 4167/4, 26 March 1924, no. 126) and finally, to terminate the confusion, Hā'iri and other ‘ulamā’ were urged to declare that they requested the Sardar Sipah to disperse with republicanism. In other cases, however, Hā'iri rejected politics; he did not fully identify his position with that of the ‘ulamā’ of the exodus.

He is said to have composed 42 books, several of them in Persian. Many of his writings were brought to the Yaman, where they gained high esteem among the Zaydi scholars, who frequently referred to the author merely as al-Hākim. His extant Kurʾan commentary al-Taḥdhib, in nine volumes, supports Muʿtazili doctrine more consistently than al-Zamakhshari's al-muṣḥaf and contains numerous quotations from earlier, lost Muʿtazili commentaries. It was later twice abridged. His continuation of 'Abd al-Djabbar's Taḥdhib al-Muʿtazila, contained in his Shah al-ʿaynn, has been edited by Fuʾād Sayyid, Fadl al-ʿīlās wa-tābābī al-Muʿtazila, Tunis 1393/1974, 365-93. His K. Qulṭi al-abābār, a collection of wide-ranging lectures and narrations, was quoted by Ibn Isfandiyar for its reports on the Caspian 'Alids (see Taʾrikh-i Tabaristan, ed. 'Abbas Ibtāb, Tehran 1320/1942, i. 101).


Hāl (pl. ahaḍā; hāl is normally fem, but often in Asʿārī texts is taken as masc.; the form hala is occasionally found in both Muʿtazī and Asʿārī sources), a technical term of philosophy employed by some of the Baṣran muṭakallīmūn of the 4th/10th century and the 5th/11th one to signify certain “attributes” that are predicated of beings. The term was taken over from the grammarians first by Abu Ḥāmid al-Djubbaʾī [qa.], and subsequently used in two basic ways, one by Abu Ḥāşim and his followers in the Baṣran Muʿtazila and the other by al-Bikilānī and al-Djuywaynī [qa.], in the Asʿārī school. The treatment of the hāl within the contexts of the two school traditions differs to such an extent that one must recognise two distinct concepts. The discussion of the ahaḍā by later Asʿārī writers (e.g. al-Shahrastānī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī), though they tend to focus primarily on the prescriptive nature of their own predecessors in the Asʿārī tradition, does not keep the two conceptions clearly distinct, and certain modern studies based chiefly on these sources have tended to misconstrue the problem, particularly in regard to the Muʿtazī tradition.

A. The Muʿtazila. For Abu Ḥāşim and the Baṣran Muʿtazila following him, the expression hāl designates the “attribute” (ṣifā) as the latter is conceived to be an ontologically real and distinguishable portion of the being or an essential entity (ṣayḥ, naqṣ, dāfʿ). In the works of the classical Muʿtazila, accordingly, the hāl is most commonly designated by the term ṣifā (ṣifā, as defined below). In order to understand the concept it is necessary to clarify the verbal and conceptual context of its formulation and of its occur-

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rence within the texts. Most importantly, there occurred in the development of the Baṣra kalām from the 3rd/9th century until the 5th/11th an accretion of new formal meanings for the terms sīfa, wasf, and hadūm (some of them peculiar to the Muʿtazila or to the Ashʿarīs, and others shared by the two schools of thought that must be distinguished if the ontology of the ahwāl, as treated in the texts, is to be understood.

So far as concerns the discussion of the nature of things, the teaching of the Baṣra kalām was from the outset explicitly cast in terms of an analysis of the predicates that are said of them: of the predicates (the Arabic nouns and adjectives: al-asmāʾ wa l-ʿasāf) that are predicated of beings and those particularly that are said of God in the Qurʾān. The word sīfa, in its first and probably original sense in the theology of the Baṣrans, is taken over and adapted from its use by the grammarians with the meaning “a descriptive term”. In this sense, then (sīfa), it refers to any general or descriptive predicate term and so combines the grammarians’ categories of noun and adjective (verbs being paraphrased into adjectives) (see e.g. Aḥbāb al-Ḍabbār, al-Majmūʿ, v, 198). Ṣīfa is thus virtually synonymous with wasf; the expression (kasīfa) employed in describing (wašafā) some entity is implicitly asserted to be, in which the particular word is predicated of a subject noun which is taken to denote some concrete entity (shayʾ). In another sense (sīfa, the predicate expression (sīfa) may be considered from the standpoint of its meaning (al-maʾnāʾ, what is meant as opposed to the word or material utterance: al-ʿibāda, al-ʿiqlq) and so as signified by any of several expressions (wasfīf, asmāʾ) that are considered to be synonymous in their strict sense (ḥabba) as they are said of a particular entity (e.g. “al-khāl = al-kawāl = al-wajh”, as said of God). A proposition affirming a particular sīfa, as true of something may be thus formulated, employing any one of a number of sīfāt = (wasfīf, asmāʾ) (see e.g. Aḥbāb al-Ḍabbār, al-Majmūʿ al-muhit bi l-taklīf, 172). Within the Baṣran tradition of the kalām, then, the question, whether to affirm a given predicate as true of an entity (wašafābuh hū) is, or is not to assert (al-duḥa) the reality of an “attribute” belonging to it and that of the ontological status of such an attribute; if any is held to be asserted by the sīfa, then the questions in terms of their various responses to which the major schools may be distinguished, and on the basis of which their conceptions of the ahwāl are divided.

For Aḥbāb al-Ḍabbār, an entity (shayʾ) or essence (naṣr, ṣaff) is an object of knowing (maʿlūm) that strictly speaking exists (waqīʾa) or does not exist (ṣūmā) and which, as an object of knowing, may be directly referred to (al-duḥa) and may be made the subject of a predication (al-duḥa waḥāka) (see e.g. Aḥbāb al-Ṣafar, Muḥsam al-Idāmāyyīn, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 519). It is not, however, said of something else. Ṣīfāt, are employed in describe entities, i.e. to express what is known about them. According to the mature teaching of al-Ḍabbār and of the Baṣran Muʿtazila after him, Ṣīfāt are those expressions that name the “essence” or essential entity as such or that describe it as it is in some particular way distinguished from entities essentially similar to it. Generic terms, i.e. those which designate broader classes of beings, embracing several kinds of essential entities, they do not consider to be Ṣīfāt, in the strict sense but rather as quasi-ṣūmā (terms whose use to name or describe something is in part arbitrary). As predicate expressions or terms (thus excluding the use of an expression to name an entity and to refer to it as the subject of the proposition), the Ṣīfāt, are not, as such, directly referential. They are, however, understood to have implicit reference when said of a particular being. That is to say, when predicated of a particular being, most Ṣīfāt, implicitly assert the entitative reality either of the being denoted by the subject term or of another being, and accordingly the various predicate expressions are systematically paraphrased in order to make explicit what ontological assertion (iḥbab) is implicit in each particular affirmation. Thus for example, to say “Zayd strikes” is to assert that there exists an act of striking (darb) that has occurred on his part (darb = waṣafābuh darb); or to say “Zayd knows” is to assert that there exists an act of knowing that belongs to him (“ālim = laḥū ālim”). In these instances, the entities whose reality is asserted in the affirmation of the propositions are termed the “cause” (išā, pl. istil or maʾnā, pl. maʾānī) of the proposition or judgement (hadūm) that the thing is so, and the predicate term comes, therefore, to be called ṣīfat maʾnān (i.e. a term whose affirmation of the subject implies the reality of a maʾnā; maʾnān originally meant the “sense” of the predicate or judgement: hadūm the “sense” or “meaning” being the identity of the Basran kalām, as the reality of that entity the presence of which, in a given relationship to the subject, is asserted by the particular predicate. By the time of al-Ḍubbāʾī, the two words ṣīla and maʾnā are employed as synonyms, being used interchangeably in most contexts, and within a century the semantic origin of this sense of maʾnā seems to have been forgotten). As conceived by the Baṣra mutakallīmin, the maʾānī, are not, however, attributes. They are, rather, entities in the strict sense: beings that are themselves distinct objects and that as such are not predicable of something else. In al-Ḍubbāʾī’s analysis, then, since God is absolutely one and undivided, when one says “God knows” (Allākā ālim) there is no assertion of the reality of any entity other than God’s self (naṣr-suhā) and accordingly the predicate term is, in this instance, called an “essential predicate” (ṣīfat, nafṣ): a predicate expression whose affirmation of the subject implicitly refers to and asserts the reality only of the self or essence of the entity denoted by the subject term). All terms that name or describe the self or essence of a thing as such are, when used predicatively, Ṣīfāt nafṣ. Thus al-Ḍubbāʾī nowhere speaks of attributes, if we understand “attribute” in its usual sense (as, e.g. a property, characteristic, or quality of a thing, as when we speak of a figure’s “being triangular” or “triangularity” as a property belonging to it); he has no term for such a concept and uses no formal expression that would imply the reality of such a thing.

The concept of the attribute as an ontologically real perfection, property, or state of the being of an entity was introduced into the Baṣran kalām by Abū Ḥāǧīm. Though most often referred to in the Muʿtazilī texts by the term sīfa, the attribute, thus conceived, is also referred to by the word ḥāl (state). This latter term Abū Ḥāǧīm apparently took from the grammarians of the Baṣra school (the Kiṣāṣ employ a different expression reflecting their own grammatical analysis), and it is likely that he formed the philosophical concept partially in terms of a reflection on the significance of ḥāl expressions as these are understood and analysed by them. When explicitly discussing Abū Ḥāǧīm’s conception of the attribute (ṣīfā, ḥāl) for the purpose of refuting it,
the Ag̲h'arī texts (e.g. al-Bakillānī and al-Shahrastānī) most often speak of it as hāl, probably to avoid the ambivalence of the word sifa, though in other contexts where the doctrine of Abū Ḥāşim and his followers is discussed, one often finds sifa in the Ag̲h'arī texts and occasionally also waqf, the latter representing more properly Ag̲h'arī usage.

The attribute (sifa, hāl) is not an essential entity (qayr, dhāl) as this is strictly defined and understood. It is therefore considered to be an object or entity that can be known in isolation as one knows less grasped and understood (ma'kuld) (yu'lam c mudj_arradihd). Thus not though a distinct object of knowing and so not “known” (ma'duma) in the strict sense of this term, the attribute or state is nonetheless grasped and understood (me'dalā) as one knows a thing is specifically qualified by it (mak'Lallas bhāh). Furthermore, since the attribute or state is not an entity, it cannot be said to be existent (maudijīdūta) or non-existent (me'dalma) because these predicates are properly used only of entities. In that it is, however, an ontologically real perfection or state of the being of an entity, the attribute (sifa) does have actuality (tajd_addud al-wuajud); it refers properly only of entities. In that it is, however, the functioning of the sense organ.) It may be that “being perceiving” is the only true attribute which they class into five basic categories according to the attributes whose actuality flows immediately from (ṣada'ra 'an) an entitative, determinant cause (hul dhdtihi) as, for example, the atom’s occupying space (kaunahuhu mutharrik1) or God’s being existent, living, knowing, etc.

3. The attributes whose actuality flows immediately from (ṣada'ra 'an) an entitative, determinant cause (hul dhdtihi) as, for example, a human individual’s being knowing (kaunahuhu 'alīm), an attribute whose actuality is asserted in the sentence “’Aṣyād knows” (’Ayd 'ālim) and whose actuality arises indirectly from its being existent (‘ālim al-mahāli), the only true act of knowing (al-ma‘īn) that exists as a concrete entity in the heart. The attribute (sifa, hāl) in this instance is a perfection that specifically qualifies (tajṭus'ūs) not its immediate physical locus (al-mahāli), but rather the living corporeal whole (al-qimla al-hayya) that is the individual, and it is for this reason that Abū Ḥāşim and his successors say that the predicate “knowing” is said of the whole and not of the organ or substrate. “Moving”, on the other hand, is predicated only of the material substrate (al-mahāli) since the attribute of “being in motion” (kaunahuhu mutharrik1) belongs only to the locus of the entitative cause of its actuality.

4. Attributes whose actuality depends upon the agent that effects the existence of the thing and which, therefore, are said to be bi ‘sifī. Though many characteristics (abkām) of temporal entities are ascribed to an agent as their source, either immediately to his agency as such or mediatly through the manner of the act’s occurrence (‘ālim al-mahāli), the only true attribute (sifa, hāl) in the strict sense) that is said to be “due to the agent” is that of a temporal entity in its being existent (kaunahuhu mautijīdūta). Attributes whose actuality in the thing is due “neither to its essence nor to an entitative cause” (lā tā ‘nafs aw-lā bi-lilla li-ma‘īn), the designation of a class of predicates (ṣifat, wuqf, isma) as lā tā ‘nafs aw-lā bi-lilla would seem to have originated with Abū ‘Ali al-Djubba. Because of the basic difference of his analysis and ontology from that of the later school, however, the predicates that he so classed are not the same as those so classed by Abū Ḥāşim and his successors. What predicates (ṣifat) and what attributes (ṣifat) Abū Ḥāşim may have classed under this heading, if any, indeed, is at present uncertain. His followers, however, assign the attribute (sifa, hāl) of “being perceiving” (kaunahuhu mudrīk) to this category, since perception, according to their view, arises directly from the perceiver’s being living on the condition of the appropriate presence of the percipient. (Perceiving is here distinguished from sensation—al-hiss—since the predicate “sensing”—ma‘ūs—is taken to indicate not a true attribute but only the functioning of the sense organ.) It may be that “being perceiving” is the only true attribute which they class
thus; predicates (ṣfāt) which are implicitly negative are said to be là li ʿtaʿafs wa-lā li-šīla, but they do not indicate ontologically real attributes.

For us the essential reality of a thing (its bakkāḥ) is its essential attributes, for what we understand and refer to when we speak of it as its being as it is known to us in the attributes. Predication, according to the classical Muʿtazila, are said of essential entities that are known (maʿlūma) and distinguished as such; the predicates that refer to a thing's essential attributes (al-ṣfāt al-dhātīyya) are those which we employ to define it. According to Abū Ḥāshim and his followers in the Baṣrān Muʿtazila, it is thus that through their essential attributes we know entities, i.e. in that they are so manifested to us as belonging to the same essential class (gūna) or to different classes, for beings that share (ṣfatara) in one essential attribute must be alike (tāmāzgha) in that which entails (skūdā) the actuality of the attribute, and so must share in all their essential attributes. (See, e.g., ʿAbd al-Djabbar, Shahr al-ṣulṭ al-ḥamsa, 108, 9-12 and 199, 3-5; al-Mughnī, iv, 270 f. and 252, 8-10).

One speaks also of the “modality” of an attribute (kayfyya al-ṣfā), Existence (a thing's being existent: wasḥuḍdūk = kawvnū mawṭūd), for example, it is “possible” (wādūd) or “impossible” (mawlah). Some entities, however, (sc. all beings other than God) are temporally existent (wudjādūhū — kawnū mawṭūd). Some entities, however, (sc. God) are eternally existent (lam yawqū mawṭūd). Others can be in that state which are eternal existent (kawnū hālī fi mawḥūdī) while others (sc. all beings other than God) are temporally existent (wasḥūdūk). The terms “eternal” (kaddām) and “temporal” (mawḥūdī) refer to the modality of the attribute of existence. Similarly the term “inherent” (hālī) of the attribute of existence is inherent in its substrate (kawvnū hālī fi mawḥūdī) as the term “eternal” (kaddām) refers to a modality of its existence. (See, e.g., ʿAbd al-Djabbar, al-Mughnī al-muḥīt bi l-taklīf, 163, 4-7 and Abū Ṭabīḥī, Ḥiyādāt al-dharr, 384, 14 f.).

Not all predicates that may be affirmed as true of an object imply the presence of an ontologically real attribute (ṣfāt, hāl). Some terms, for example, refer to the “characteristics” (akhkām) of attributes; others (e.g. ethical terms) refer to contingent characteristics (akhkām) of acts which, determined by one or another of the states of the agent (awḍāʿ al-ḥālī) (see, e.g., ʿAbd al-Djabbar, al-Mughnī, viii, 159 and al-Ḥūdūsī, al-muḥīt bi l-taklīf, 352), derive immediately from the manner of its coming to be (waṭdūq al-wadādūq = waṭdūq waṭdūq) and others to the modality (kayfyya) of an attribute. Some, viz. those that describe a thing in its perceptible qualities, refer not to (ṣfāt, ʿabāl̄) for positions (hayyāt) of the material substrate; some descriptive terms are implicitly negative (e.g. “inanimate”, “other”, “dissimilar”) and the like, and refer to no real attribute; some refer primarily to a being other than that denoted in the subject, viz. the “derived predicates” (al-ṣfāt al-muḥājīna) (see, e.g., ʿAbd al-Djabbar, al-Mughnī, vii, 58, 3-7 and for the term of Ibn Fārūs, al-Sāhīb fi ṣīk al-ḥagha, ed. M. El-Choûmèni, Beirut 1383/1964, 86 ff.), i.e. those that assert the actuality of an action performed by the subject and those that assert the actuality of the state (hāl) or act of another (e.g. “known” or “commanded”).

Generic terms, finally, are not considered to be truly descriptive terms (ṣfāt) by the Baṣrān Muʿtazila, as was noted above. Accordingly, one must distinguish those instances where the expression kawvnū al-ʿṭāliq “(its being ...)” is employed to denote an ontologically real attribute (ṣfāt, hāl) and those in which it is employed merely as a nominal periphrasis for a sentence (e.g. kawvnū al-aṣaad as a periphrasis for kwana awsaad “it is black”) that does not assert the actuality of an attribute (ṣfāt, hāl) of the being that is denoted by the subject term. The differences in the understanding of these terms by the Muʿtazila and the Ashʿarīs are characteristic of those in their conception of the al-hāl.

B. The Ashʿarīs. Among the Ashʿarīs, the concept of the “attribute” (hāl) as conceived by Abū Ḥāshim was borrowed, adapted, and employed by al-Bākīlānī and al-Djuwaynī and, it would seem, by no others (see, e.g., al-Ṣahhāratānī, al-Šāhīya, 131). Al-Bākīlānī’s acceptance and use of the concept was, however, inconsistent; in some works (among them his two published compendia, al-Ḥiṣāf and al-Tamhīd) he expressly denied the validity of the concept (though it implicitly underlies the discussion in a number of important passages in both al-Ḥiṣāf and al-Tamhīd) while in others, including his last major kalām work, al-Hidāya, he is reported to have asserted its validity and to have integrated it into his treatment of the predicates of being and of the divine attributes (see, e.g., al-Djuwaynī, al-Ṣāmil, 294, 629). Al-Djuwaynī, on the other hand, seems to have expressly employed the concept in most if not all of his kalām works, though he is reported to have rejected it in his late juridical writing (see, e.g., Abu ʿl-ʿIṣār, Kāsim Subayān, b. Najm al-Amārī, Šahr al-ṭarīqī, Princeton University ms. ELS 634, fol. 356). In the present absence of any direct, adequate evidence concerning al-Bākīlānī’s treatment and use of the al-hāl concept, the present outline reflects strictly only the discussion and terminology of al-Djuwaynī. The sources, however, indicate no major difference between al-Djuwaynī’s understanding and use of the concept and those of al-Bākīlānī; one may therefore suppose that their teaching in this respect was substantially the same.

Like Abū Ḥāshim, the Ashʿarīs who employed the concept of the “attribute” as hāl describe it as “the thing’s being such and so” (kawn al-ṭayy). The context to which the concept was adapted and into whose overall structure it had to be integrated differs, however, in several important respects from that of the Muʿtazila tradition of Basra, even though the Ashʿarī analysis of the predicates that are said of beings is in some ways analogous to that of al-Ḏubbārī. Omitting those predicates that refer to actions (ṣfāt, al-ʿād) and so to an entity essentially extrinsic to that denoted by the subject term, al-ʿAsharī and his followers, in contrast to the Muʿtazila, recognise only two categories of descriptive predicates (asmāʿ, awāsaf, ṣfāts), since they divide the entities which constitute the ontological basis for the truth of the predication (ʿākhdak al-ʿawāf: the thing’s “deserving to be so described”) and whose reality, accordingly is asserted (maʿṣūd), as that which requires its affirmation (maʿṣūd) into (1) the “self” (nafs) of the being denoted by the subject, as when one says of a being that it is “existent” (maʿṣūd) or “temporal” (mawḥūdī) or is a “colour” (laun) or of God that He is “eternal” (kaddām) or “majestic” (ṣāmīn); and (2) those that assert the reality of an entitative, determinant cause (maʿṣūd, ilā) subsistent in the subject, as when one says of a being that it is “living” (“living” = “life belongs to it”: ḥayy = laḥā ḥayy) or “knowing” (“knowing” = “an act of knowing belongs to it”: ʿalām = laḥā ʿalām) and the like. In addition to the words maʿṣūd and ilā, the Ashʿarīs often (and in some contexts almost always) refer to these entities (al-ʿawāfs) as ṣfat, (This, in fact, is the only sense in which al-ʿAsharī himself employs the word ṣfat). Against al-Djdubbārī and others, the
Ash'arīs insist that predicates such as “living,” “knowing” and the like always imply the presence of an entitative determinant (mād̄ūm, līla, sīfa) in the subject, whether they be said of a material being or of God, who is immaterial. Again, whereas the masters of the Bāṣrān Mu'tazila take descriptive predicates to be predicated of phantasmal entities which, known and recognized as particular essences, are described by the predicate (wasi, sīfa), the Ash'arīs understand the subject term to denote an individual entity simply as an object: as an existent whose existence is its “self” (nafs). Thus God is “living” (mas'ūd) whilst the non-existent is simply the unreal subject spoken of in a negated proposition: “it is not true that there exists an object such (that).” Thus, where the Bāṣrān Mu'tazila after al-Ḍuwaynī distinguished expressions that they consider to be descriptive (ṣīfāt) strictly speaking, i.e. those which name the essence as such or describe it in some particular way, from those they consider to be quasi-ālāḥ, i.e. those which we employ to assign an essence to various broader, generic classes and which, therefore, are said univocally of beings that are essentially different, the Ash'arīs make no such distinction, but rather consider both kinds of terms to be truly descriptive, classing the second of the Mu'tazīlī categories amongst the “essential predicates” (al-ṣīfā, al-nafṣiya), viz. those that assert as the basis of the validity of their affirmation of the subject only the reality of the object (nafs al-mawjud = waqūgdhū) of which they are said. No more than al-Ḍuwaynī, however, does al-ʿAshrī speak of “attributes” as this word is commonly understood, nor does his analysis, or that of most of his followers in the two centuries immediately succeeding, make place for such a concept. The sīfa, simply a mād̄ūm, (līla), They agree that the being of God’s sīfāt differs from that of those belonging to creatures and there is some question as to the exact ontological status of the former, i.e. as to whether God’s sīfāt are validly termed asīfa or mas'ūdā if or if they are denominate; but it is nevertheless clear that sīfāt are entities of some kind (more precisely, of two kinds) though not of a sort that nowadays we should term attributes. (Al-Bākīllānī, cited in the Kiyā al-Ḥarāṣī, Uskū al-dīn, fols. 114a and 123a, says that, in contrast to the ʿahd, they are entitative objects or beings, dhāt, ʿayn, mād̄ūm. One notes that with but two or three exceptions, common also to the Mu'tazila, abstract terms are not employed in the writings of al-ʿAshrī and of the majority of his followers until the 5th/11th century and that the expression kawnuhu . . . is almost everywhere shunned, chiefly for accuracy of expression but also, no doubt, in order to avoid the semblance of accepting Abū Hāšim’s ontology.

Al-Ḍuwaynī rejects the common Ashīrī thesis that all the “essential predicates” (ṣīfāt al-nafs, al-ṣīfāt, al-nafṣiya) assert simply the being of the “self” of that which is asserted (al-hukm), in affirming one of the sīfāt, al-mād̄ūm, (al-ṣīfāt, al-mūnṣiya) is simply the reality of the being of the mād̄ūm, (sīfa), as belonging to the subject. For every positive predicate (wasi, sīfa) he recognizes an “attribute” (wasi, sīfa), which he considers to be expressed by the expression kaunuhu mas'ūdā, e.g. the atom’s “being an atom” (kawnuhu muthaqaf)” “its being an entity” (kaunuhu ʿayn) “its being inherent” (kaunuhu mawjudā, “its being inherent” (kaunuhu mālūmu, “its being inherent” (kaunuhu ṣūr), “its occupying space” (kaunuhu mutawāṣṣāṣ), etc.; and so also with the sīfāt, mūnṣiya, the attributes (ṣīfāt), signified by the latter being commonly termed ʿahd, as well as sīfāt, wasi, see e.g. al-İrshād, 30, al-Żāmīl, 308, et alīhī). He holds, moreover, in regard to those predicates which do not refer simply to the existent as such (to its existence as its “self”: nafs) that one must posit the reality (gūbdhū) of the attribute (wasi, sīfa, hukm) as a state (ḥāl). This, he says, is necessary in order to have an ontological basis for the true sense of the common or universal predicate terms and their definitions (viz. al-ḥakā‘ik wa ʿl-hudūd) (see e.g. al-Żāmīl, 633, and the citation of al-Bākīllānī in al-Kiyā al-Ḥarāṣī, op. cit., fols. 115a and following), as also in order to explain what is known and asserted to be true in the case of the mād̄ūm, (līla), i.e. in order to explain what is known and asserted to be true (al-hukm), of the entity to which the mād̄ūm, (līla) belongs as the effect (mūd̄ūm, mād̄ūm) of the latter (see e.g. al-Żāmīl, 629 f. and al-İrshād, 80 f). In these cases what is known (ʿalima) of something is not the thing itself (al-nafs = waqūgdhū) but an ontologically real attribute (sīfa, ḥāl) or state (ḥāl) of it, and it is this that the descriptive predicate strictly speaking refers to and asserts as real (gūbdhū). Regarding the “essential attributes”, al-Ḍuwaynī says “Every attribute (wasf) that is not understood negatively and the ignorance of which is not contradicted by the knowledge of the existence of the being that is denoted by the subject (al-mawjud), is a state (ḥāl) (al-Żāmīl, 630, 17 f. cf. also al-İrshād, 80). Thus when one says of a being that it is a (unit or quantum of) black (wāṣūd) or that it is a colour (lām) or an accident (ʿarrad) or that it is inherent in a substrate (ḥāl fī maḥdū), the reference is to “its being black” (kaunuhu āṣūd), “its being a colour” (kaunuhu lām, “its being an accident” (kaunuhu ʿarrad), and “its being inherent” (kaunuhu ḥāl)”; “its blackhood” (as-ṣawāṣṣ), “accidentality” (al-ṣawāṣṣ), etc. Each of these attributes (ahd, sīfāt, wasf) is a distinct object of knowing (mūṣīm). Likewise the knowledge of an entity’s being knowing (kaunuhu ʿalīm) is distinct from the knowledge that the act of knowing (al-ʿalīm) by virtue of whose subsistence in it is knowing, exists (kaunuhu mawsūd = nasfuh) and is an act of knowing (kaunuhu ʿalîm = al-ʿilmisṣāṣ); each of these attributes (ṣīfāt), as an ontologically real state (ḥāl) or characteristic (ḥukm), of the subject, is a distinct object (mūṣīm), known in a distinct act of knowing (ilm). As the attribute (ḥāl, sīfa) is other than the entity to which it belongs (the sīfa is other than the mawsūd), so al-Ḍuwaynī holds that existence (al-waqūgdhū = nafs al-mawsūd) is not a ḥāl (see e.g. al-İrshād, 31). Though it is an object insofar as it is known (mūṣīm), the ḥāl is not an entity (ṣīfāt) (al-Żāmīl, 640, 679 and so is not described as existent (mawsūd) or non-existent (mūḍīm, muntasf); see also the citations of al-Bākīllānī in al-Kiyā al-Ḥarāṣī, op. cit., fols. 114a and 115a).

The “self” as such is understood and conceived not as an essence but as an object, and the predicates which assert the entitative reality of the “self” as such (e.g. ʿayn, ḥāl, nafs, mawsūd) neither are synonymous with those which assert the actuality of its ʿahd (e.g. gūbdhū, ʿarad, lām, ʿilm, ṣawāṣṣ) nor do they imply the assertion of its ʿahd. Since, then, the ʿahd is neither identical with nor derived from the “self” as such of the being of which they are attributes and are known separately from the knowledge of its existence, that a being should have one essential attribute (ṣīfāt, nafs) does not necessarily entail its having another. Beings that are essentially diverse (mukhtafṣa) may share
in common essential attributes, as for example a human act of knowing (‘ilm) and a motion of an atom share in accidentality (al-‘aradāyya, i.e., kaunahumād ‘arayayn) and a human act of knowing (a ma’nā, which is an accident) and God’s eternal act of knowing (a ma’nā, which is not an accident, i.e., it has no other form). Although, in his essentialism, the immediate substrate (al-muhit) have in common (isgā‘amā‘ī fi’t) their being acts of knowing (kaunahumā ‘ilam = ‘al-tātūya) and so are, both, correctly denoted and described by ‘ilm. Like entities (al-mā‘īln, al-mutamā‘īln) are alike in and by virtue of their selves (i.e.,‘aṣṣa‘ashinā) (see e.g., al-Shāmil, 312); they are therefore those beings that are analogous (sadda ahadā‘umahān masadā ‘l-Tākī) or are equivalent (musta‘ṣṣa‘yin) in all their essential attributes (ṣi‘fāt, al-nafs, al-sefāt, al-nafṣyin) (cf. e.g., al-Shāmil, 299, 312). In no sense does al-Djuwaynī take up the ontology of Abū Ḥāšhim and his Mu’tazilī followers. Nowhere does al-Djuwaynī treat the attribute (ḥāl, ṣija) as an ontologically real perfection of a being in terms of which other perfections, properties, characteristics, qualities, or operations are to be understood and explained. He does not speak of an attribute’s entailing (ṣaḥḥah) the actuality of another attribute or its being (ahdā‘ūna) or a characteristic or quality of a thing, nor does he regard any attribute as constituting the immediate ground of the possibility (ṣahhaba) of some qualification of an entity or as the condition (ṭaṣṣāt) of its actuality. Similarly, he does not speak of attributes (ṣi‘fāt, ḥawāl) as having modality (kayfīyya) nor of the characteristics (ahdā‘um) of attributes. Finally, where the Mu’tazīlīs distinguish four categories of mu’dīln, one as effecting no hāl whatsoever, either of its immediate substrate of inherence or of the whole of which the latter is a part, and others as producing one or another qualification (ḥāl) either of the immediate substrate or of the whole composite (al-djam‘a), al-Djuwaynī makes no distinction whatsoever, asserting simply that every ma’nā causes a hāl (those of material entities only in their immediate substrate of inherence) (see e.g., ‘Abd al-Djabbār, al-Majhdhanī, vi/2, 162 and ix, 87, and al-Djuwaynī, al-Shāmil, 629 ff.). Though there may be found sometimes a certain parallelism of argumentation (cf. e.g., ibid, 637 f. and ‘Abd al-Djabbār, e.g., al-Majhdhanī al-ma‘āht bi ‘l-Tākī, 188 f.) the conception of the āhawāl and their role within the integrated contexts of the systems is significantly different in the teaching of the Ash‘arīs and in the thought of Abū Ḥāšhim and his followers. Al-Djuwaynī employs Abū Ḥāšhim’s distinction between the Attribute of the Essence and the essential attribute (categories 1 and 2 in A above) together with the concept of the hāl in order to find a distinction in the Ash‘arī essential predicates in terms of their denotation. Thus, although he speaks of “attributes” in both instances, he distinguishes those predicates (awwāfī, ṣi‘fāt) that denote or assert simply the existence (i.e., the “self”) of an entity as such from the rest, which assert distinct attributes that are states (āhawāl). Similarly, he posits the reality (ṣhabā‘) of the “states” as real attributes (ṣi‘fāt, ẓhabītah) or characteristics (ahdā‘um, ẓhabītah) as the effect (mu’dīl, maqābl) of the ma’nā, in order to distinguish ontologically the assertion of the ṣi‘fāt, ma’nāsyya from that of those expressions which refer to the ma’nā, and describe them as such (e.g., to distinguish the reference of ‘ilm from that of ‘imn), a distinction effectively denied by most of the earlier Ash‘arīs (see e.g. al-Bākilīnī, al-Tanhdīh, § 92, and al-Djuwaynī, al-Shāmil, 631). Al-Djuwaynī, in short, (and the same is clearly true of al-Bākilīnī when he used the āhawāl) posits the āhawāl only in order to supply referents for certain predicates and concomitantly to resolve certain difficulties of logical reference and extension, particularly in predicates that are said both of God and creatures; the āhawāl serve no other function. Al-Djuwaynī’s conception of the hāl constitutes the very foundation and core of the metaphysics of the Baṣrī Mu’tazī from the time of Abū Ḥāšhim, al-Bākilīnī, and al-Djuwaynī employ it without introducing any essential alteration into the tradition of Ash‘arī metaphysics. Finally, by the explicit introduction of purely intentional referents (viz. concepts thematically understood as entia rationis) into the Ash‘arī kalām along with the Aristotelian loge, al-Ghazālī (p.e.) was able to resolve in a much less awkward manner the problem that his master, al-Djuwaynī, had sought to deal with by means of the āhawāl.


HALIKARNAS BALIKÇİSİ

(R.M. FRANK)
sentenced him to three years banishment in the for-
tress sea port of Bodrum (ancient Halicarnassus),

large-scale revolt in the eastern provinces). When his

Mavi siirgiin (1961). He also

(1969). Memoirs:

when he moved to Izmir to work as a journalist and

this small town which had captured his heart, and

at that juncture, troops were being sent to quell a

focugu (1956), (1955), Deniz.

Ege'nin dibi:

(1952), (1954). Novels:

F. 65, fol. 37b; Ghafikl,


haliladj. aswad], (3) the black myrobalan

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and goes ahliladj. akhldt wa-hiya ahllladj, asfar wa-baliladj. wa-amlad). These fruits were

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The fruits were harvested at various stages of

ripeness: small, unripe, dried, they served as medi-

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The fruits were used already in antiquity for

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In India, where the myrobalanus tree is

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Phyllanthus emblica (Euphorbiaceae). However, the nomenclature

is not established with certainty.

The fruits were harvested at various stages of ripeness: small, unripe, dried, they served as medi-

cine; the ripe fruits of the size of walnuts were used for the preparation of tannin, which is in high demand. In India, where the myrobalanus tree is indigenous, the fruits were widely used as medicine, especially as stomachics and purgatives; the Tiphaha or Triphala ("tri-juiced medicine"), consisting probably of three of the kind mentioned above, was in par-

The Arabs mixed the fruits with spices in order to increase their digestive effect. The myrobalanus has now dis-

appeared from the pharmacopoeias in the West, but may still be used here and there in the East; only for the preparation of tannin is it still to be found on the market.

in mathematics the various forms of the term, espe-

in South-Asia and the Malayang archipelago. Being a

and cheap substitute (badat) for gall or oak-

apples ("afis"), they were used already in antiquity for

extracting tannic acid and as a medicine. The term appears also as ahliladj or ibtiladj and goes through Persian halita back to Sanskrit harita.

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and goes ahliladj. akhldt wa-hiya ahllladj, asfar wa-baliladj. wa-amlad). These fruits were

the ripe fruit of myrobalanus — haliladj asfar, Terminalia citrina. Its juice has an aperient effect and purges yellow gal.

The results were harvested at various stages of ripeness: small, unripe, dried, they served as medi-

cine; the ripe fruits of the size of walnuts were used for the preparation of tannin, which is in high demand. In India, where the myrobalanus tree is indigenous, the fruits were widely used as medicine, especially as stomachics and purgatives; the Tiphaha or Triphala ("tri-juiced medicine"), consisting probably of three of the kind mentioned above, was in par-

The Arabs mixed the fruits with spices in order to increase their digestive effect. The myrobalanus has now dis-

appeared from the pharmacopoeias in the West, but may still be used here and there in the East; only for the preparation of tannin is it still to be found on the market.

In mathematics the various forms of the term, espe-

in South-Asia and the Malayang archipelago. Being a

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who shaved the Prophet Muhammad’s hair. The was a person of very humble status, ridiculed by writers and grocers. Seldom did a barber attain prominence, and Muslims have followed this practice ever since.

The well-known barber in the Islamic society of Medina was Khirbâš b. Umayya, who shaved the Prophet Muhammad’s hair. The Prophet had his hair shaved at Minâ at the time of the hajj, and Muslims have followed this practice during the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimages ever since.

Some barber’s work at the time of the Pilgrimage received attention from the Arab writers, who recorded unusual events. For instance, a hallâk while shaving the hair of Abû Sukñ (q.v.), accidentally cut the wound (kâfd) on his head, and this reportedly caused his sickness and death in 20/640, says al-Samhûdi. During the Umayyad period, another hallâk became widely known at the time of the hajj of Yazid b. al-Muhallab (q.v.), who paid 5,000 dirhams to the hallâk after ritual shaving of his hair. The event illustrates that some barbers received charity from pilgrims in addition to their usual fee. Some Muslims used to have a yearly hair-cut on the Day of Sacrifice (yawm al-nahr), as was the practice of Hasan al-Ba’rî (q.v.), and Muslims even today observe this custom.

The hallâk worked at market places and also in public baths in Islamic cities on specific days of the week. During the Ḩaǧd (q.v.) period, the hairdresser was one of the five regular attendants at every hammâm. The muḥtasib demanded expertise from each hallâk, who could neither shave a child’s hair without his guardian’s permission nor cut a slave’s hair without his master’s approval. Usually a hallâk received a dirâm for each hair-cut. It was also customary for the hallâk to give free hair-cuts to the poorer members of society during the Mâlîkî period, writes al-Ittâfî. In spite of their useful services, the barber was a person of very humble status, ridiculed by writers. A hallâk could marry only within his own social group, according to the customary law of faṭ’î, which imposed similar restrictions on sweepers, weavers, copperers and grocers. Seldom did a barber attain prominence in early Islamic society, either by acquiring knowledge of Islamic sciences or otherwise. The only known exception to this was Abu l-Hasan A‘îb b. Muhammad al-STîf al-Muzayyin, the barber who distinguished himself as a practising mystic and a close friend of al-Dînawî (q.v.).


Hâmâdîshâ, or Hâmâdshâ as they are locally called, are the members of a loosely and diversely organised religious confraternity or “path” (tarîkha) which traces its spiritual heritage back to two Moroccan saints (awlâd or sayyids) of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, Siddî Abu l-Hasan A‘îb b. Hamdush (d. 1131/1718-9 or 1135/1722-3), popularly called Siddî ‘Ali and Siddî Ahmad Dghughî (q.v.). Although little is known historically of the two saints, their lives, like the lives of other popular North African saints, are rich in legend. These legends stress the saints’ acquisition, possession, and passing on of blessing in the form of ṭâ’lîf (scars) or baraka (blessings). Some scholars, like al-Lubûd fi al-Qaṣîdân (q.v.), have argued that this is in imitation of the master of Siddî Ahmad, is thought to have derived his teachings from ‘Abî al-Salâm b. Mâshîq (q.v.) and his student Abu l-Hasan al-Shadîlî. (Members of the confraternity recite on occasion a ḥīz which they trace to al-Shâdîlî.) Siddî ‘Ali spent years at the Karawiyîn University in Fas, and, according to the Salâdî al-anfîs of Da‘far al-Kattânî, he is to be classed among the šâdîs of the mystical tradition in which the trance (bâlî) is powerful. He would occasionally fall into lion-like rages. Both Siddî ‘Ali and Siddî Ahmad are buried on the south face of the Djebel Zarhûn some sixteen miles from the city of Mkânîs, Siddî ‘Ali in the village of Banî Rashîd, Siddî Ahmad in Banî Warûd. Their sanctuaries (khâbars), which are under the charge of their (putative) descendants (awâlid), are the object of individual and collective pilgrimages. The latter, the mukâm (masjûm), takes place each year on the sixth and seventh day after the mûlûd (ma’mûd), the Feast of the Prophet’s Birthday, and is attended not only by the Hmâdshâ but by tens of thousands of devotees of the saints. The Hmâdshâ are in fact members of one or the other of two distinct confraternities which are closely related and often confused. The ‘Allâiyyûn are the followers of Siddî ‘Ali and the Dghughîyyûn of Siddî Ahmad. Both brotherhoods have a network of lodges (zâwa‘în) and teams (la’îfîs) that extend throughout the principal towns and cities of northern Morocco and through the Gharb and Zarhûn areas. The Hmâdshâ brotherhoods, which have neither the membership nor the fame of such popular orders as the ‘Isâwîyûn (q.v.), do not extend across the Moroccan frontier. In a figure that is undoubtedly too low, Drache estimated their membership in 1938 at 3,400. Today, despite a marked decrease in the popularity of the confraternities in Morocco, the Hmâdshâ’s number is considerably greater than Drache’s estimate.

The members themselves fall into three distinct classes: the awâlîd al-sayyid, who trace their descent back to their ancestral saint, live principally in the village in which he is buried, and do not usually participate in his ecstatic ceremonies; the farkârî who are members of lodges (zâwa‘în) or teams (la’îfîs); and the devotees, or muhibbûn who are simply attracted to the saint and his cult. Each of...
the brotherhoods is in the charge of the head, the *mazwar,* of its respective *adila,* and more frenetic, in the shanty towns of the Maghrib! brotherhoods. (It tends to be more similar in form to the ceremonies of the *djawija* or *halberd* [shakrid]—there is no standard ceremonial halberd or trance-dance. Men and women dance first to the music of drums (*tabl*) and oboe (*gwal*) and then to that of the drums and either a reed recorder (*nifa*) or a guitar (*ganbri*); they fall first into a light somnambulistic trance called *djidha* and then into a deeper, wilder trance called *djedhba.* It is during *djedhba* that acts of self-mutilation (by men, rarely by women) are performed and animals (pigs and camels) imitated (see *'Isawa,* Aisha Kandfsha 3). It is during *djedhba* for the brotherhood—and continues with the hadra (tabl and oboe and gwal) music of drums and oboe and gwal)—that acts of self-mutilation (by men, rarely by women) are performed and animals (pigs and camels) imitated (see *'Isawa,* Aisha Kandfsha 3).

The *hadra* is not understood in terms of a mystical union or communion with God. Rather, the *baraka* of the saint is held responsible for the *bâl,* *djedhba* is usually interpreted as possession by a *djinn* (*djinni*) or more frequently by a *djinniya.* The most common possessing spirit is the *djinniya* or *ghila* *'Aisha Kandfsha* [q.v. above] who is said to manifest herself as either a beauty or a hag, always with the foot of a camel or some other hooved animal. The possessing spirit is thought to respond to a particular musical phrase (*rîh,* often accompanied by words, which it finds pleasing. The *Hmâdja* themselves serve primarily as cutters of the *djinn*-struck and the *djinn*-possessed. Their aim is less to exorcise permanently the possessing spirit than to establish a symbiotic relationship between the spirit and its victim. Often membership in the brotherhood occurs after a *Hmâdja* cure. Their ceremonies are thought also to bring *baraka* to their sponsor, to those in attendance, and to the ceremonial area itself.


AL-HMÂSÅ [see Mintakat Al-Hur-Qu]

HAMASA, the epic genre in Islamic literature.

vi. In Swahili Literature.

In Swahili literature, the word *hamaasa* occurs rarely and has the meaning of “virtue, courage, energy.” The normal words for “courage, valour” in Swahili literature are *ushakia,* *uasiri,* *usabiti* and *uhodari,* all words of Arabic origin, and so is the word for virtue, *fahoda.* There are only a few non-narrative documents known in Swahili literature, most of them self-praises in true African fashion. The most famous of these is the Ukawafi of Liongo, praising himself, and at the same time an Ode to Freedom: “I am a young eagle. When this iron is broken, I will soar up into the skies, higher than all.” [see Madih 5. In Swahili.]

The vast majority of heroic poetry in Swahili is narrative and composed in the *stanz* metre of lines of eight syllables; every four lines form a stanza *usha* (the word is formed on the basis of *baya*). The rhyme scheme is a a b b, in which b represents the rhyme of the last line of every stanza. Throughout the whole poem; there are in Swahili more than a thousand words ending in *ya,* *ra,* etc. Rhyme in Swahili means the identity of the last syllable, so that *amba,* *inba,* *ombak* are rhyming-words.

About the life of the semi-mythical poet-hero Liongo we possess a few epic fragments which however, are certainly not contemporary (the life presumably ca. 1010/1600). The oldest datable Swahili epic in Swahili is also the finest ever written in it; the ms. in Hamburg is dated 1141/1728. Its theme is the myth of the Prophet Muhammad’s expedition to Tabik where according to this legend, he encountered and defeated the Emperor of Constantinople, Heraclius I, hence the epic’s title, *Utendi wa Herekali,* or *Chau cha Tambuka.* The published text (1958) has 1,145 stanzas. The sophisticated structure, the compact language, the intense style and the rich imagery show that it stands at the end of a long evolution of epic poetry in which we have no documentation. All we know is that the *Herekali* had many imitators, none of whom ever reached the powerful diction and the visionary heights of this first epic. The author, Bwana Mwengo b. Atumani, worked for a time at the court of the sultan of Pate, who requested him to versify the Arabic legend (*hadithu,* in “Swahili.” Mwengo’s son Abu Bakari composed at least one epic on the theme of an other *mogâzî* [q.v.], tradition, the *Kifïrui,* i.e. the expedition of Muhammad against king *Ghirri* (ms. in SOAS, undated, but probably ca. 1750-60). Here follows a list of the major heroic-narrative poems in Swahili. *Abida-Rahman.* This adventurous son of Abî Bakr, whose bride is a daughter of the infamous Abî Sufyan, fights numerous battles which made him so popular that there are two epic poems about him in Swahili.

Abî “Abî is by far the most popular hero in Swahili epics literature, but so far no complete epic about his life has come to light. His exploits are celebrated in the *Utendi wa Anzurini* in which he defeats the *gâyân Anzurîn* (cf. Kurâ, VII, 14); in the *Utendi wa Herekali* in the *Kifïrui,* in the *Râ’sul-u-Ghuli* (ca. 1870), a Swahili version of the *Futûh al-Taman,* one of the longest Swahili epics (4,300 stanzas) and of course in the epic of Haibara, on the battle of *Khabar* [q.v.], of which only an incomplete ms. survives. The *Utendi wa Muhamudi* contains among others the episode of the Battle of the Trench (*Hamri* [see MUNDAM]); this epic of the life of Muhammad is the longest in Swahili literature, and with that, the longest epic ever composed in an African language. The *Utendi wa Badiri,* the Epic of the Battle of Badr [q.v.] is the next in length, with 4,500 stanzas; yet it is not long that makes an epic great literature.

Hajji Chum of Zanzibar (fl. ca. 1920) wrote an epic on the Battle of Uhud which contains some beautifully dramatic scenes; it was edited by H.E. Lambert (East African Literature Bureau in Nairobi; 739 stanzas). Hemedi b. Abdallah al-Buhriy (d. 1922) wrote, apart from the long version of the Abida-Rahman mentioned above, an equally long epic about the German conquest of the Swahili Coast in 1884. For the pious Swahili, this was a Holy War
against “Christian” invaders who bombed women and children from their safe warships. It is by far the best modern epic, i.e. one that deals with recent historical events instead of the mainly mythical events set during the life of the Prophet. The only epic set after his life are the three known versions of the historical events instead of the mainly mythical events.


( J. Knappert)

**AL-HAMDAWI, Abū ‘Ali ISMA‘IL b. IBRAHIM b. ḤAMDOWAYN, better known as AL-ḤAMDUNI (this nisba being due to a defective reading, cf. al-Samʿānī, Ḥasib, ed. Hyderabad, iv, 241), minor poet of Basra in the 3rd/9th century. From his profession (that of kātib, Ibn Kutayba, ‘Uṣūn, iv, 89) and his origin, he belonged to the class of high officials of Persian origin in the ‘Abbāsid administration; his grandfather had been ʿsrī al-zandīkā under al-Mahdī from 168/784-5 (Goldziher, ms. Raʾfs al-kuttab 769, v. 154a, 159 b, 161 a; Aydamfr, al-Durr al-fard wa-bayt al-ḵast, ms. Fāṭih 3761, 26 b, 193 a, 354 a; Husayn Šabīl al-ʿAllāk, al-Sawārī al-kuttah fi ʿl-fās māl ʿl-khāld al-fādī, Beirut 1975, index; Ibn Khalilikān, Bālūk, ii, 472-3, ed. Iḥṣān ʿAbūs, vii, 95, 98; Ṣafādī, no. 3994. The poet’s dīwan has been brought together and published in the Iraqi journal al-Maḥrūm, iii/1 (1974) (additions in iv/1, 1975) by A. Dī, al-Nadjī; it has been studied by A. Arazī, Thèmes et style d’al-Ḥamdawī, in JA, ccxxvii (1979), 261-307. (A. Arazī)

**HAMDŪN IBN AL-HADĪDJ [see IBN AL-HADDJ]**

**HAMDĪD KALANDAR, Suft mystic and poet of Muslim India.**

He was born in Kilgohar (Dīhil) some time towards the close of the 11th century. His father, Mawlānā Tājī al-Dīn, was a devout disciple of Sayyīḥ Nizām al-Dīn Awlīyā, and Hamdīd Kalandar visited the Shaykh along with his father when he was a mere child. His father made proper arrangements for Hamdīd’s education, and he completed his studies according to the traditions of his age. When Muslim families were forcibly transplanted by the order of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluq from Dīhil to Deogarh, Hamdīd also had to move to the Deccan. In Dżawāltābād (Deogarh) he benefited from the company of Mawlānā Barhān al-Dīn Gharīb, the Ḥaḍīfa of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awlīyā, and Hamdīd Kalandar visited the Shaykh along with his father that he was a mere child. His father made proper arrangements for Hamdīd’s education, and he completed his studies according to the traditions of his age. When Muslim families were forcibly transplanted by the order of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluq from Dīhil to Deogarh, Hamdīd also had to move to the Deccan. In 1353/1352 returned to Dīhil. In 1341/1340 he paid a visit to Sayyīḥ Naṣīr al-Dīn, the successor of Nizām al-Dīn Awlīyā. Being informed about his father’s association with his master, Shaykh Naṣīr showed him much regard, asking “Mawlānā, how can I address you as Kalandar?” (sc. because he was a scholarly man). He told him that once Nizām al-Dīn Awlīyā had told his father that the child would live in the fashion of a Kalandar [g.o.]; he accordingly shaved his head, eye-brows, moustaches, beard, and wore saffron clothes like the Kalandars. Hamdīd Kalandar compiled the Ṣayḥiyyāt or sayings of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn of Dīhil in Persian, depicting the great Shaykh, inter alia, as talking to different people who belonged to the various strata of society and came to the Shaykh’s ḥāṣkāh with their manifold
problems. The work is characterised by clarity of thought and is free from miracles and other mystical cubractions. He also left a Dīwān of poetry which is not extant, although Shaykh 'Abd al-Hāqī Muhaddith says that his verses were of poor quality and unimportant.

The Mādīghāt-i Ṭawūsīfīn, an early 9th/15th century anthology and biography (Ms. 4110), contains a number of kāfidas composed by Hamīd Kandalār in praise of Sūfīs, but it is nevertheless correct that Hamīd possessed neither a house, nor a wife or a child, and always lived as a Kandalār.


Hamīd al-Dīn Kādī Nāgawrī, Muhammad b. Ṭūrī, Sūfī saint and scholar of Muslim India. On becoming a Sufi he lived frugally and was known as Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn. Having travelled to different Muslim countries, he came to Dīlār during the reign of Ilutmīṣh (607-33/1211-36, [q.v.]) and soon developed an intimacy with Shaykh Kutb al-Dīn Bahānīyār Kākī, the leading Sīfī saint of Dīlār. He himself belonged to the Suhrwarī order and was the Ḫāṭif or chief disciple of Shaykh Shīhāb al-khāfīf. Dīlār 1356/1937-48; Muhammad Mubārak Kirmānī, Aligarh Library, Aligarh 1937-8; Mir Khurd, Guldār-i ʿabrār (a 17th century work), Aligarh Library, Aligarh 1937-8. (I. H. Siddiqui)

Hamīd al-Dīn Māhāmīd,HS, Sūfī saint of the Kuchriyya order. He was the son of Bābā Ḫᵛājah, a highly respected Sufi, and was born in about 900/1494-5. He studied the Kurān, Madrasa al-Shīfā, and there is a quatrain composed by Shaykh Hamīd al-Dīn in praise of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Gangī Shāhīkar, which was founded by Sūfī Hasan Shījah (876-81/1472-84). He studied in Sīlahgarh known as Dar al-Shīfā, which was later known as Dar al-Shīfā, which was also the headquarters of the movement against Shīfism, and there is a quota

Hamza Makhdūm became a follower of the Kuchriyya order. He exhorted the Muslims to adhere to the Sīfī order and to give up all un-Islamic beliefs and practices which they had borrowed from the non-Muslims. He was also one of the leaders of the movement against Shīfīm, which began to spread in the Valley in the first half of the 10th/16th century due to the efforts of Mīr Shams al-Dīn Ṭāqī and his followers. Hamza Makhdūm, therefore, undertook tours in the Valley to prevent the spread of Shīfīm and to propagate Islamic fundamentalism. Ghāzī Shījah Čāk (968-5/1561-3), the first...
ruler of the Čak dynasty, being a staunch Shi'i, banished him from Srinagar to Bīrū, a village 20 miles away. He was allowed to return to Srinagar by Sultān Husayn Shāh (970-8/1563-70), who was a liberal ruler. But Ḥamza Makhdūm did not give up his anti-Shīʿī activities and was again in party to invoking the Emperor Akbar to conquer Kashmir and restore Shiism. He died at the age of 84 and was buried on the slope of the Hari-pat ballock in Srinagar, below Akbar's fort. He is greatly revered by the Ḥajāmīrs, who hold his anniversary every year and visit his tomb in large numbers.

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HANAFĪTES [see ḤANAFIYYA].

HANDASA [see 'ILM AL-HANDASA].

HANDZIĆ (AL-KHANDIJ), MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. ŠĀLIḤ B. MUHAMMAD, a leading Bosnian Muslim and Arabic author who was born in Saray Bosna about 1999. He received his early education in Bosnia, and his higher education at al-Bayhak, where he was admitted to the degree of al-ʿāmīyā. After this he performed the ḥajdī with his father, and returned to his native country to teach. He belonged to the Ḥanāfrī madhhab, and followed the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya in fiqh. He died in Saray Bosna on 29 July, 1944.

During his short literary career he contributed both to the international literature of Islam, with his various works on theology, and to the Arabic literature of Yugoslavia with his poetry, his works dealing with various aspects of the local history of the Muslims in Bosnia, and his literary study al-Ḍawwārīr al-anā'ī fi ṭāʾāfīm uṣūm wa-ṣuḥūrā Ḫōnā. In addition to the latter work his published writings include a commentary on Rāḍūl Ḥaṭī ṣābīn al-anbāyī by Ḥamīd al-Bayḥakī, a commentary on al-Kāmil al-tayyib of Ahmad b. Taymiyya and Rāḍūl al-Baḥrī-Fāţī ṣābī ṭāḥāt niḥām ṣayyidīna al-Maṣīḥ. A number of his works remained unpublished, including some Arabic poems and a supplement to Ḥadījī Muʾīn's Kāḏī al-ṣawīn. Bibliography: Zākī Muḥammad Muqāḥādī, al-ʿĀlām al-ḥakīmyā fi ʿl-maʿālī ʿaqrā' al-ḥāḏrīyya, ii, Cairo 1950, 174; Ummāt Rīḍā Khāḥalāh, Muḥammīd al-maṭībīn, xi, Damascus 1960, 280; for his unpublished works, see K. Dobercā, Fīhrī al-maṭībītī al-arāyīn ʿaqrā' al-ṭībāsīyya wa-ṭābībīyya wa-fīrāsīyya, i, Sarajevo 1963, passim; R.Y. Ebrīd and M.J.L. Young, An exposition of the Islamic doctrine of Christ's Second Coming, as presented by a Bosnian Muslim scholar, in Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, v (1974), 127-37. (R.Y. ERIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

AL-ḤĀRĪTH B. KALADA B. 'AMR B. 'ILĀD AL-ṬHAKAKI [d. 13/634-5], traditionally considered as the oldest known Arab physician.

It is nevertheless difficult to pin down his personality. He came originally from al-Tāfī, where he was probably born a few years after the middle of the 6th century A.D., and is said to have been a lute-player (trained in Persia?) before studying medicine at Gondhārā [q.v.], and, adds Ṣawīd al-Andalusī, Tābākhī al-dīn, ed. Čilecikho, Beirut 1476, divorced, as for the first child, Nufāy, known historically by his kāmsa of Ḫabūr [q.v.], was not recognised by al-Ḥārīth, who gave out that his father was one of his slaves called Maṣūrī; as for the second child, Nafīr, several sources (in particular, al-Baladhūrī, loc. cit.) make him the son of al-Ḥārīth, but Ibn al-Kalbī (-Gaskel, Tab. 118) only mentions a Nāfī b. Kalada, who would accordingly be the brother of the physician. Without becoming aware of a contradiction, since he affirms that al-Ḥārīth was childless. Ibn Abī Ṣayyād attributes to him a daughter Azdā who was the wife of Utba b. Qazwīn [q.v.]; the latter brought his three brothers-in-law to Basra and employed Ṣawīd as a secretary (see also al-Baladhūrī, Anābī, iv/a, 164). Complicating the situation even further, Ibn
Habib (Muhabbar, 460) further cites another daughter of al-Harith, Kilaib, who married a distant cousin, 'Amr b. 'Umayr b. 'Afw (Ibn al-Kalbi-Caskel, Tab. 118).

It can be seen that this family history is very difficult to disentangle, and it offers a characteristic example of the confusions brought about by the efforts of many ma'asib to provide themselves with an Arab genealogy and, in this particular case, by the fierce political propaganda aimed at blackening the Umayyad's names. According to the information mentioned above, Sumayya was apparently married at least once, since it was her husband 'Ubayd who was the alleged father of Ziyad. Now the historical sources reflect, in regard to Mu'awiya's recognition of Ziyad's position as collateral relative (sibhi), an anti-Umayyad tradition according to which Sumayya was a prostitute, which makes this "physician of the Arabs" a procurer, since she had been installed at his instigation in the harrat al-haghiya in al-Taif in return for paying him a share of her earnings (al-Mas'udi Muruq, v, 22, 24 = § 1778, 1781).

Logically, the physiognomists ought to have intervened and pronounced upon the father of each of her children [see bigas, above], but the sources say nothing about this.

al-Harith b. Kalada probably gave up this latter activity—if indeed the information about it is authentic—after he was converted to Islam and had acquired the status of one of the Prophet's Companions. According to a tradition which has clearly been reshaped (see al-Tahri, i, 217-28; al-Mas'udi, Muruq, ix, 184 = § 1518; cf. al-Fadhi, ed. Dernouër, 133), 'Abd Bakr was poisoned by the Jews, and al-Harith, who had shared his meal, lost his sight and died soon afterwards.

One discerns that, if the historical existence of the "physician of the Arabs" cannot be put in doubt, his personality is surrounded by a host of legends which detract from the true from the false. As well as the treatise on hygiene attributed to him, there are some verses given under his name, notably the following (al-'Askari, Simocata, 125): "There are some people who shower strangers with happiness right till death".


al-Harith b. Kalada — al-Haritithi 355
In 1871 Turki b. Sa'id re-established the sultanate with a Ghāfirī tribal army, encouraged by the British and financially aided by his brother Mājid from Zanzibar. Āzān was killed in the siege of the capital and Sa'id b. Khalīfī murdered after he had eventually been persuaded by the British Agent in Muscat. From then onwards, Sāliḥ directed the Ibadī movement until his death in 1896.

In the Ibadī literature Sāliḥ is described as al-Imām al-muḥtāshīb, that is, 'alīm with the dependability and integrity to lead and advise the Muslim community until such time as an Imām can be properly elected. It was in this guise that he continued his attacks, with the support of the Sharkīyya Hīnawīs and their bade Wahīḥī allies, on the sultans in Muscat (1874, 1877, 1895), and against dissident tribesmen, notably the campaign in 1894 against the Banī Shuhayn of the Wāḍī Damā, who were the shaykhī clan of the Māṣikāra, the Ḥirījī great rivals in Ibrā, and in 1896 against the Banū Dāhīr, leaders of the Ghāfirī confederation of central 'Umayma who were harrying the Rāhbiyyān allies of the Sharkīyya Hīnawīs. It was during the latter attack that he met his death, struck by a bullet in the thigh at al-Dajyīla.

During the first part of this period, Sāliḥ's main aim seems to have been that of undermining the position of Turki b. Sa'id (Sultan 1871-88), but after the failure of the 1877 attack he largely confined his activities to intriguing against the regime at Muscat and in maintaining his political authority in the interior. In Faysal b. Turki's time, on the other hand, he does seem to have had ideas of sponsoring Sa'ūd, a son of Āzān b. Kays, as a candidate for the Imāmat. However, in 1894 he had eventually been persuaded to surrender by the British Agent in Muscat. From then onwards, Sāliḥ directed the Ibadī movement until his death in 1896.

Sāliḥ's surviving literary work is a collection of ḥudūdāt, arranged in 1916-17 by A. Wālīd Sa'id b. Humayd b. Khalīfīn al-Ḥirījī, later kādi of the Imām Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khalīfī (Imām 1920-54), under the title 'Ayn al-masālīh (see Bibliography).


HARNESS, TRAPPINGS [see ḲAYYĪL].

HARPOON [see ṢAYDW].

AL-ḤASAN b. AL-KĀSIM R. AL-ḤASAN b. 'ALI R. AL-ḤASAN b. AL-KĀSIM

B. 'ABD AL-RAJĀMĪN b. AL-KĀSIM R. AL-ḤASAN b. ZAYD. R. AL-ḤASAN b. 'ALI R. AL-ḤASAN b. AL-ṬABĪ').

Khusraw Fīrūz went to Gilân to seek support. In Djamāda II 307/November 919 he retook Amul while the two sons of al-Nāṣir were absent in Gurgān. He defeated Ahmad near Astāraham and then won him over by offering to share the rule with him. Dā'ārār, who had remained in Gurgān and was deserted by his army, fled to Gīlan. In 307/921 Iltī, the Naqīm, another of Dā'ārār's governor of Gurgān, conquered Dāmghan, Nīshāpūr and eventually Marv, introducing the ḥukmā of the ‘Aid. He was defeated by a large Sāmanid army and killed near Tūs in Rabi‘ I 309/July-August.

When the defeated army returned to Gurgān, a group of Daylāmī and Gilī leaders conspired to depose al-Dā‘ī and to put Ahmad on the throne. Informed about the plot, al-Dā‘ī hastened to Gurgān and during a reception killed seven of them, among them Harūsindan b. Tūrdād, the king of the Gilī. This ruthless punishment of the plotters led to a defection of many Daylāmī and Gilīs to the Sāmanīds and eventually caused his downfall.

In 310/922-3 al-Dā‘ī and Ahmad were defeated by the Sāmanīd general Sīmūdār al-Dawātī at Dālāyqīn in the region of Gurgān and were forced to retreat to Tadmīṣ. Ahmad recovered Gurgān on 1 Dhu ‘l-Hijāja 310/22 March 923 and was entrusted with the government of the town while al-Dā‘ī ruled Amul. Shortly afterwards, however, Ahmad made again common cause with his brother Dja‘Tar who had revolted in Gurgān against al-Dā‘ī. Ahmad attacked al-Dā‘ī in Amul but was defeated and joined Dja‘Tar in Gīlan. The two brothers then invaded Tabaristān, supported by several Daylāmī and Gilī leaders, among them Mākān b. Kākī [q.v.] and Asfar b. Shīrūyā [see ASFAR B. SHIRAVAYHI]. Al-Dā‘ī fled, first to Sāriya and then into the highlands while Ahmad took over the rule in Amul on 28 Djamāda I 311/11 September 923. After Ahmad’s death two months later and the succession of Dja‘far, al-Dā‘ī attacked Amul but was defeated by his supporters and sought again refuge in the mountains and later in Gīlan. Only after Mākān, having been involved in a conspiracy, was expelled from Tabaristān, did al-Dā‘ī gain again a powerful supporter. Early in 314/spring 926 Mākān seized Amul, expelling the ruling ‘Aid, Ahmad’s son Abī Dja‘far Muhammad, and brought al-Dā‘ī from Gīlan to restore him to power. At this time the Sāmanīd Ahmad b. Naṣr tried to invade Tabaristān, but was encircled in the mountains and forced to pay a ransom of 20,000 dinārs to al-Dā‘ī for his release. Disapproving of the conduct of Mākān, al-Dā‘ī once more left for Gīlan. Mākān kept urging him to return and, on his protest, immediately released Abī Dja‘far Muhammad, al-Dā‘ī’s brother-in-law, whom he had seized and imprisoned. Eventually al-Dā‘ī rejoined Mākān in Amul, and in 316/928 they set out on an ambitious campaign of conquest and took Rayy from its Sāmanīd governor early in 316/January half of September. Their absence from Tabaristān was used by Asfar, who was ruling Gurgān under Sāmanīd overlordship, to invade that country. Al-Dā‘ī quickly returned to Amul with 500 men, but failed to get the support of the people there on which he had counted. He was defeated outside Amul and on his flight was killed by Mardawīd b. Ziyār, who thus avenged the death of his uncle Harūsindan b. Tūrdād, the king of the Gilī. This ruthless punishment of the plotters led to a defection of many Daylāmī and Gilīs to the Sāmanīds and eventually caused his downfall.

During the final crisis of Mukhtar’s revolt in Kūfah (67/687) he decided to join the movement; he arrived, however, too late and went on to Nīsābūr where a certain Abī ʿAṣīr Būdāyir b. Abī ʿAṣīr directed the last pocket of “Khashābī” resistance against the troops of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, who supported Mus‘ab b. al-Zubayr (cf. for this episode, ṬUṬUṬI b. al-Zubayr, 139 f.). Al-Ḥasan had his letter recited in different places by Abd al-Wahid b. Ayman, a Meccan mawld with whom he was on familiar terms.
Ash'ath. The treatise does not yet refer to the Risdâl written by al-Hasan al-Basri to precede and accompany the revolt of Ibn al-
there, but it presupposes the existence of a rather which may have been composed only shortly after-
years later those who were considered to be rational as well as on exegetical grounds. Against his
in a later refutation written by the Zaydi

In his discussion of omnipotence he does not as the result of the withdrawal of God's "support"

Al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya also stressed the omnipotence of God also with respect to human actions, but he does not say that God forces man to act against his will (only this would be gâbîr in his view). With al-Hasan al-Basri and other Kadariyya, he shares a similar position, but whereas the Kadariyya interpreted God's "leading astray" as a mere secondary reaction which is justified by man's sin, al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya sees sin as the result of the withdrawal of God's "support" (tawâfîk). In his discussion of omnipotence he does not yet differentiate between divine predestination and
divine foreknowledge. The treatise is structured in the form of hypothetical questions and answers (in kâla . . . kâthâ) and as such represents the earliest example of kâlatm literature in Islam. It is not preserved in its entirety, but in extensive fragments embedded in a later refutation written by the Zaydî imâm al-
-Hâdi ila l-Hâk (245/958-895/911; cf. the edition in

al-Rasdîl al-

Muhammad Tâmara,


the Kadariyya interpreted God's "leading astray" as

and as such represents the earliest exam-

ath, especially in its final phase (82/701). Al-Hasan seems, however, to have been responsible for the invention of this term, which was to have a rather multifaceted history in early Islam.

In addition to the K. al-Irdjâ, he appears as the author of an extensive refutation of the Kadariyya which may have been composed only shortly afterwards, perhaps during the religious discussions preceding and accompanying the revolt of Ibn al-


He was the mentor of Yusûf b. Sulaymân, the twenty-
ty-fourth dârî malîk. The books read by him with his teacher in various branches of the 'âlim al-dawa are fully described in the introduction to his Kûbî al-Azhâr. He was also closely associated with 'Ali b. Husayn b. Idris and Muhammad b. Idris, who later became the twenty-second and twenty-third dârî malîks.

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K. al-Irdjâ


It also contains extensive excerpts from Sunnî and Zaydi3 works, especially on the life and character of 'Ali b. Abî Tâlib [q.v.]. Volume one was edited by 'Adî al-Awwâ in Mantakhabat Imâmîyya, Damascus 1958, 181-250, whereas the remaining volumes are in manuscript. Major subjects of each volume are described in I. Poonawala, Bibliography of Ismâîlî literature, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 178-83.

**Bibliography:** The main biographical source is the author's own work Kûbî al-Azhâr, i, 186 ff; Ismâîl b. 'Abd al-Raşîl al-Maghâjin, Fânîrî, ed. 'Ali Naqî Munzawî, Tehran 1966, 77-88.

**HASAN, MIR GHULAM** (1140-1201/1772-86), Urdu poet noted for his mathnawis, was born in Dihlî, the son of Mir Dâlîk, a poet of modest attainments who was satirised by Sauvâ. Mir Hasan had a liberal education, which included the Persian language, but apparently not Arabic. He learned the poetic art from his father and from Mir Dard. After the sack of Dihlî in 1739 by Nâdir Shâh, he emigrated with his father to Faizabad (or Fayyâdâb [q.v.]), the capital of Oudh or Awadh [q.v.]. En route, they stayed at Dig, near Bharatpur, and joined the pilgrimage procession to the festival of the saint Shâh Madar at Manpur. The poet was to describe this journey and festival in a colourful mathnawâ, Galûzâr-i Irân, composed about nine years before his death. In Faizabad, Mir Hasan joined the service of the Nawâb. In 1189/1775 the new Nawâb, Aṣâf-al-Dawla, transferred the capital to Lucknow, so the poet moved there also. Here he composed his longest and best-known mathnawâs, Sihr al-bayân ("The enchantment of eloquence"), which won immediate acclaim, and is frequently known merely as "Mir Hasan's Mathnawî." This was finished in 1199/1785, less than two years before the poet's death. Mir Hasan's complete poetical works do not seem to have been published. He is known to have written both ghazîls and mathnawis, and he was the grandfather of Anîs [q.v.], the famous Urdu elegist. But it is for his mathnawis that he is chiefly remembered.

Yet of the eleven with which he is credited, only

commentary of the fragments of al-Hasan's refuta-
tion of the Kadariyya, and collection of the biogra-
phical material (with further references).

**HASAN, B. NÛH b. Yûsuf b. MUHAMMAD b. ADâm al-BHARUCI AL-HINÔD, Mustâlî-Tâyûbî Ismîlî savant.**

According to Ibn-i Shahîd, the first author to

bring up in Kambhâl (Cambay) in India, and received his early education there. It is not known when and by whom the surname "Bharucî", sc. from Bharâc or Broach, [see Bharoc], was given to him. Urged on by a thirst for knowledge, he states, he renounced family, left his country, travelled to Yaman, and became a student of Hasan b. Idris, the twentieth dârî malîk. The books read by him with his teacher in various branches of the 'âlim al-dawa are fully described in the introduction to his Kûbî al-Azhâr. He was also closely associated with 'Ali b. Husayn b. Idris and Muhammad b. Idris, who later became the twenty-second and twenty-third dârî malîks. He was the mentor of Yusûf b. Sulaymân, the twenty-
ty-fourth dârî malîk, and died on 11 Dhâl "Kâ'da" 959/4 June 1333.

Claim to fame is rightly based on his volumi-

ous work Kûbî al-Azhâr wa-maajma al-anwâr al-maqlûla min barâdât al-wirâ. It is a chronology of Ismâîlî literature in seven volumes wherein many earlier works, otherwise lost, are preserved either in full or in part. It also contains extensive excerpts from Sunnî and Zaydi works, especially on the life and character of 'Ali b. Abî Tâlib [q.v.]. Volume one was edited by 'Adî al-Awwâ in Mantakhabat Imâmîyya, Damascus 1958, 181-250, whereas the remaining volumes are in manuscript. Major subjects of each volume are described in I. Poonawala, Bibliography of Ismâîlî literature, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 178-83.

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(I. Poonawala)
Sihr al-bayan is widely known, and it may justly be described as the original model of the Urdu narrative mathnawi, and one of the two or three greatest examples of the form. It runs to about 2,000 couplets in mudarrab metre, and tells, in some detail, a story of royal adventure and magic of the kind current in India. The central plot concerns the love between Prince Binażir and Princess Badr-e Munir. There is a subsidiary love plot involving Nāqīm al-Nisāʾ, the Wazīr’s daughter, and Firōz Shāh, son of the King of the Jinn. A magic flying horse plays an important part in the events of the story. But the supernatural elements in the story are no more important than in—say—Central European Zauberpoesie or Zauberpresse in the 18th and 19th centuries. The elements which raise an incredible story to the level of great literature are many and varied, but they include the characterisation, which relates the characters to ordinary human beings; the vivid and colourful description of people and places; the effective use of rhetorical devices such as word-play; the timeless less language, which seems remarkably up-to-date two centuries later; and the numerous examples of “gnomic” verse which embody simple philosophising and lend themselves to quotation in everyday life. In fact, few Urdu poets since have had his facility for saying more with less than Mir Hasan, who wrote his poem in the late 19th century. Nevertheless, the Sadr Sharaf al-Mulk. Impressed by his acquaintance with Mir Hasan, particularly Sīhr al-bayan, mention must first be made of R. Russell Mathnawi-yi-Mir Hasan, ed. Ḥamdī Allāh Aṣfar, Allahabad 1925, has a short introduction which discusses the poem’s good and bad qualities (11-14), and a glossary. Mir Hasan’s Taghīra-yi-thuwar-yi-Urdu was published at Allīgarh in 1922. For accounts of Mir Hasan, particularly Sīhr al-bayan, mention must first be made of R. Russell and Khurshidul Islam, Three Mughal poets: Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan, London 1969, 69-94. This account is devoted chiefly to re-telling the story, but also includes a useful critical assessment. Saksena gives a devoted account of the poet in his History of Urdu literature, Allahabad 1927, 67-70; See also Mohammad Sadiq, History of Urdu literature, London 1964, 108-11; Urdu accounts of the poet include the following: Muhammad Husayn Azad, Ab-i-haydt, Lahore ed. 1950, 249-51; Ḥamdīn Fārūk, Mir Hasan aur khāndān kī dastūr shāhān, Lahore 1952; Wahid Kurayshī, Mir Hasan aur un kā zamānāna, Lahore 1959; For Mir Bahādur ‘All’s prose version, see Major Henry Court’s English tr., The naari Benāzīr, Calcutta 1871, 2nd ed. 1889.

HASAN BEDR AL-DIN, later PAHA (1851-1912), Ottoman Turkish soldier and playwright, chiefly famed as the collaborator during the years 1875-9 of his fellow-officer and friend, the author and dramatist Manastirli Mehmed Rif‘at [q.v.], in the writing of some 16 plays, some translations from the French and some original, which were produced at the Gedik Paşa Theatre in Istanbul (see MANASTIRLI MEHMED RIF‘AT for full details). He was born at Şniaw near Kütahya, the son of an army officer, was educated at the military school Fildišt in Damascus and then at the Istanbul War College (Horbey, where he graduated the first of his class and was the contemporary and classmate of his future collaborator Manastirli Mehmed. He served briefly in the Imperial Guards, but in the increasingly repressive atmosphere of Sultan ‘Abd al-Hamîd II’s reign he was soon banished from Istanbul to the eastern provinces, and served in Syria and Palestine with the rank of colonel. However, he was soon stripped of this rank, presumably as the result of a żurnal or defa‘ir report, and taught in Damascus schools for a living. After the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, he returned to Istanbul, was rehabilitated under the Young Turk regime, promoted to brigadier-general and then general of a division, and was finally appointed commander and governor of İskodra [q.v. in Suppl.] or Scutari (modern Shkoder in northern Albania). After a brief spell of service, he resigned on the grounds of ill-health, returned to Istanbul and died there in 1912.

**Bibliography:** See that for MANASTIRLI MEHMED RIF‘AT.

HASAN NIZĂMI, historian of the Dîhlî sultanate in Muslim India.

He was the son of Nizâmi Ārabî Samarkandî, the famous Persian literateur [q.v.], but left his hometown, Nišāpūr, sometime towards the close of the 6th/12th century because of political instability there. In Dîhlî he made friends with high officers of Sultan Kutb al-Dîn Aybak (602-7/1206-10 [q.v.], including the Sadr Şajraf al-Mulk, impressed by his learning, his friends advised him to produce a literary work so that he might get royal patronage; hence Hasan Nizâmi decided to compile the history of Aybak’s achievements in Arabic. But his friends persuaded him to write it in Persian, since there were in India few people literate in Arabic. In the meantime, the royal fornûn was proclaimed that Aybak’s conquests in India should be recorded by scholars,
HASNÁN NÍZÁMÍ — HASRÁT MÓHÁNÍ

along with those of his master, Sultan Mu’izz al-Din Muḥammad b. Sám [see gêrê dign]. Hence the compilation of the Tādž al-mu’dâther.

The part contains a description of Sultans Mu’izz al-Din Muḥammad and Ķuṭb al-Din Aybak. On Sultan Ķuṭb al-Din’s death, Hasan Nízámí continued his work under Iltutmish, and according to Sir Henry Elliot, brought it up to the year 626/1229; but the extant copies of the work end with the description of the occupation of Lahore by Iltutmish in 614/1217. Since Iltutmish was his last patron, the author is not impartial in his criticism of his master’s rivals, such as Tādž al-Din Yildız and Sultan Náisír al-Din Kúbača. He omits mention of Arám Sháh, the son of Ķuṭb al-Din Aybak, because Iltutmish has usurped the throne and killed him. Moreover, there is no space devoted to the description of the nobles of the early sultans of Díhlí, who had helped the sultans in stabilising Muslim rule in northern India at its very beginning. In fact, Hasan Nízámí fails to produce a history in the real sense of the word; his work reads like a mere Fath-náma.

It was, moreover, written in an ornate and florid style, full of verbosity and rhetorics. The historical details are interspersed with the Kur’anic verses and Arabic formulas. Half of the work comprises only verses. Despite these defects, the Tādž al-mu’dâther enjoyed fame because of its bravura style, much to contemporary literary taste, and much imitated subsequently.

Bibliography: Storey, i. 493-5, 1310; H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, The history of India, as told by its own historians, ii, 204-43; Hasan 'Askari, Tāj al-Ma’dâther of Hasan Nízámí, in Patna University Journal, xvi/3 (1963).

HASRÁT MÓHÁNÍ, SAYYID Fárîd AL-HÁSÁN, prominent Indian journalist, poet and politician, was born most probably in 1297/1880 in the small town of Mohán in Dálah Prádesh. His family, which numbered many scholars, physicians and mystics, claimed descent from Sayyid Mahmúd who migrated from Najphasis in Iran and founded Mohán in 615/1218. One recent ancestor had been royal physician to the Kings of Awadh, another had been minister of religious affairs in the Hyderabad state. Hasrat was educated at government schools and privately in Arabic and Persian. In 1316/1899 he headed the provincial list in the matriculation examination and won a government scholarship to the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh.

From his student days Hasrat was a prominent figure in the political and cultural activities of North Indian Muslims. He fought for Islamic causes in India and abroad. In 1903 he started an Urdu weekly, Urdu-i mûlûm, which appeared intermittently until 1938; its pan-Islamist and virulently anti-British views strongly influenced young educated Muslims. In 1909 he was jailed for a year for publishing an article critical of British educational policy in Egypt, and he was prominent in the explosion of pan-Islamic protest which preceded World War One. In 1916 he was interned for the duration of the war after he was found to be connected with ‘Ubayd Allah Súndhi’s [q.v.] plan, the Sîk Leuter Konspirasy, to raise the Frontier tribes against the British. During the Kahlîfát movement he associated increasingly with the ‘ulámâ, coming to be called our “madmullá” by Muhammad and Sháwkat ‘Ali [q.v.], and tried continually to drive the agitation more extreme: striving to make non-co-operation with government the policy of the Kahlîfát movement at its conference of November 1919, declaring his support for an Afghan invasion of India at the Congress-Kahlîfát meetings of June 1920, and attempting to make complete independence for India the aim of the Congress and the Muslim League at their sessions in 1921. Hasrat continued his work under Iltutmish until 1922. On his release he startled many by declaring himself a Communist as well as a Muslim, and he chaired the reception committee of the first Indian Communist Conference at Kanpur in 1925. From this point Hasrat’s influence in Indian politics declined. He remained notable but could no longer find support amongst many. From 1937 he was active in the Muslim League, of which he had been a member from its foundation and President in 1921, but he was out of harmony with the direction it was taking. He opposed the League’s demand for Pakistan and devoted much of his time from 1942 to 1947 to promoting his own plan for a three-tiered Indian confederation to solve the communal problem. In 1946 he was elected as a Muslim League candidate to the UP Legislative Council and to the Indian Constituent Assembly. He died in Lucknow in 1951.

Although vigorously engaged in politics, Hasrat maintained a considerable literary output. His most important work was a responsive commentary on the 13th/19th century poet Ghílán, Sháh-i Ghílán, and his discussion of the conventions of Urdu poetry, Nákí-t-i sukhán. Primarily, however, he was a poet. He contributed much to the refinement of the Urdu ghazal and was the only ghazal writer of modern times to become a “classic” while still alive. Djamáil Miýán Farangí Mahmúl had edited the most complete edition of his works, Jâliyâvat, 2nd. ed., Lahore 1959.

Evidently, several somewhat contradictory themes mingle in Hasrat’s life. There is his faith, as evident in his private life as in his public actions. A punitious observer of prayer and fasting, he also performed the Hadj at least eleven times between 1932 and his death. He was, moreover, in the tradition of his ancestors, a mystic and a follower of the Farangí Mahall; has edited the most complete edition of his master, Sultan Mu’izz al-Din Muhammad b. Sam [see GHURIDS]. Hence the coming to be associated increasingly with the ‘ulámâ, and being made a khalifa in both Kadin-Razzâf and Cishtf-Nizâmí groupings by Mawlana ‘Abd al-Barr [q.v.], which is unimportant or in both Kadin-Razzâf and Cishtf-Nizâmí groupings by Mawlana ‘Abd al-Barr [q.v.], which is unimportant.

Bibliography: Khalíl Hasán Qátír, Hasrat
HASSAN TAYLI “the oilman”, a religious devo-
tee of Muslim India, was born at an unknown date,
some time in the 10th/16th century, at Makkibal, on
the bank of the Chenab, in the Pandjab.
A critical change in Hassū’s life came when he
was twelve. He met one of the living “nine naths
of Muslim India, was born at an unknown date,
sixty-first and premier disciple, who had spent 82
years in severe austerities before his birth. Hassū
now embarked on his career as a saint. He went
to Lahore where he worked as a porter, but sub-
sequently became a grain merchant and opened a
grain store at Lahori Mandi. A devout admirer of
his, Sūrat Singh, paints him as a merchant of a curi-
ous type—knowing everything about the future prices,
he bought dear and sold cheap! He died at Lahore
in 1104/1603. His tomb still survives, an object of
veneration; the spot is also remembered where
he used to sell grain.

To his death, Hassū Taylī appears to have remained
formally a Muslim, though he did not follow the five
pillars of Gorakhnāth. The latter recognised in him his
chief disciple, Shaykh Kamal, used to sell grain.

Yākūṭ breaks his fast? Why should he have gone on
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Yākūṭ breaks his fast? Why should he have gone on
the time, so why should he have prayed in public?
He died at Lahore where he worked as a porter, but sub-
sequently became a grain merchant and opened a
grain store at Lahori Mandi. A devout admirer of
his, Sūrat Singh, paints him as a merchant of a curi-
ous type—knowing everything about the future prices,
he bought dear and sold cheap! He died at Lahore
in 1104/1603. His tomb still survives, an object of
veneration; the spot is also remembered where
he used to sell grain.

To his death, Hassū Taylī appears to have remained
formally a Muslim, though he did not follow the five
pillars of Gorakhnāth. The latter recognised in him his
chief disciple, Shaykh Kamal, used to sell grain.
Yakut's al-Udabd cle de l'Hegire, Paris 1935, 223-5, 228). It ended, Buwayhid Muizz al-Dawla and the Hamdanid Sayf Muhallabi and reflected the rivalry between the production). The is a caricature of al-Mutanabbi Mudiha by M.Y. Nadjm, Beirut 1385/1965, version is preserved in Shihab al-Dm al-Khatadj! (ed. AmIdI) and in at least two Antike im Islam, Kufa. A shorter version of the same exists in Yakut and by others, al-Hatimi's main interest was Hatimi enjoyed a considerable reputation in Spain. Other writings by al-Hatimi have not apparently survived. As far as one can judge from the lists given by Yakut and by others, al-Hatimi's main interest was literary criticism, though he wrote also books on lexicon and grammar.


(S.A. Bonebakker)
HAWKING — HAYDAR-I AMULI

HAWKING [see BAYZARA].

HAWSAM, the earlier Arabic name of the modern town of Rūdisar in eastern Gīlān on the coast of the Caspian Sea. It is an Arabisation of the local name, which appears to have been Khosham or Khasham. Thus the name is given by al-Mukaddasī (51, 355, 360) and probably by Abū Dulāb b. Muhālihib (ed. M. al-Dawla al-Sulṭān al-Uṭubī, Tawārisīn, v, Cairo 1955, 25) as Kh-sh-m; by al-Bīrūnī (al-Ḥāriding 1954-5, 569) as Khawṣam; and by Abū al-Dīn Zawānī (ed. H. L. Rabin, in JF (1950), 327, 330) as Hawṣam. The rendering of the initial ḥ as h in Arabic corresponded to the pronunciation of Arabic bāʾ by the Gil as bāʾ and the shift of Persian gīn to Arabic ṣīn occurred frequently. The identity of al-Mukaddasī's Kh-sh-m with Hawsam, rejected by Muhammad Kazzwīnī and Minorsky, is ascertained by his reference to it (360) as "the town of the dār." The itinerary given by him elsewhere (372), which places a Kh-sh-m at a two days' trip west of the Sāḥīf-rūd, appears to refer to a different town also mentioned by Abū al-Dīn Zawānī (332).

Hawsam is generally described as the easternmost town of Gīlān, located at the border between the Gil and the Daylam, whose territories extended west to it to the coast. It is first mentioned as a residence of Hawsam ibn al-Ṭūrshigh [q.v.] by al-Nasir b. al-Ḥākam, who was active in the region during the last decade of the 3rd century/903-13 converting the Gil and Daylam to Islam. After the collapse of the Zaydī Alīd reign in Tabaristan in 316/928, it became the chief seat of the Alīd rule in the Caspian region and the centre of scholarship of the Nasirīyya branch of the Bawandīs. Thereafter, Hawsam was preserved from the former town, and several royal personages were buried there in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Huddūd fī al-ʿalam, 136, 388; Ḫākī, iv, 996; H. L. Rabin, Le Guila, in RMM, xxxii (1916-17), 336-9; Muhammad Kazzwīnī, notes to edition of Diwānayyī, iii, 422-4; S. M. Stern, The coins of Amul, in NC, 7th ser., vii (1967), 206-9; W. Madelung, Abū Iṣḥāq al-Shībī on the Alīds of Tabaristan, in Giornale, in JNES, 1 (1967), 29, 45-51; idem, in Malāmān and Gīlān, in Atti del III Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islāmici, Naples 1967, 488-90; idem, The minor dynasties of Northern Iran, in Cambridge History of Iran, iv, Cambridge 1975, 219-22; Manučehr Sutūdī, Az Āstārā tā Āstarābdī, ii, Tehran 1351, 216-9, 304-5. (W. Madelung)

HAYDAR-I AMULĪ, BĀHĀʾ AL-DĪN HAYDAR B. ALI B. HAYDAR AL-ʿUMBAYĪ (719/1319 or 720/1320-817/1413), early representative of Persian theosophy and commentator on Ibn ʿArabī. Our knowledge about his life is based on two autobiographical passages written in 777/1375-6 and 782/1380 respectively. He originated from a family of Ḥusaynī sayyids in Amul, Mazandarān, whose population had been known for its Shiʿī leanings for a long time. During his studies he left his hometown for Āstārābdī and Isfahān. But in his late twenties he returned and became a confidant, and afterwards a minister of Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan b. Shāh Kavdār (r. 791-816). Haydār succeeded the last ruler of Āstarābdī belonging to the Kinawārīya branch of the Bawandī dynasty [q.v.]. This period seems to have been rather short, because in 748/1347 he was still in Khurāsān, as is attested by a vision which he had
there and which he reports in his works, whereas two years later, in 750/1349, shortly before Fakhr al-Din al-Khaḍrī's assassination by members of his own family, he experienced a religious crisis which made him give up his worldly life, in spite of his reverence for his master, and perform the badā'ī. For the rest of his life he lived as a hermit, and in the summer of 749/1348, he stayed in Iraḳ. In Baghdad he studied with Naṣr al-Dīn al-Khaḍrī al-Hillī (d. 755/1354) and Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, the son of the famous 'Allāma al-Hillī, two Ǧāḥiṣ scholars who enjoyed the patronage of the Ǧalā'irīds [q.v.]. With the latter one he exchanged a theological and juridical correspondence which is preserved in an autograph (al-Maṣā'id al-ʿĀlamīyya, dated 762/1361; ms. Tehran University no. 1022, fols. 71b-76b). He also wrote for him his Risālat Rāʾif fī al-khāliṭ an ṣawwī ṣuḥbī Amīr al-Muʿāminīn, an apology for 'Allī's passive attitude towards the first caliphs.

The number of Haydar-i Amuli's works which are known to us, by title at least, amounts to 34. The earliest book preserved is his

(1) Qāmīṭ al-ʿasrār wa-mambūṭ al-anwār, an exposition of the deeper meaning of the ḥiṣār with the help of tale-āt (ed. Osman Yahya and Henrî Corbin, in Sayyed Haydar Amuli. La philosophie shiite, Bibl. Iran., vol. 16, Tehran-Paris 1969, 2 ff.; for an analysis of its contents, cf. Corbin in Eranos-Jahrh., xxx. (1961), 90 ff. and xxxi (1963), 80 ff., also in En Islam iranien, Paris 1972, iii, 149 ff.; P. Antes, Zur Theologie der Schītā. Eine Untersuchung des Qāmīṭ al-ʿasrār... Freiburg 1971). It was finished about 732/1331; in the introduction, eight other works, obviously of smaller size, are mentioned, some of which may date back to the time before Amuli settled in Iraḳ. In one of them, his Risālat al-arkān, he had treated the same subject as in his Qāmīṭ, restricted only to the five "pillars" of Islam.—After 760/1359 he wrote his

(2) Risālat al-Wujūḍ fī maʿrifat al-maʿbūṭ in itself has not been rediscovered yet, but a summary of which, finished at Naḍīm in 760/1367 under the title Risālat Naṭā al-muṣṭafat fī maʿrifat al-wujūḍ, has been edited by Yahya and Corbin (ibid., 620 ff.). The problem of being is treated under the aspects of its title itself has not been rediscovered yet, but a summary of Islam.—After 760/1359 he wrote his

(3) al-Mubīt al-ṣaʿīm, a huge commentary on Ibn ʿArabī's Fāṣīṣ al-ʿamūl to which he added, after the model set by earlier commentators like Dāwūd b. Muḥammad al-Kaysārī (d. 751/1350), voluminous prolegomena (ed. Yahya and Corbin, in Bibl. Iran., vol. 22, Tehran-Paris 1975). In them, he proved the iniquability of Muḥammad among the prophets and of Ibn ʿArabī among the mystics. Muḥammad and Ibn ʿArabī are connected historically by the revelatio continuata through the Ṣḥīfī imāms and phenomenologically by the manda imagina (ʿilm al-mūṭaf), the world of spiritual being from which emanated the vision in which Ibn ʿArabī claimed to have received the Fāṣīṣ from the Prophet himself during his stay in Damascus in 627/1230. In spite of all reverence, however, Amuli deviates from Ibn ʿArabī in the question of the khīṭam al-waṣīṭa, the "seal of saintliness". Whereas Ibn ʿArabī saw this ideal realised in an absolute sense in Jesus (= waṣīṭa mutlak), and whereas many of his adherents believed that, in momentaneous limitation, it had been represented by Ibn ʿArabī himself (= waṣīṭa muṣṭafāyun), Haydar-i Amuli puts ʿAllī and the twelfth imām in their place, his originality thus merging with his Ǧāḥiṣ conviction. He criticises at length the almost inanitiary character of AN after his death and had lived in Sunnī Egypt, for his unclear, i.e. non-Ǧāḥiṣ, attitude in this problem (which came closer to Ibn ʿArabī's intention). Two other commentators, both of them of Iranian origin, Muʿāyyad al-Ǧalānī (d. 690/1291) and Kamāl al-Ǧalānī (Abd al-Razzāk al-Khaḍrī, d. 730/1330) are mentioned with respect. Complicated numerical speculations concerning the imāms and the prophets are clarified through diagrams (treated by Corbin in Eranos-Jb., xlii (1975), 79 ff.).—Amuli's latest attested work is his (5)

Risālat al-Ulām al-ṣiṣṭaṣa which he composed in 787/1385 at the age of 65. The autograph is preserved in Naḍīm.—A full list of Amuli's works is found in La philosophie shiite, French introd. 37 ff. (H. Corbin, Arabic introd. 19 ff. (O. Yahya).

Haydar-i Amuli combined Ǧāḥiṣ convictions hereditarily in his family with an ʿIrākī and Persian Shīʿī tradition strongly imbued with the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī [q.v.]. In this high degree the ʿIrākī akbar he followed, especially the mystic traditions like Saʿd al-Ǧalānī's Haģhammiyya (537-650/1191-1252) and Naḍīm al-Ǧalānī's Dīya (d. 654/1256), both of whom he quotes quite frequently. Like them, he was a speculative type; in contrast to two other famous Iranian Shīʿīs who were in his exact contemporaries, ʿAllī al-Haḡhammānī (714-86/1318-89), equally originating from a family of sayyids, and the Sunnī Bahāʾ al-Ǧalānī (717/1918-89), he did not found a separate tariqa nor did he adhere to any of them. More strongly than anybody else before him, he insisted on the common origin of Shīʿīsm and Ṣūfīsm, thus laying the ground for a dogma held by Iranian mystical orders until today. This is why he pleaded for a transcending of the normal juridical approach to Islam by a union of ḡiṣār, taʾrīḵ, and haḵīḵa, the Muslim who combines these three aspects not only a believer (muʾāmin), but a believer put to test (muʾāmin muṭanāṭān), equally remote from literalistic Shīʿīsm as from antinomian Sūfīsm. Ṣūfīsm is thus understood as the esoteric side of Islam, but not in an extremist sense. It may be noted, in this connection, that the term muʾāmin muṭanāṭān was also used by extremists like the Naṣṣāyris; Haydar Amuli may have reinterpreted it in opposition to radical tendencies in popular Islam.

All knowledge (maʿṣūfa) is derived from the imāms; they represent the Ǧāḥiṣ nār Muhammad as well as Ibn ʿArabī's haḵīḵa Muḥammadīyya, this latter entity being understood by Amuli as consisting of 14 light arons which correspond to the metaphysical persons of the 14 "sinless ones" (moṣūmān): Muḥammad, Fāṭima, and the 12 Imāms. The 12 Imāms and the 7 Prophets are summed up in the mystical number 19 which pervades revelation and universe (the Basmula has 19 letters; the universe consists of the Universal Intellect + the Universal Soul + 9 spheres + 4 elements + 3 realms of nature + man; more about numerical speculations of this kind in the article Corbin in Eranos-Jb., xlii (1975), 79 ff.). God as the mūṭaf of the universe is unrecognisable. God can only be recognised in His epiphanies. This leads to a metaphysics of the divine names and attributes; the normal monotheism propagated by Muḥammad is differentiated, as taḵtīd ulīhī, from the taḵtīd
Ugūlī administrated by the imāms, i.e. the insight that God alone is in the real sense of the word. In combining these elements, Haydar-i Amūlī’s thinking represents an “open” system which is based on meditation and pneumatic exegesis more than an discursive reasoning.


In 1902, at the invitation of the Persian government, Haydar went to Magḥhad to supervise the Power Station installed for the Shrine of Ḫūrūs Ḳīdār, where he however stayed for only ten months, seeing it as unprofitable ground for political activism and finding both the governor of Khūrūs Ḳīdār and the custodian of the Shrine oppressive. During his short stay, nevertheless, Haydar played a part in an uprising against the Shrine custodian, Siḥām al-Mulk, who was believed to have been a grain hoarder. He then left Magḥhad for Tehran in 1903.

While working for the railway and later on for the Amin al-Darb Power Station in Tehran, Haydar propagated constitutionalism, and when there was widespread opposition to the Belgian financial adviser, M. Naüs, Haydar encouraged the clerical students of the Sipahsālār Mosque to take refuge in the British Legation at Tehran by giving each of them a certain amount of money.

After the first parliamentary election in Tehran, Haydar established the first branch there of the Social Democratic Party, the aim of which was declared to be “uprooting the existing despotism”. Since the Party believed in armed struggle, Haydar planned a number of bomb explosions. In June 1907 he hired and exploded a bomb at the house of Mīrzā Aḥmad Khān ‘Alī al-Dawrkhānī, a prominent member of the anjamān-i khidmat, and the party also threatened ‘Alī Aṣghar Khān Aṭābak, the Grand Vizier. Thus in September 1907 Aṭābak was killed by ‘Abbās Āḵa Ṣarrāf, a party comrade of Haydar. Towards the end of 1907 Haydar planned the assassination of Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāhī, who was then attempting to extinguish the Persian constitutional system established in 1906. This plan, however, miscarried, the Shāh himself remained safe, and Haydar was arrested, though released subsequently.

Upon Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāhī’s bombardment of the Persian Parliament in 1908 and his repudiation of the constitutionalists, Haydar fled to Baku. While in Russia, he continued his campaign by publishing articles in the Georgian press against the Shāh’s regime. He also recruited some 700 Georgian volunteers for the constitutionalists’ camp in Tahrīrī, and later he himself joined the Tahrīrī movement led by Ṣattār Khān. Haydar took an active part in the constitutionalists’ victorious actions in Marand and Khūy, and he also helped to establish a school and a newspaper in Khūy, where he appeared as a hero in the poetry produced at that time.

When he heard about the rise of the constitutionalists in Gilān and Ḳashān he went to the later city and closely co-operated with the anti-Shāh forces. In 1909, together with Shāyḵ Muḥammad Khīyānī and others, he established the Democrat Party in Tehran. He also founded a branch of the same Party in Ṭabāzī in 1910. In the meantime, however, Haydar was accused of the assassination on 15 July 1910 of Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Bihbāhānī, a clerical leader of the Persian Constitutional Revolution, who was believed to have turned against the revolutionary factions; Haydar was interrogated but released later. In retaliation for Bihbāhānī’s murder, some members of the Tādāšīnī Party made an attempt on Haydar’s life (Mahdī Māḥk-Ẓāda, Tarīḵ-i Inṣālāt-i madārsīyatī, vi, Tehran 1953, 219).

In 1910 Ṣattār Khān and his fellow muḍḥāḥidīn moved to Tehran. The various revolutionary factions now fell into confused, internecine struggles; there ensued several assassinations among the muḍḥāḥidīn and other revolutionary groups, and finally the government forces defeated Ṣattār Khān. In this bloody warfare, Haydar, at one time a good friend of Ṣattār Khān, is said to have fought against him.

Meanwhile, Haydar undertook a secret mission among the Bakhṭyarīs, but no longer feeling safe in Iran, fled the country and joined Lenin, the Russian Bolshevik leader, in Europe in 1911. On his way to Europe, Haydar, through his friend, Sadekov, received a sizable amount of money from Muḥammad ‘Alī, the ex-Shāh of Iran, having falsely promised him help to regain his throne. Later, Haydar excused himself by saying that he took the money in order to reduce the source of the ex-Shāh’s power and corruption (‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Haydar Amū Uğulī va Muḥammad Amin Karīl-Ẓāda, in Yıldız, v/1-2 (1949), 43–67). While in Europe with Lenin, Haydar was also in touch with the Iranian exiles in Paris and Berlin. In 1915, he joined the anti-Ally Committee organised by Sayyid Ḥasan Takt-Ẓāda and others, and was commissioned by the committee to go to ‘Irāq and organise an armed force against the British; this mission was not however successful. He then returned to Berlin, and shortly afterwards went to Moscow where he took part in the 1917 Soviet Revolution. In September 1920, Haydar participated in the Congress of the People of the East held in Baku and, together with Avestis Sulak-Ẓāda, represented Iran in the Publicity Council of the Congress.

Aiming at profound structural changes in Iran, Haydar wrote an essay analysing the political and social situation of Iran and proposing certain revolutionary measures to be carried out by the newly-
born Communist Party of Iran; this essay, which was written in January–March 1921, is known as “Haydar Khan ‘Amu Ughli’s theses” (Mazdad, Anand-i tareekhi-yi janabat-i kargari, isiylay dovdukisi va kumunisti-yi Iran, iii, Florence 1972, 45-53). He then was invited by Kucak Khan and other officials in Adharbaydjan, and by Khiya-Mudjhid-i buzurg Haydar; in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 and subsequent political developments in Iran, all the works concerned with the period provide extensive information and ample references about Haydar; see especially the articles: yam'iyat; mut'is; hukuma; khurbar, Shaykh Muhammad; khurassan, Mullâ Muhammad Kazim; kooykh itan; mirza; (in Suppl.) eka nadjafi, Hefidji, Shaykh Muhammad Taqti Isfahani, xazan; haqiri, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karim Yazdi; See also ‘Abd al-Husayn Nawâlî, inkilâb-i gilan âgâhâz shadîd; in Tadgar, iv, no. 3 (1947), 19-55; idem, Sattar Khan Sardar-i mili Shahjahan, who had in 1036/1627 sent Yusuf Khan with Kutb al-Din, governor of Bengal, to suppress Shîr Afsân, who held a dâgar in Burdwan, for being in league with the Afghan rebels, and Shîr Afsân was killed, Haydar Malik gave protection to his widow, Mihr al-Nisâ', the future Nûrdî, and sent her safely to Agrâ. On Yûsuf Khan’s death, Haydar Malik entered the service of Djamângîr, who conferred upon him the titles of Caghaîyâ and Rifâ’î al-mulk. Haydar Malik was versatile, being not only a soldier but also a historian, an architect and an engineer. His Tâ’rikhi-yi kargari, written in simple, lucid Persian in 1031/1620-1, describes the history of Kazagmîr from the earliest times to 1027/1617, the twelfth year of Djamângîr’s reign. Although a Shî, he wrote objectively, and his work is an important source for the history of the Sultanate in Kazagmîr. When the Djamâ Mas‘jîd of Sirnagar was destroyed by fire, Haydar Malik’s father was accused of having set fire to it. Djamâ Mas‘jîd was rebuilt by Haydar Malik, which he did at his own expense. He also rebuilt the tomb of Shams al-Dîn ‘Irâfî, the Nûrbakhtejiyya saint, which had been destroyed by the Sunnis for a reprisal for the destruction of the Djamâ Mas‘jîd. Later, Haydar Malik constructed by order of Djamângîr a canal from the river Sind to irrigate the Nur Afza garden. He was also entrusted with the supervision of the construction of the waterfall at Vernag. He died in Kazagmîr at a ripe old age in the reign of Shîhjâhân, who had in 1066/1657 appointed him as superintendent of buildings to be built around Vernag.

**Bibliography:** Mohibbul Hasan, Kazagmîr under the Sultans, Calcutta 1959; idem, A note on the assassination of Shîr Afsân, in Ghulam Yâzdi commemoration volume, ed. H.K. Sherwani, Hyderabad 1966; R.K. Parmu, History of Muslim rule in Kazagmîr, Delhi 1969; Haydar Malik, Tâ’rikhi-yi kazagmîr, ms. India Office 530, so far unpublished. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

**HAYDAR MALIK,** Kâmîrî soljed, scholar and engineer. He was the son of Hasan Malik of Câdûra, a village about 10 miles south of Sirnagar, and descended from Râmçandra, the commander-in-chief of Radja Suhâdeva (1301-20). His family seemed to have gone into eclipse during the early period of the Sultanate, but with its conversion to Shi’ism early in the 16th/16th century, it became active in the social and political life of Kazagmîr. Haydar Malik’s grandfather, Malik Muhammad Nâdîjî, played an important role in bringing about the overthrow of Mirzâ Haydar Dughlat in 958/1551; and his father, Hasan Malik fought against the Mughal army sent by Emperor Akbar to conquer Kazagmîr. Haydar Malik also took up arms against the Mughals. He served Yûsuf Khan Çak, son of Sulhân Husayn Shâh (970-8-1563-70), for 24 years, and accompanied him in exile to Hindustan. He fought side-by-side with Yûsuf Khan, who was sent by Akbar to suppress the rebellious cizares and cizaret; when Shîr Afsân was sent Yûsuf Khan with Kuhsi al-Dîn, governor of Bengal, to suppress Shîr Afsân, who held a dâgar in Burdwan, for being in league with the Afghan rebels, and Shîr Afsân was killed, Haydar Malik gave protection to his widow, Mihr al-Nisâ', the future Nûrdî, and sent her safely to Agrâ. On Yûsuf Khan’s death, Haydar Malik entered the service of Djamângîr, who conferred upon him the titles of Caghaîyâ and Rifâ’î al-mulk. Haydar Malik was versatile, being not only a soldier but also a historian, an architect and an engineer. His Tâ’rikhi-yi kargari, written in simple, lucid Persian in 1031/1620-1, describes the history of Kazagmîr from the earliest times to 1027/1617, the twelfth year of Djamângîr’s reign. Although a Shî, he wrote objectively, and his work is an important source for the history of the Sultanate in Kazagmîr. When the Djamâ Mas‘jîd of Sirnagar was destroyed by fire, Haydar Malik’s father was accused of having set fire to it. Djamâ Mas‘jîd was rebuilt by Haydar Malik, which he did at his own expense. He also rebuilt the tomb of Shams al-Dîn ‘Irâfî, the Nûrbakhtejiyya saint, which had been destroyed by the Sunnis for a reprisal for the destruction of the Djamâ Mas‘jîd. Later, Haydar Malik constructed by order of Djamângîr a canal from the river Sind to irrigate the Nur Afza garden. He was also entrusted with the supervision of the construction of the waterfall at Vernag. He died in Kazagmîr at a ripe old age in the reign of Shîhjâhân, who had in 1066/1657 appointed him as superintendent of buildings to be built around Vernag.

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Furthermore, the idea of a mixture or melange contained in the root led to the word being used in a pejorative sense. Indeed, there was a saying that the word hāyās or hāyās was "this is a wretched affair", and a proverb, ðada ða-yāyas "the hay has been remixed", that is to say, "it was already bad, but has now become worse", uttered when someone criticises a second person who has performed his task badly, but himself fails to do it any better (al-Maydanl, al-amthdl, i, 484).

**Bibliography:** In addition to references given in the article, see De Goeje, BCA, iv, 222.

**HAZĀRAĐĀT, a region of central Afghanistan spanning the modern (post-1964 reorganisation) provinces of Bāmīyān, Wardak, Ghāzni, Ghōr and Uruzgān. The region is almost wholly mountainous, its northern backbone being formed by the Kūh-i Bābā range [q.v.] and its outliers. There are consequently very few towns and these tend to lie in the river valleys, e.g. Dāwatāyr on the upper Ĥer Ĥi Rūd and Pāndžāb or Pāndjāb on the Pandjāb tributary of the upper Helmand. The sedentary agriculturist Hazāras [q.v. below] are the main ethnic element of the region, but there are also Pāšghān or Afghān nomads, e.g. Ghālzays [q.v.], who have moved in from the east and who have clearly-defined grazing grounds.

**Bibliography:** J. Humlum, La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride, Copenhagen 1959, 86-8, 114-16, 156-7. (C.E. Bosworth)
the Hazaras rebelled against the authority of 'Abd al-Rahmân Khân [q.v.], and in 1891 the Khân organised the suppression of Hazâra unrest as a qâhilât by Sunnî fighters for the faith or ghâzîs against Shi‘î political enemies. It was after this fierce fighting that many Hazaras emigrated to Persian Balûcistan, and many Hazaras were also resettled in Afghan Turkistan. Already Elphinstone noted that there were many Hazaras in Kâbul, including 500 in the royal guard, and in the early 20th century, Hâbîb Allâh Khân recruited a labour force of several thousand Hazaras for his road-building and public works policies. Today, there are Hazâra immigrant colonies in all the main towns of Afghanistân, sending remittances back to their families; in Kâbul, they are, in particular, building and general labourers and wood sellers.

zal), which was found not only on hubās but also on mulk properties. In Morocco, the prevalent system of perpetual lease by the hubās of dilapidated shops and workshops was the ḗqlas (qu'elsit), also called "ānda" or zinā (cf. Dözy, Suppl., i, 207). The tenant makes the necessary repairs, pays an annual rent and thus acquires the perpetual usufruct of the property. Nāsha in Tunis and geḏā in Egypt were similar arrangements involving, in addition to perpetual lease, the ownership and use of tools and installations of shops and workshops. However, there was a major difference between all the Māḥkī—North African systems and those which were prevalent in Egypt, Syria, and Turkey, according to Ḥanafī law: in the Maghrib the lessee paid a fixed annual rent, while the yearly rents paid in the East were supposed to vary according to market fluctuations (ṣafī al-miḥābī). (For these and various other systems, see Pröbstel, 153 ff.; Milliot, 55 ff., 126-6; Abū Zahra, 107 ff.)

In Egypt, ḥikr has existed at least since the 12th century (cf. S.D. Goitein, Cairo: an Islamic city in the light of the Geniza documents, in I.M. Lapidus, Middle Eastern cities, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, 92; Hassanein Rābi, Some financial aspects of the waqf system in medieval Egypt, in al-Maqallah al-Tūhākīyya al-Masriyya, xxvii [1971], 1-24). Ḥikr and similar practices of perpetual lease flourished after periods of decline in the power of the central government which involved deterioration of waqf. This is what happened in various parts of Cairo after the decline of the Fātimids (Mubārak, Ḵhitīt, ii, 2, 102), and in the Maghrib with the decline of the Marinid dynasty and the disorders under the Shārālim which brought about the dilapidation of the waqf (Milliot, 43). The recurring fires in Manfūl and other Anatolian towns have been considered as a primary reason for the spread of ḥikr by the dishonesty of the local Kadis and Usurpers even claimed the rent, and after some time the estate became the lessee's property. Usurpers even claimed the rent, and after some time the estate became the lessee's property. Frequently administrators neglected to collect the rent, and after some time the estate became the lessee's property. Apparently these laws were not effective, and in 1960 a new law had been made to abolish ḥikr. Attempts made to do this during the first years of the century had failed. Ḥikr on ṣafī al-wakf was abolished together with such ṣafī in Egypt in 1932 by art. 7 of Law no. 180 of that year, or, in Israel, Law no. 469 of 1953 and no. 295 of 1954 provided for the voluntary sale and termination of ṣafī on ṣafī al-wakf. The owner of the rakaba (the ṣafī) was to receive three-fifths of the price paid and the holder of the ḥikr the rest. Apparently these laws were not effective, and in 1960 a new law
tendencies and desires and to conform to the obligations of Islam. This poem enjoyed a very great vogue in Morocco.

**Bibliography:** Kâdirî, Nağr al-maṣджînî, Fâs 1310/1892, ii, 273-5; Kâtuîî, Fâris al-fâharî, Fâs 1346-7/1927-8, ii, 421-3; Muḥâlîr Sâsî, al-Maṣdîl, Casablanca 1370/1950, iii, 32-52; Maḥâlîf, Mâlîk al-nûr al-zâkînî, Cairo 1349/1930-i, i, 355; E. Levi-Provençal, Chorîfî, 316-17; Brockelmann, ii, 456, S. ii, 390; M. Lakhdar, Le littéraire, 221-4 and bibl. given. (Ed.)

**HINN**, an inferior species of *djīm* [q.v.]. Mas'ūdī (*Mīrāgy, iv = § 1340) states that many people believe that the Hinn are a sub-species of the *djīm* who are of a weaker and lower kind, but condemn the belief in them as a delusion. Belief in the Hinn, is, however, accepted by the Druzes [see H. Guits, *Théogonie des Druses*, Paris 1863, n. 78, p. 106; Tākīm Qābāl Lyūnt (Leeds Arab. Ms. 179, fol. 14b); C.F. Seybold, *H. Guys, Paris 1863, n. 78, p. Theogonie des Druses*, cfrinn position of supreme leadership had passed to his *iyya* Mahmudiyya (Buhayra province) led by Ahmad al-...in Egypt. (F. De Jong)

**HIYAL** (A.), with the basic meaning of "devices, subterfuges", has had its sense considerably extended, and in particular, denotes in Classical Arabic ingenio...n machinery, and finally, the science of mechanisms. Since the article *Hiyal* in Vol. III deals mainly with legal fictions and ruses and with casuistic processes, the present article is especially concerned with automata, with the Arabic works describing them and with the tradition of which they are the most remarkable expression.

The medical Arabic books on machines are often called "automata treatises" by modern writers, but the designation is somewhat misleading. The books deal with *hiyal* [q.v.], which in one of its senses denotes mechanical contrivances and covers a much wider field than that of automata. The descriptions in the treatises, supplemented by references in histories and by archaeological evidence, enables us to list the following constructions: water-clocks and candle-clocks; trick vessels and liquid dispensers, measuring devices; fountains, lamps; water-raising machines; musical automata; locks. According to Abu Abd Allah Aḥmad ibn Muhammad al-Khārazmī, who compiled his scientific encyclopedia *Maqāmāt al-ṣālim towards the end of the 4th/10th century, trebuchets (mangani) are also *hiyal* (ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 247). The word therefore means virtually any mechanical contrivance from small toys to large machines. *Hiyal* may indeed be automata, as in the case of trick vessels; they may display a variety of automata, for instance on the monumental water-clocks; or the automatic element may be completely lacking. The closest Arabic word for automaton is in fact simply "movement" (harakāt), which is used frequently by the writers, e.g. al-Dījarī, [q.v. above] and Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 307). Often a variety of *harakāt* is described for the more complex devices, and the craftsman is instructed to select those that suit his tastes and purposes. The concern of this article is mainly with the contrivances that incorporated automatic effect.

Several treatises composed in Arabic are known to us, including: *kišāb al-Hiyal* by the Banu Mūsa, written in BaghdaS, ca. 236/850 (Hausen; Wiedemann and Hauser - W.H. 1); *kišāb al-ṣālīt wa 'l-ṣalam biḥāl* by Ridwān, written in 600/1203, describing the repairs of a monumental water-clock built by his father Muhammad al-Sā'īf in Damascus ca.
The clocks in the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century... an examination of photographs of... it cannot be established with certainty, may prove to be... Apart is from the treatises themselves, there are other attestations to support the existence of a thriving tradition of machine technology in medieval Islam. Al-Dżazari mentions a candle-clock built by a certain Yûnûs al-Asîrî (Hill 1, 87) and a musical automaton constructed by Hibat Allah b. al-Husayn (Hill 1, 170), otherwise known to us as an astrologist (Suter, 117). There are also references to be found in the works of geographers and historians concerning mechanical devices which they had seen: for instance, the striking water-clock with automata presented to Charlemagne by vassals of Harûn al-Rašîd (Eginhard, Annales Francorum in Monmenta German. Script. i, 194), and the silver tree... it now seems certain that there was a tradition of mechanical engineering, more practical than that represented by the known works of Philo and Hero, had spread throughout the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia. Monumental water-clocks, for instance, had been built in Syria in Byzantine times (H. Diels, Über die von Prokop beschriebene Uhr von Gaza, in 4th, Philos. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Klasse [1917], No. 7). According to Ridwân (W.H. 2, 179-80), this tradition was continued in Damascus in the Umayyad period and remained unbroken up to the time of his father. Ridwân, in the same passage, also mentions a two-way transmission of ideas between Byzantium and Sâsânîd Iran. It is indeed highly probable that mechanism technology developed in Iran in the Sâsânîd period and continued into Islamic times from the Banû Mûsâ onwards many of the techniques that had been used were of Persian origin. Nor can a similar interchange between Iran and India be left out of account.

Activity also continued in Byzantium. A treatise on a complicated musical automaton, probably written in Byzantium in the 1st/7th or 2nd/8th century, was described by al-Dżazari (Hill 1-170), see E. Wiedemann, Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Hildesheim 1970, ii, 50. Three Arabic versions of this treatise, ascribed to a certain Apollonius, are extant. A most important work, attributed to Archimedes, and describing the construction of a water-clock, exists in several Arabic ms. Both Ridwân and al-Dżazari acknowledge that the basic water-machinery of their monumental clocks was derived from the "Archimedes" treatise (Hill 2, W.H. 3). The origins of this work are still somewhat obscure. It may have contained basic ideas from Archimedes, developed by Philo, with later accretions from Byzantine and Islamic writers. Indeed, this treatise exemplifies the problems that arise when we try to identify the various cultural elements in the Arabic "translations". The "Philonic" corpus, to cite another example, has been transmitted in Latin versions, a Greek fragment, and a late Arabic version. The last-named certainly includes later Hellenistic and Islamic additions, and it is difficult to isolate Philo's own contributions.

For the present, we can make the following hypotheses for the origins and development of Islamic mechanical technology: (1) At the time of the Islamic conquests, there was an established tradition for the manufacture of water-clocks and other mechanical devices in an area that stretched from the eastern Mediterranean to India. Chinese influence cannot be excluded. This tradition was recorded not only in documentary form, but in the experience of craftsmen, and in the existence of earlier constructions. (2) This tradition was continued in Islam, but no results were committed to writing before the Banû Mûsâ in the 3rd/9th century. The Banû Mûsâ drew upon translations from Greek treatises, and from the experience of craftsmen, adding many refinements of their own. (3) Later writers, such as al-Dżazari, were able to exercise an eclectic judgement, using elements from Greek works and from the established Islamic corpus as they saw fit. Because al-Dżazari in...
particular was a fine engineer, he made significant improvements on the work of his predecessors. It was essentially practical engineering, and the Islamic writers derived much of their knowledge from the works of other craftsmen—astro-labists, millwrights, irrigation specialists, metalworkers, jewelers, and the makers of articles for domestic use and ornament.

Islamic mechanical engineering was based upon a sophisticated, if empirical, use of the principles of aero-nautics, hydrostatics and mechanics. Their materials included timber, sheet brass and copper, cast bronze, iron (for small components, nails and axles), iron and copper wire, rope and string. From these they fashioned the devices and mechanisms to produce the desired effects: vessels of various shapes, figures of men and animals, tanks, air-vessels, bent-tube and concentric siphons, pulleys, tipping-buckets, axles and bearings, pipes, conical valves, taps with multiple borings, gears, and special mechanisms designed for individual machines. Orifices, graduated for a given flow, were made from pieces of onyx.

Eighty-five of the Banu Musa's one hundred devices, and about twenty of al-Dżazarî's fifty, are trick vessels of various kinds. They demonstrate a bewildering variety of effects. For example, wine and water were poured into a jar and issued in succession from the same tap; a pitcher would not accept any more liquid once inpouring was interrupted; several liquids could be withdrawn separately from the same tap; when tilted, a pitcher could be allowed to discharge or not, according to the wish of the pourer (to prevent discharge he covered a concealed air-hole with his finger). These effects were obtained by using a repertoire of about ten basic motifs, together with components designed for individual machines. These components were assembled inside the main container, often with great ingenuity. In all the cases, the vessel itself was the automaton, and the visible effect was the discharge of liquid. The fountains described by the Banu Musa and al-Dżazarî, in which the discharge changes shape at regular intervals, are essentially large versions of the trick vessels, but with a much greater aesthetic content.

Undoubtedly, the large water-clocks are the most important constructions of the Islamic engineers, for the engineering skills that went into their manufacture, for their beauty, and for their relevance to the history of mechanical engineering. Two of al-Dżazarî's clocks (category I, 3, 4) are operated by a submersible float, the tarғgiḥār, a bowl with a graduated orifice in its underside that submerges in a given period. The tarғgiḥār is an ancient device for measuring time, but these clocks are the only instance we know of in which the tarғgiḥār is incorporated in working machinery. They have the additional feature in that some of the automata are not simply for display, but also form an essential part of the operational cycle. The standard type of monumental clock, however, is exemplified by the first two described by al-Dżazarî, and by the clock constructed by Muhammad al-Sāūṭî. Apart from its use of masonry for its casing, al-Sāūṭî's clock is very similar to al-Dżazarî's monumental clock (category I, ch. 1), which may be taken to exemplify this type of timepiece. This clock was reconstructed in the Science Museum, London, for the 1976 World of Islam Festival; it is quite beautiful, and works perfectly. The display screen is about 3.50 metres by 1.60 metres in width. At the bottom of the machine are the figures of five musicians—two trumpeters, two drummers and a cymbalist—who perform at the sixth, ninth and twelfth hours. Above these figures is a semicircle of glass roundels, at the side of which are the figures of brass falcons. Above the apex of the semicircle are two rows of twelve doors each, in front of which a small representation of the moon moves at a steady speed. The clock operates on "solar" or "temporal" hours, obtained by dividing the hours of daylight by twelve. Every hour one upper door opens to reveal a standing figure, one lower door revolves to show a different colour, each of the falcons drops a bronze ball from its beak on to a cymbal, and one of the glass roundels becomes fully illuminated. The clock is crowned with a Zodiac circle, painted with the appropriate signs, and having glass discs representing the sun and moon set to their correct positions in the Zodiac. The circle rotates at a constant speed throughout the day. All the automata, except the musicians, are operated by the steady sinking of a heavy float in a cylindrical reservoir—a string from the top of the float passes through a pulley system to the actuating mechanisms. The outflow from the reservoir is kept constant by a sophisticated system of feed-back control and flow-regulation. The musicians are made to perform by the sudden release of the outlet water, which is collected in a special tank.

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technology, and the waterclock is therefore directly relevant to this development. Islamic components and techniques were also incorporated into European engineering from the 7th/13th century onwards and were an important element in the establishment of modern machine design, particularly in the fields of del-
cicate mechanisms and control systems.

There were less tangible influences of the Islamic automata tradition. Culturally, they are related to the “live” puppets of western literature and folklore, such as Pinocchio and the doll Olympia in one of the Tales of Hoffman. The cultivation of aesthetic delight, exemplified by the fountains of the Banū Mūsā and al-Dījāzārī, was continued in Europe by men such as Tomaso da Siena, who created the water gardens at the Villa d’Este and Bagnaia. More importantly, the representation of cosmological and biological phe-
nomena was one of the factors that led men to adopt a rationalistic, mechanistic view of the universe, an attitude that has been immensely fruitful in the develop-
ment of modern science.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in
the text): There are as yet no Arabic editions of any
of the ḥiyāl treatises and one must therefore have recourse to translations. (An edition of al-Dījāzārī’s treatises is however being
heded by A.Y. Hasan and will be published by Aleppo University.) (In the works cited the location of the Arabic ms. is given.) Descriptions of thirteen of the Banū Mūsā devices, with illustrations and notes are given by E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser in Über Trinkgärten und Tafelhäuser, in Ist., viii (1918), 268-91 (W.H. 1); the remainder are dealt with by Hauser in Über das Ḥiyāl—das Werk über die sinnsamen Anordnungen der Banū Mūsā, in Akademie der Künste (Zur, 1915), 274-92 (W.H. 2). Two translations of the pseudo-Archimedes are available, both with notes and illustrations: Wiedemann and Hauser, Uhr des Archimedes and zwei andere Vorrichtungen, in Novi Acta, cxxviii, No. 2, 374-202 (W.H. 3); D.R. Hill, On the construction of water-
clocks, London 1976 (Hill 2). For the Arabic version of Hero’s Mechanica and Philo’s Pneumatics, there are edited Arabic texts with French translations, both by Carra de Vaux: Les mécaniques ou l’élévateur
de Hero d’Alexandrie sur la version arabe de Qustā ibn Lūqā, in Jf., 9e Série, (1939), i, 366-472; ii, 152-92, 193-269, 420-514; and Le livre des appareils
pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques par Philon de Byzance, in Académie des Sciences et Belles Lettres, xxxviii (1903), Pt. 1. A recent work on Philo is F.D. Prager, Philo of Byzantium, in Pneumatica, Wiesbaden 1974; there is useful dis-
cussion of the Latin and Greek versions, but the Arabic section is inadequate, and inferior in every way to Carra de Vaux’s edition. For Hero’s pneu-
anism and mechanistic philosophy, in Technology and Culture, v/1 (1964), 9-23. On the influence of the Greek tradition, there is a valuable survey by Price in Gears from the Greeks, Science History Publications, New York 1973, 51-62. The Indian tradition of mechanical devices and its connections with Greek and Islamic ideas is described by V. Raghaven in V tantras or mechanical contrivances in Ancient India, in The Indian Institute of Culture, Basavangudi, Bangalore, Transaction No. 10 (1952) 1-31. The index to J. Needham’s Science and civilisation in China, iv/1, Cambridge 1965, should be consulted for transmission from and into China, particularly the entries under “Automata”, “Clocks”, “Clock-work” and “Water-power”. (D.R. Hill)

HOESEIN DJAJADININGRAT. Pangeran Aria, Muslim scholar and Indonesian statesman, historian and linguist (1886-1960).

Born at Kramat Watu, the chief town of a sub-
district in the residence Bantam (Banten) in West Java, where his father was a government official, he sprang from an old prominent family which was related to the former Sultans of Bantam [see indones-
ia, iv]. In his early youth, Hoesein’s historical inter-
est must have been evoked by reminiscences of the period of its conversion to Islam. Back in
the village there are people who have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once. At an early stage Hoesein was destined for a European education and academic career by his progressive father, who had been promoted to be Regent of Serang. After previ-
ous training in Batavia and at the gymnasium in
Leiden, Hoesein was matriculated into Leiden Uni-
versity in 1905 as the first Indonesian student of
the section “Languages and Literatures of the
East-Indian Archipelago”. He read Sanskrit with J.S. Speyer, and Arabic, first with M.J. de Goeje and, from 1906 onwards, with the latter’s successor C. Snouck Hurgronje. When a prize was offered for the best essay on data preserved in Malay works concerning the history of the sultanate of Atjeh, he was distinguished with a golden medal of honour. In 1913 he received his Ph.D. degree for the thesis Crítica beschrijving van de Sagahant Banten (“Critical exam-
ination of the Sajarah Banten”), a Javanese chronicle dealing with the history of Banten, but containing also traditions concerning the earlier history of Java and the period of its conversion to Islam. Back in
Indonesia, Hoesein was appointed to the academic function of “official for the study of Indian (i.e. Indonesian) languages” and commissioned to devote himself to the Arabic language. At the beginning of 1914 he went to Atjeh and, after his return to
Batavia by mid-1915, continued his studies with the aid of the material collected, the extensive Achinese literature preserved in manuscript, and with the assistance of Achinese informants. His Afgedr.-Neders.-Nederlandst. Woordenboek ("Achinese-Dutch Dictionary") was published in two volumes in 1934.

Being the only Indonesian Ph.D., he several times had to sit on various official committees, and in 1916 he was appointed as assistant to the then governmental commissioner for Native Affairs, G.A.J. Hazeu, and as such he was mainly in charge of Islamic affairs. From 1920 till 1924 he was Assistant-Adviser for Native Affairs to the Government, and then received an appointment as a professor at the University of Law, newly-erected in Batavia, where he taught Muslim Law and Indonesian languages. From this period date a number of articles on Indonesian languages and literature, Islamic and Indonesian history; as monographs were published: De Mohammediantsche wet en het geestesleven der Indonesische Mohammedanen ("Muslim law and spiritual life of the Indonesian Muslims") (1925), and: De magische achtergrond van de Malese pootsm ("The magical background of the Malay pantun") (1933).

Henceforward he turned his attention to statesmanship; when, in 1935, he became a member of the Council of Dutch East India, the highest government committee. As such, he had a great part in the reform of religious Muslim judicial administration in Java, which led to such institutions as the panghulu-courts (religious courts) and in 1938, to the Court of Islamic Affairs (the higher religious court) at Batavia. While Hoesein was holding for one year the office of Director of the Department of Education and Worship, the first Indonesian Faculty of Letters was opened (4 December 1940). During the war (1942-5) and the first disturbed years afterwards, he mostly remained inactive, reading and studying (his membership of the Council of Dutch East India ended in 1946). When in 1948 the provisional Federal Government was formed, he became Secretary of State for Education, Arts and Sciences. As such, he was present at the Round Table-Conference at the Hague in 1949. When the Republic of Indonesia became independent on 27 December 1949, Hoesein lost his office, but his scholarly qualities were recognised in 1951, when he was invited to take the Chair of Arabic and Islamology at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta (formerly Batavia). Now over seventy, he was free to teach the subject of his preference; he chose the history of Indonesia’s conversion to Islam. He published some more articles and wrote the chapter on “Islam in Indonesia” in Kenneth W. Morgan, Islam—the Straight Path. Islam interpreted by Muslims (New York 1958), in which are treated the origin of Islam in Indonesia, religious education, the actual situation of Islam in Indonesia, arranged according to the concepts dhari’a, dogma, Sufism and reform, and finally a characterisation of Indonesian Islam.

He died in 1960.

A Javanese aristocrat by origin and through his marriage to a daughter of the Javanese royal house of Mangkunagara, and the first Indonesian to devote himself to the study of Islam after a Western academic education. Hoesein Djadjadiningrat remained a devout Muslim throughout his life and as such enjoyed the confidence of his co-religionists. Through his uprightness and justice he was held in reverence by Indonesians, Arabs and Dutch alike.

**Bibliography:** given in the article. A list of Hoesein’s writings, compiled by Atja, has been published in Batasab dan Budaya, vii/5-6 (1960).

(G.F. Pijper)

HOGGAR [see MAHJAGAR]

HOMONYM [see ADNÂM]

HOMS [see HOMS]

HOOPOE [see HUPPE]

HORN [see RÖCK]

HORSEMAN [see FÄRIS]

HORTICULTURE [see BÜSTAN]

HOSPITALERS, KNIGHTS [see DAWWA, above]

HOURI [see TUR]

**HUBAYSH** b. AL-HASAN AL-DIMASHKI, sur-named al-‘Asym “the one with the withered limbs”, translator of Greek medicinal writings into Arabic. He was a Christian and a nephew of the master-translator Hunayn ibn Isāḥak [q.v.], who esteemed him highly as a collaborator and considered him very talented but not particularly assiduous. The quality of his translations was so high that they were held often for Hunayn’s work; because of the similarity of the consonant dactyls, uncritical users are even said to have been of the opinion that the name Hubaysh— the real translator—should be changed into Hunayn. His dates are not known; he may have lived at the ‘Abbasid court towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, He belonged to those prominent translators who had been awarded by the Ba`rû-‘Allamidjîdam a fixed monthly salary of ca. 500 dinars (Filast, ed. Flügel, 213, 18-20).

Hubaysh had only a very scant knowledge of Greek, or none at all; with the exception of the Hippocratic oath and the herb-book of Dioscorides, he translated Galen’s works exclusively, 35 of them from Arabic into Syriac, and three from Syriac into Arabic (cf. Hunain ibn Isâḥak über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Ubersetzungen, ed. and tr. G. Bergsträsser, AkAd, xvii/2, Leipzig 1925, index, 45). His language is that “of a scholar who aims only at clearness, who is little trained linguistically and does not care much for linguistic beauty, but on the other hand sets himself to some kind of correctness” (G. Bergsträsser, Hunain ibn Isâḥak und seine Schule, Leiden 1913, 41). On the basis of the then known translations, Bergsträsser (ibid., 20-46) classified the linguistic peculiarities of Hubaysh; additions are given by M. Meyerhoef and J. Schacht, Galen über die medizinischen Namens, in Abb. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Berlin 1931, 4-7. In view of the tight relation between teacher and pupil, the many similarities in language of Hunayn and Hubaysh are not surprising.

Besides the translated works, Hubaysh is also the author of original writings. They are completely based on his knowledge of Greek medicine, but, as far as pharmacology is concerned, they often reach further back and prove that already in those days other sources were used or that personal observations were introduced. Mention should be made firstly of his additions (zīyā‘at) to Hunayn’s Kitāb al-Masā’il ‘alīl-‘ibhîyya; which became extraordinarily widely diffused, cf. A. Dietrich, Medicinalia arabica, Gottingen 1966, 39-44; this enlarged edition became a standard work which was to occupy quite a number of commentators and epistemologists. Other works of Hubaysh preserved in manuscript are: (1) Kitāb al-Masā’il ‘alīl-‘ibhîyya (3: K. fi ‘l-‘Inda); and (4) Makhtu’il-‘ibhîyya, Only from quotations are known: (5) K. al-Adaw’iyah al-mu‘afifah (often cited by Ibn al-Baytr); (6) Ta’ârif awmâd al-‘ayn, quoted in Khulafa’s al-kâfî fi ‘l-khul (see J. Hirschberg, etc. in Anhang der Abb. Preuss. Akad.
Wiss., Berlin 1905, 13, 20 f., and idem, Der arabischen Augenärzte, ii, Leipzig 1905, 158; and (7) a dispensatorium (akūrādābhīn), possibly composed not by Hushaybī but by Hunayn.


(A. Dietrich)

**HUDAYFA** b. 'AΔBD b. FURAYM b. 'ADĪ b. SC' AL-KALAMAKI

**HUDDĪD AL-ʿALĀM**, “The limits of the world”, the title of a concise but very important anonymous Persian geography of the world, Islamic and non-Islamic, composed towards the end of the 4th/10th century in Guzgān [guzgangan] in what is now northern Afghanistan. The work exists in a unique manuscript of the 7th/13th century (the “Toumansi manuscript”) which came to light in Būkhārā in 1892. The Persian text was first edited and published by W. Barthold at Leningrad in 1930 as Ḥudūd al-ʿalām, rubābūt Ṭaμamšūj, with an important preface (this last reprinted in his Šemārīn, vii, 504-46; an English tr. of this was included by Minorsky in his translation—A. DIETRICH

... and prospered, even during the long cAbd al-Wadids-

... of Ibn Khurradadhbih [q.v] and, apparently, ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḍiyāḥīn [see al-ḌAYHĀN], above, except for the immediate region of his home in northern Afghanistan. Its archaic language and style are interesting pieces of evidence for early Persian prose, cf. G. Lazard, La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane, Paris 1963, 53-4. Original features of the author’s approach are his concern for exact enumeration of physical features (the seven seas, rivers, lakes, islands, etc.) of the inhabited world; his division of this last into three main parts, Asia, Europe and “Lībya” (= Africa); his enumeration of 45 distinct countries (nāḥyāt) lying to the north of the equator; and the unusually large proportion of space allotted to the non-Islamic lands, even though the Muslim ones, surveyed roughly from east to west, naturally occupy the greater part of the work. The information on the local topography of Afghanistan is probably first-hand, with special emphasis on Guzgān, Gharḵistan, Ghūr, etc.; the material on the Eurasian and Turkish steppes and their peoples is likewise very significant. Finally, the author furnishes useful details about local products and trade movements.

**Bibliography:** In addition to references given in the article, see, i. Yi. Krackowsky, Arabische geographische Arbeiten, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 224-6, partial Arabic tr. Cairo 1963, 223-4; A. Miquel, La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu’au milieu du XIe siècle, Paris 1967, xxxiii, 398-9; see also ĪKHRĀYĪ, iv, c, i.

(C.E. Bosworth)

**HUNAYN**, site of a mediaeval seaport in western Algeria, not far west of Beni-Saf (B. Sīf) and, as the crow flies, about 45 km. N. W. of Tlemcen. Within a walled area (4,100 sq. m.) are ruins of a kasba and traces of a mosque’s, and possibly also a hammām’s, foundations. On dry land below the kasba lie the remains of a rectangular interior dock (4,250 sq. m.), once protected by rampart and towers and entered, seemingly via a channel, by a large arch of carved stone of the kind characteristic of certain parts of Muslim Spain. Most of what remains is in the Marinid architectural tradition and thought attributable to the sultan Abu l-Ḥasan.

Words like Ibn Abī Zarr, Rased al-kirts must not be taken as implying the existence of Hunayn as the port of Tlemcen in 237/851-2. Hunayn finds no place in Ibn Hawkāls 4th/10th century description of the Oran-Melila coast, but it was known to al-Bakrī in the 5th/11th century as a fortress (ḥiṣn) with a good and busy anchorage. Inhabited by Kūmūyā Berbers, it had more orchards and varieties of fruit than any neighbouring coastal hill. A century later al-Idrīsī’s description is “a charming and prosperous small town with solid wall, market and truce.” Extra maris, large tracts of land were farmed. Under the Almohads its importance grew, for not only was ‘Abd al-Muʿmin [q.v] from the Kūmūya, but he also championed the ḏjihād in Spain. And so he made Hunayn—only two days’ sailing away from Alberia—a naval shipyard. Thereafter it gradually emerged as the new port of Tlemcen, wholly ousting Arghālī, the old. In the 7th/13th century Tlemcen became the capital of the ʿAbd al-Wādīds [q.v] and a great commercial metropolis. As the northern terminal of the major trans-Saharan trade axis running from sub-Saharan Africa, it was ideally placed for exchanges with Mediterranean Europe. In its brisk trade with Christian and Muslim Spain and elsewhere, Hunayn played a major role and prospered, even during the long ʿAbd al-Wādīd-
Marinid struggle. In 698/1298 it wisely submitted to the Marinid Abu Ya’kub and emerged unscathed when his eight-year siege of Temcen ended with his death in 1307. In 736/1335-6 it again fell into Marinid hands, this time for ten years under Abu l-Hasan, and then to a Kumiyya rebel from whom the ‘Abd al-Malik Abu Tahf recovered it in 1349. It was at Hunayn that Ibn Khaldūn was arrested by Marinids in 1370 and to Hunayn that he was deported from Spain in 1374.

After the Spanish seizure of Oran in 1509, Venetian trade was diverted thence to Hunayn. Around the same time the port became a haven for corsairs, a fact which eventually led to its seizure in 1531 by the Spaniards, who chose, however, to abandon it in 1534, presumably after rendering the port unserviceable. Hunayn never regained its old prosperity.


(J.D. Latham)

**AL-HUSAYMA**

AL-HUSAYMA is the name which, since the independence of Morocco in 1956, has been given to a bay and small archipelago on the coast of the Rif between the Cape of Quilates on the East and the More headland to the West. It is known also by the Arabised form of the Hispano-Arabic word. Others, like the author of the voluminous encyclopaedia *Espasa-Calpe*, say that the name Alhucema is a corruption of al-Mazimma, but this suggestion needs further discussion, see below.

The largest islet of the archipelago, which is 170 m. long and 75 m. broad, is about 1300 m. from the coast; it was ceded with the others to Spain in about 1554 by the Sa’did Mawlay ‘Abd Allāh [q.v.]. This was to prevent the Turks, who had temporarily taken the Peñón de Velez from Spain, from seizing the islets which Spain did not consider it necessary to follow up this action by even a symbolic occupation of these strategic islands. The affair was conducted so well that France was not aware of the cession, and in 1665, a French commercial company, which was intent on exploiting the possibilities of the coast of the Rif, decided to set up an establishment in the bay of Nukūr under the name of the Compagnie d’Alhouszeme. In contemporary sources sometimes the term “Alhouszeme” is used, but otherwise it is “Les Alhouszeme*, or variants. The first term denotes the earlier town (called in Arabic al-Mazimma) which the ‘Alawi sultan Mawlay Rashid [q.v.] was to destroy. The second term denotes the town together with its port and its islands, but the words are often interchanged. There are frequent references to the name al-Mazimma in ancient and modern texts, especially in the Description of Africa of Leo Africanus, who devotes an interesting chapter to it.

But when was the town founded? Al-Badisi, writing at the end of the 19th century, in his *Magdad*, speaks of ramparts with gates overshadowed by a rock. At the beginning of the 20th century, René Leclerc noted the existence of a village on the side of a hill amongst several ruins; this was probably Nukūr, and al-Mazimma seems to have been the port associated with it. Wherever the town and the port may have been exactly, it was Cardinal Mazarin who first planned to set up a commercial establishment “on the islands of Alhouszeme”. He went as far as appointing a consul for it, but when the cardinal died, the project was abandoned. However, the plan was not forgotten and on 4 November 1664 a decree from the French Conseil d’État authorised the creation of a company to be conducted by two brothers from Marseilles, Michel and Roland Frejus. Roland did not reach Morocco until 1666 and, although his journey across the Rif delighted him, one made in order to see Mawlay Rashid at Tāzá, it did not produce the expected results and he returned to France. The company was declared bankrupt, and was replaced by the Compagnie du Levant (on all this episode, see J. Guille, *Répertoire diplomatique*, 31).

It was not until 1673 that Spain occupied these islands (*peñones*); on one of them, the largest, she set up a *presidio* (penitentiary) and a cemetery on another one nearby. Concerning life on this waterless archipelago, see J. Cazeneuve, *Presides españoles*, 457-507. The Peñón d’Alhucemas, like Melilla and the Peñón de Velez, was besieged by the troops of Muhammad the Great in December 1774. The Spanish resisted the bombardments bravely, and on 19 March 1775, the siege was lifted. It was also in the bay of Alhucemas that Spanish troops disembarked on 8 September 1925 to end the violent revolt of ‘Abd al-Karim [q.v.] whose headquarters were at Aadjdir, 8 kms. away.

The archipelago, like the rest of the Spanish zone of the protectorate, was returned to the Moroccan authorities after Morocco regained her independence. The new provincial capital, al-Husayma (pop. 5,000) is a young modern city, aiming at becoming a prosperous tourist centre and seaside resort.


(H. DEVERDUN)

**HUSBAYN B. 'ALÎ B. HANZALA** [see 'ALî B. HANZALA, above].

**HUSBAYN DIJADININGRAD** [see HOSEIN DIAJADININGRAD, above].

**HUSBAYN, ŞADR AL-DIN ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALÎ B. NASR B. 'ALÎ, author of the late Saldûks period and early decades of the 7th/13th century, whose work is known to us through its incorporation within an anonymous history of the Saldûks and succeeding Atabegs of Adîbarbâyjân, the Akhbar al-Dawla al-saldûkiyya (ed. Muhammad Iqbal, Lahore 1933; Tksh. tr. Necati Lugal, Ankara 1943; cf. Brockelmann, F. 392, Suppl. i, 535-3). Al-Husayn apparently composed the *Zubdat al-tawârikh, akhba al-unmarî* ya 'l-mulûk at-saldûkiyya, which forms the first part of the longer, anonymous work. The *Zubdat* was in turn based on the history of the Saldûks by *Imâm al-Dîn al-Kâdhî al-Ifshâhî* [q.v.], continued up to 590/1193-4, the date of the death of the last Great Saldûk sultan, Toghrîl III. The author of the *Akhbâr al-dawla al-saldûkiyya* then continued his own work with the history of the Atabegs of Adîbarbâyjân, either up to 620/1223-4 or 622/1225-6, the latter being the date of the deaths of the caliph al-Nâsîr [q.v.] and of Özbez b. Pahlâwân [see IDENÎZ].


It seems that al-Husaynî's name became attached to the *Akhbâr* through a copyist's mistake, the real author being, in Hartmann's view, an official in the administration at Baghdad. As for al-Husaynî, he remains an enigmatic figure; he was apparently an 'Alîid, and may conceivably be identical with the "al-Şadr al-Âgâlî, Şadr al-Mîlâ 'l-Dîn" of Nîghăpîr, historian and poet, whom 'Awfî [q.v.] mentions and knew personally in the early 7th/13th century, see his *Lubâb al-âhâb*, ed. Sa'id Naftî, Tehran 1335/1956, 125-7.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

**HUT** [see SUKNA].

**HYDROMANCY** [see ISTINÇAL].

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**IATROMANCY** [see FİRAŞA, İSTEBHARA]

**IBDÂD KHÂNA**, literally "House of Worship", the name of the chamber or building where religious discussions among theologians were held under the patronage of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. It was constructed by Akbar at Fâthpîr Sikrî [q.v.] the seat of his court, in 983/1575. He was then interested in finding a common interpretation of Muslim law, and invited Muslim jurists and theologians to hold discussions with a view to resolving their disputes; he was himself present at many of these. It was discovered, during the course of discussions, that Muslim orthodoxy was divided not only on the fine points of law but also on basic principles. Akbar's subsequent disenchantment with Muslim orthodoxy was ascribed by Badà'ûnî to the effects of the open and bitter theological disputes of the *Ibâdat Khâna*. Akbar then enlarged the scope of the debate by inviting non-Muslim divines to discussions in the *Ibâdat Khâna*, and Hindus, Christians and Parsees could now explain articles of their faith and engage in controversy with Muslim divines. The *Dabûsîn-i nadjîhâb* contains an interesting record of these discussions among representatives of various religions.

With the mahdâr of 987/1579, when Muslim theologians set forth high claims for Akbar as an interpreter and enforcer of Muslim law, the *Ibâdat Khâna* sessions seem to have ended. The *mahdâr* did not win much support among Muslims; and Akbar himself began to hold larger religious views. Moreover, he left Fâthpîr Sikrî soon afterwards, and his sessions with such religious divines as appeared at his court were held elsewhere.

The actual building of the *Ibâdat Khâna* at Fâthpîr Sikrî has not been properly identified.


(M.ATHAR ALI)

IBDÂDIYYA or ABJâDIYYA (pl. abâ'dî’d) was the term used in 19th century Egypt for land surveyed in 1813 under Muhammad `Alî, but not included in the cadaster and not taxed because it was uncultivated. These lands extended over an area of 0.75 to 1.0 million fedâns (a fedân amounted, at the end of Muhammad `Alî’s rule, to 4,416.5 square metres). To increase the country’s wealth it made free grants of ibdâdiyya to high officials and notables, exempting them from taxes on condition that they improved the land and prepared it for cultivation. The first relevant decree was issued on 1 December 1829, after which grants rapidly increased. At first recipients only enjoyed usufructuary rights, but in order to encourage investment, Muhammad `Alî was compelled in 1836 to decree these lands as being inheritable by eldest sons and, on 16 January 1842, to grant almost complete property rights to these lands. Clause 25 of his 1858 Land Law explicitly stated that they were “the full property owner”.

To settle (mustâ’man) law did not allow strangers (musta’tib), who needed money to implement the experiment did not always meet with success, and many Bedouins farmed the land out to wâ’il or to bequeath them in their wills. A major expansion in grants of ibâdiyya land after Muhammad `Alî’s rule occurred under Ismâ’il, from 1863 to 1876, mainly in the northern part of the Delta. After that grants of ibdâdiyya discontinued. Cultivation on ibdâdiyya lands were exempted from the cove’s, i.e. forced labour for public works, such as strengthening dikes and for fighting locusts. This attracted the fellahs of neighbouring lands, thus enriching even more the notables owning ibdâdiyyas and encouraging differentiation in landownership.

In Fayûm, ibdâdiyya lands were granted to Western Desert Bedouin tribes in order to encourage their settlement. In contrast to other abâ’dî’d, the tribes did not receive legal title to their land, but gained exemption from taxes, forced labour, and conscription, by cultivating it. The experiment did not always meet with success, and many Bedouins farmed the land out to fellahs for half the yield. Decrees issued in 1837, 1846, and 1851 outlawing this practice, and many threats issued to the tribes that they would lose their ibdâdiyya, were not implemented. Sa’dî turned Bedouin abâ’dî’d into khandâjiyya (not ‘abjâdiyya) land and thus refrained from granting the Bedouin full private ownership. Full ownership was achieved by Bedouin owners of abâ’dî’d together with other owners of khandâjiyya land, at the end of the century.

Ibdâdiyyas were also freely granted by Muhammad `Alî to foreign subjects, although Muslim law did not allow strangers (musta’tib) to settle permanently in a Muslim country and thus debarred them from acquiring landed property without becoming dhimmis. Problems arising from foreigners owning land under the Capitulations [see IMTIYAZAR] were solved by Ta’âzîmat legislation and the establishment of the Mixed Courts in Egypt in 1876.

According to a statement of the Syro-Arab physician `Abd Allah b. Ubayd Allah b. Bahâshîn, given by Ibn Abî Uṣâybi’a, Ibn Abî l-ÅSÂTH originated from Fars. Having been originally an administrative official, he hurriedly left the country after his income had incurred maṣâdara, and reached Mosul in a wretched condition. There he treated with success a son of the Hamdânî Nâṣîr al-Dawla, who had been taken ill. Having thus risen to distinction, he stayed in Mosul where he had many pupils and where he died at a very advanced age, shortly after 360/970. He was considered to be an excellent specialist on Galen [see galân]; like him he had presented his knowledge in a logical and systematic way, rather than on the basis of personal observations; the statement, e.g., according to which he tested repeatedly the results of medicines, is a rather informal topos which is often found in the introductions to pharmacopoeias.

Apart from a theological work, finished in 355/966 and only known by its title (Kâfî fî ‘ilâm al-‘ibdîh), and apart from the explanation of unnamed Aristotelian works, Ibn Abî Uṣâybi’a wrote books on medicine, zoology and veterinary science, some of which have been preserved in manuscript but none of which has been published so far. There are in the first place revisions of some of Galen’s works: (1) Perî tawîn kadîm (Kâfî fî ‘ilm al-‘ibdîh), a treatise work written in Armenia in 348/960; (2) Perî nûmîm (Kâfî fî ‘ilm al-‘ibdîh), has an instructive arrangement and also of an explanation of the results of medicines, is a rather informal topos which is often found in the introductions to pharmacopoeias.

Ibn Abî Uṣâybi’a, ‘Uṣaybî, i, 245-7; Brockelmann, C., 272, S IV 422; A. Dietrich, Medicina in arabico, Göttingen 1966, 143-5;

IBN ABI DJUMA' [see KUTAYBA].

IBN ABI DJUMHUR AL-AHSÄI. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Ibrahim b. Hasan b. Ibrahim b. Hasan al-Hagari, Imami scholar, was born in al-Ahsa ca. 837/1433-4 into a family with a scholarly tradition. He studied first in al-Ahsa with his father and later in al-Nadjaf with various scholars, among them al-Hasan b. 'Abd al-Karim al-Fattal. In 877/1472-3 he visited Karak Nuh in Syria in order to hear traditions from 'Ali b. Huwal al-Djaza'ri. After a pilgrimage to Mecca, a visit to his home country and to the shrines of the Imams in Baghdad, he travelled to Mashhad in 878/1473-4 where he stayed in the house of the Sayyid Muhsin b. Muhammad al-R vaginal al-Kummi and engaged in debates with a Sunni scholar from Harat described in an extant *Risála*. During the next two decades, he seems to have mostly been teaching in Baghdad, al-Nadjaf and al-Ahsa. He is known to have been in Mashhad in 888/1483 and, for a third visit, in 896-7/1490-2. In 893/1488 he was in al-Ahsa and, after a visit to Mecca, he taught in al-Nadjaf in 894-5/1493-4 where he completed his *K. al-Mudjli*. A commentary on al-Imam al-Kasim, known to have been in Mashhad in 888/1483 and, for a third visit, in 896-7/1490-2. In 893/1488 he was in al-Ahsa and, after a visit to Mecca, he taught in al-Nadjaf in 894-5/1493-4 where he completed his *K. al-Mudjli*. In 898-9/1493-4 he stayed in the region of Astarabad and dedicated one of his works to the Imam 'Imad al-Din. A commentary on al-Allama al-Hilli's creed *Kitab al-bah' al-sab 'al-bah' inqajar* was completed by him on 25 Dhul 1-Ka'da 904/July 1499 in Medina. The date and place of his death are unknown.

Ibn Abi Djumhur's numerous extant writings, mostly still unpublished, include treatises and books on ritual, law, legal methodology, tradition, theology, and controversy about the imamate. His fame rests, however, on his *K. al-Mudjli* or *Mudjli mir 'al-nur al-mudjli* (lith. eds. Tehran 1324 and 1329). Formally a supercommentary on his own *al-kulam* work *K. Moalok (masala) al-qafi fi 'ilm al-kalum*, it offers a theosophic synthesis of Imami scholastic theology, philosophy of the school of Ibn Siná, illuminationist thought of al-Suhrawardi and Sufism, chiefly of Ibn al-Arabi and his school. He worked his own arguments for the philosophical school of Ishaqain the Sa'wi id age to synthesise the thought of the same school traditions, though it seems to have had little direct influence on them. Later Imami opinion about Ibn Abi Djumhur was generally favourable, though some criticised his *K. al-Mudjli* as excessively Sufi in tone.


IBN AL-ADJDABI. Abu 'abd Allâh b. 'Isâ' b. Isâ'îl b. Imam al-Târâbulusi, Arab philologist from a family originally stemming from Adjdabiya (Libya); he himself lived at Tripoli, where he died at an uncertain date, probably in the first half of the 7th/11th century. Hardly anything further is known about his life, and the biographers limit themselves to emphasising the breadth of his knowledge and his contribution to the technical literature of scholars of his time. They attribute to him some eight works, whose titles show that he was interested in lexicography, metaphysics, the *awâd* [q.v.] and genealogies (he is, in particular, the author of an abridgement of the *Nasab Kunug* of Mu'âwiya al-Zubayo (q.v.). Amongst his works, *Yâkin* (*Uzâba*), i, 130, and *Baldun*, s.v. *Adjdabiya* and *al-Suyûtì* (*Burjya*, 178) preserve the titles of only two, the *Kifayat al-mutâlaffîf wa-nihayat al-mutâlaffîf* fi 'l-hujja al-arabyya and the *Kifayat al-amrâ*, and it may be that these are the only ones to have survived. The first one, a lexicographical compendium, seems to have enjoyed wide success, to judge by the number of surviving manuscripts (cf. Broekelman, i, 308, S I, 541); it was even put into verse and several editions of it have appeared (in particular, Cairo 1285/1868 and Beirut 1305/1887).

The second work was apparently lost until 'Izzat Hasan discovered, in Ankara University Library, a manuscript which he published in 1964 at Damascus (in the collection *Ibn al-aman wa-l-anam*, ed. Ibn Kutayba, 220, 464-6; ibid., *'Uyun al-adhkar*, i, 44; *Dhahhabiyar*, *Wac'at*, 20, 54-5; Khatib Baghdad!, *Tariqat*, x, 228; Nawawi, 718-19; Ibn Hadjar, *Tabthth al-Talbidth*, vi, 170-2; Bustanî, *DM*, ii, Zirikli, *'Alam*, iv, 85. (Ed.)

traditional in nature, as are its maxims and sayings, though these are sometimes different, it is true, from those which the present author of this article has gathered together. One peculiarity worth mentioning is the indicating of the star or asterism which passed together. One peculiarity worth mentioning, errors, has a very honourable place in the series of

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see ‘Izzat Hasan’s introd. to his edition; Hāḍīdīt Kāhlīfāt, v, 54; Zirīkhī, Alā’ām, i, 25; Bustānī, DM, ii, 328.

CH. PELLAT

IBN AL-‘AKFĀNĪ (a nīha referring to the seller of shrubs, alqīf), cf. al-Samā’īnī, K. al-Aṣāhī, f. 47b). Several persons were known by this name, amongst which three deserve some mention.

1. AL-KĀDĪ ABū MUHAMMAD ‘ABD ALLĀH B. MUHAMMAD B. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Husayn b. ‘Abī b. Dharīr b. ‘Amīr b. al-Aṣāhī al-‘Ashāfī, jurist. Born in 316/928, and dying in 325/936, he was employed in al-Bimaristan in Baghdad, He was weak in relating traditions, but a liberal patron to traditionists (cf. al-Samā’īnī, al-Maknūzī, ms. Leiden Or. 1366a, ff. 38b-40a; al-Shawkānī, al-Bādi‘ al-tābi‘, ii, 79-80; al-Zirīkhī, Al-Alā’ām, vi, 189) are all, directly or indirectly, derived from al-Ṣafādi’s account.

2. HĪBĀT ALLĀH B. AHMAD b. Muhammad al-Anṣārī al-Dīmāshqī, Abū Muhammad al-Aṣāhī, historian, who died in 524/1129 as an ascetic in Damascus and was the author of biographical works: Dāmān al-‘asfāfīt (now lost), and Tatimmat Ta’rīkh Dāmān wa-khawmiyyat man hadāthu ma‘ān añîhā (cf. S. al-Munājdīdī, Ma‘āram al-mu‘arrīkitīn al-Dīmāshqīyyin..., Beirut 1978, 31-2, and the sources quoted there, especially Ibn al-‘Imād, Shāhārūt, iv, 73, and also Ma‘ākhīr, Nāfi‘ al-tīh, ed. Dozy et alī, i, 562).

3. MUHAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM b. Shāhīd, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, known as Ibn al-Aṣāhī, physician and encyclopaedist. Born in Singār, he died in 745/1340 in Cairo of the plague. A scholar of many talents, he was employed in al-Bimaristan al-Mansūrī (see BIMARISTAN) in Cairo in an influential position, and wrote many books and treatises. A contemporary account on him is given by al-Ṣāfādī in al-Wāfi bi ‘l-wāfayat, i, 25-7, and in his Ayyān al-‘anjār (ms. Atif Efendi 1809, s.v., a very exaggerated biography full of laudatory remarks); and letters by Sayyid Khān, cf. al-Samā’īnī, al-Maknūzī, fihris al-fahdris, and a diwān, par excellence, the author piles up rare words of the type that one can often describe as hāfiz [see HĀFIŻ] and resorts to rhetorical devices in order to arrive at a eulogy of the Prophet who, according to tradition, had supposedly cured him of

IBN ‘AMR AL-RIBĀTĪ, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muhammad b. ‘Amr al-Anṣārī, Moroccan poet and ḥakīm, of Andalusian origin, who was born at Rabat, fulfilled the office of kādī for some time, and from 1224/1809 taught at Marrākhīs. Whilst making the Pilgrimage, he stopped at Tunis, and received there some taqāżas; he died in the Hijāz on 10 Rāhī 1/1243/1 October 1827. Ibn ‘Amr was neither a great ḥakīm nor a great poet. His works, which include in particular a diwān, a sāhira and a rikha, have not been preserved in toto, and his fame rests essentially on an imitation of the Shānakakāmīyya of Ibn al-Wannān [q.v.], a küfīya known by the name of al-Amīrīya which enjoyed a celebrity mainly because of the religious sentiments expressed in the last verses. In the chapter on music, Ibn ‘Amr published and translated to Rampur. Editions: A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1849; and al-Māhdi Maknūzī, ibn al-‘Imād, Shāhārūt, iv, 103-11, and bibliography cited. (Eo.)

IBN ‘ASKAR, Muḥammad b. ‘Aṭī b. Khādir b. Ḥārūn al-Ghassānī, an Andalusian fākīh, philologist, poet and man of letters, who wrote a history of Málaga. Born in a village near this important sea-port ca. 584/1118-9, he was later to hold high judicial office there. Between 626/1229 and 631/1234 he served as deputy of Ibn Hūd’s [see HūDA], the historian of Arabic science, cf. his Dāmān al-asfāfīt, now lost, and al-Ṣāfādī, Ibn al-‘Imād, Shāhārūt, iv, 77-80; al-Zirīkhī, Al-Alā’īm, vi, 189) are all, directly or indirectly, derived from al-Ṣafādi’s account.

Some 22 books or treatises by Ibn al-Aṣāhī are known to have existed, more than half of these being concerned with medicine and related sciences. Other treatises of logic, tafsīr, ḥudūdīya (see AḤAMMĀ), astronomy, the arba‘ān, mathematics and gemmology. None of these is remarkable for great originality. Ibn al-Aṣāhī’s fame rests mainly on his encyclopaedia Irshād al-kāsīd ilā aswāl al-muṣākīd. This he deals with 60 sciences, along the lines of al-Fārābī’s Ḥīṣab al-ulūm. After two introductory chapters on education in general and the division of the sciences, Ibn al-Aṣāhī treats of al-‘adāb (10 subdivisions), al-muṣāmī (9 subdivisions), al-‘irāq (9 subdivisions, with heresiology), al-tābī‘ī (10 subdivisions), al-hanā‘a (10 subdivisions), al-‘ayyā‘ (5 subdivisions), al-‘adār (7 subdivisions, the last of which is al-muṣākīd). Added to these are al-siyāsā, al-niṣābūrī, and tadrīṣ al-marṣūlī, comprising the practical sciences (al-ulūm al-ma‘ṣūlīyya). All sections have a bibliography. The book concludes with a short list of philosophical terms and their definitions. The Irshād al-kāsīd stood as a model for the Muṣāfah al-salā‘a by Tāş-kopruţa [q.v.], as can be seen easily from the table of contents of both works and from the arrangement of the material in the sections.

Bibliography: in addition to references given in the article, note that there are some 40 ms. of the Irshād al-kāsīd, dispersed in libraries from Rabat to Rampur. Editions: A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1849, and al-Māhdi Maknūzī, ibn al-‘Imād, Shāhārūt, iv, 103-11, and bibliography cited. (Eo.)
devoted the well-known study El “Abecedario” de Yusuf Benaxeij (Madrid 1932). His own pupils included his nephew, biographer and continuator, Abu Bakr b. al-Khamis, and the celebrated Ibn al-Abbá (q.v.).

Ibn ‘Askar’s history of Málaga is frequently mentioned and quoted by Andalusian authors of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. Its title is al-ilm al-šif wa-l-šif bi-māhāzin al-šif min al-Mālik al-kirām, suggesting that it is a continuation of the Flám of the Málagan scholar Asbagh b. al-Ḥamad (d. 592/1196). By Ibn al-Khatb (q.v.), however, for whom the work was a main source of the Ḳulna, it is called Maṭla’ al-āṣar wa-‘azhārat al-ʿāmar, etc. There are other variants, including the simple and commonly used title Tārīkh Málaka. At the time of the author’s death the work was unfinished, and the task of completing it fell to Ibn Khamis (see above), who seems to have finished somewhere around the middle of the first half of the 7th/13th century. The one extant manuscript which we have of the Iltm (in private hands) is incomplete, but a large part has fortunately survived, and from this an assessment can be made of its literary and historical value. The biographies of Málagan notables included in it have a distinct literary value in that they offer, in addition to biographical data, worthwhile specimens of biographers’ poetry (unfortunately, no account is taken of muqâṣṣahāt and the zafājī). On the historical side it contains material that can be utilised to supplement, complement and control our existing accounts from the 8th to the 13th centuries A.D.

Ibn ‘Askar was the author of a number of other works, namely (i) al-Maghda al-nuḥ, a supplement to al-Harawi’s works on unusual terms in the Kurān and supplement to a work by al-Suhayll of Fuengirola in al-ḥadīth; (ii) Nashat al-nāsır fi manākhī Amānār b. Ṭūf, a work dedicated to the Banū Sa’d of Alcalá la Real and devoted to the life of the first member of the family to come to Spain (Ibn ‘Askar was a close friend of the family); (iii) al-Dīnāz al-mukhtajašaš = an ḥāshāh al-ḥāṣar, a work on blindness written to console a blind friend; (iv) Ishābikhār al-ṣubr, an ascetic work; (v) al-Abīn al-ḥadīth; and (vi) al-Tahmiw u ʿl-imāmān bi-Kūdah al-Tafṣīl wa-l-ṣif, a commentary on and supplement to a work by al-Suhayli of Fuengirola (1078/1113-85) on proper names not occurring in the Kurān.

Bibliography: All important references are given in J. Vallvé Bermejo, Una fuente importante de la historia de al-Andalus: la ”Historia” de Ibn ‘Askar, in Al-Andalus, xxxi (1966), 237-80 (includes translations of some of the most notable historical passages).

[Ed.] Latham

IBN ‘AZZŪZ, called SĪDĪ BALLĀ, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allah al-Kurāshī al-Siyālī al-Marrakshī, a cobbler of Marrakesh to whom many magical gifts were attributed and who died in an odour of sanctity in 1204/1789. His tomb, situated in his own residence at Báb Ayūn, has been continuously visited because of its reputation of curing the sick. Although he had not received a very advanced education, Ibn ‘Azzūz nevertheless succeeded in leaving behind an abundant body of works, dealing mainly with mysticism and the occult sciences, but also with medicine. However, his works display hardly any originality, and none of them has interested a publisher, despite the success in Morocco of his Dhakht al-kāsīf wa-nuḥal al-zalumāt bi-lim al-tābī wa-l-Tohabī wa-l-Ḥikmah, a popular collection of therapeutic formulae (see L. Leclerc, La chirurgie d’Abulcasis, Paris 1861, ii, 307-8; H.P.J. Renaud, in Initiation au Maroc, Paris 1945, 183-4; his Kašf al-nūmūz concerning medicinal plants is equally well-known. Out of his three works on mysticism, the Tanbih al-taštīdī al-muḥādāt is perhaps the most original, since it endeavours to reconcile the ṣiḥā to the ḩakkā (q.v.). Finally, in the field of the occult sciences, his Lāḥb al-kāsī al-im al-taštīdī al-dāhyā, of which at least one manuscript survives, is a treatise on practical magic and divinatory magic.

Bibliography: On the manuscripts of Sīdī Ballā’s works, see Brockelmann, S II, 704, 713; M. Lakhdir, Vie littéraire, 253-6; see also Ibn Sūda, Dallī ma’arrīḫ al-Maghrīb al-ʿAskārī, Casablanca, 1960, ii, 446, 449; A. Gannūn, al-Nabūgād al-Maghrībī, Beirut 1961, i, 304-5, 310.

IBN BABĀ AL-KĀSHĀNĪ [see al-Kāšānī].

IBN AL-BALKHĪ, Persian author of the Ṣadgū period who wrote a local history and topographical account of his native province Fārs, the Fārs-nāma. Nothing is known of him save what can be gleaned from his book, nor is the exact form of his name known, but his ancestors came from Balkh. His grandfather was musawta or accountant for Fārs under Berk-yarûk b. Malik Shāh’s governor there, the Atabeg Rukn al-Dawla or Naḏmī al-Dawla Ḳhurānī, and Ibn al-Balkhī acquired his extensive local knowledge of Fārs through accompanying his grandfather in his work. He was accordingly asked by Sultan Muhammad b. Malik Shāh to compose a historical and geographical account of the province; since he mentions the Atabeg of Fārs Fakhr al-Dīn Cawdī as being still alive, the composition of the Fārs-nāma must be placed between Muhammad’s accession in 498/1105 and Cawdī’s death in 510/1116. The first two-thirds of the Fārs-nāma on the pre-Islamic history of Persia and the Arab conquest of Fārs are entirely derivative, being based on Hamza Ḳishānī, but the remainder is a very important account of the province’s topography and notabilia, concluding with a section on the Shāhānsāhār Kūrds and containing details of contemporary happenings. This last third of the book was much used in the 8th/14th century by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi (q.v.) for the geographical part of his Nuzhāt al-kulūb.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange and R.A. Nicholson edited the last third of the Persian text, Te Fārsnāma of Ibn’s Balḵī, GMS, N.S. i, London 1921; Le Strange had previously translated this in JRAS (1912), also as a separate monograph, Description of the province of Fārs in Persia, London 1912. See also Storey, i, 350-1, and Storey-Bregel, ii, 1027-8.

(C.E. Bosworth)

IBN AL-BAZZĀZ AL-ARDABILLĪ, TAWAKKULI (Tükūl) b. ISMĀ’IIL, marid of Shafy Shadr al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī (d. 794/1391-2), son and first successor of Shafy Sa’d al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334), the founder of the Sufi order of the Sa’fawīya and, as ancestor of Shāh Ismā’īl II (d. 930/1524 [q.v.]); the eponym of the Sa’fawīns [q.v.; see also ARDABILL]. The exact dates of Ibn al-Bazzāz are unknown. At the stimulus of Shaykh Sa’d al-Dīn, he composed a biography of Shaykh Sa’d al-Dīn, with the title Sa’fawī al-sufā or Mawīkh al-sanaṭa fi manākhī al-safawīna. Written in a simple style without rhetorical ballast, this voluminous work gives first of all information on the miracles (kārāmāt) and Sufi doctrine of the Shaykh, but describes also in a vivid way daily life in the sanctuary of the order.
and gives an account of the relations of the Shaykh with the secular rulers in the period of the Ilkhans [q.v.].

From the colophon of the manuscript India Office no. 1842 (Ethê, Cat. of Pers. mss., i, col. 1008), probably erroneously described as an autograph, it follows that Ibn al-Bazzâz finished his work in 759/July-August 1358. The numerous manuscripts of the Sajwat al-safa', among which there exist also Turkish translations, prove the popularity of this important hagiographic work. A critical edition is not yet available; a lithograph was published by Ahmad b. Karîm Tabrizî in Bombay in 1329/1911.

In the 10th/16th century, the chronicles of the Safawid dynasty used the Sajwat al-safa' as their main source for the early period of the Safawiyay order and for the genealogy of the Safawids, who claimed descent from the seventh Imâm Músâ al-Kâzîm. This genealogy is, however, very much disputed. The numerous manuscripts of the Safawids, at least in its complete form, was apparently inserted into the work only by Abû 'l-Fath al-Husaynî, who revised the Sajwat al-safa' (Storey, i/1, 13 ff. and i/2, 1196 ff.) in the order of the Safawî Shâh Tâhmasp I (d. 984/1576).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Abî Usaybi'â, 'Uyûn, ii, 52; M. Steinenschneider, Die arabischen Literatur der Juden, 147 f.; M. Meyerhof, Un glossaire de matière médicale composé par Mainonide, Cairo 1940, xxiii; Brockelmann, F., 640, S I, 889; M. Ullmann, Die Medizin im Islam, Leiden 1970, 201, 275.

(A. Dietrich)

**IBN BâLâRÎS, YûSûF (YûNûS) b. ZâHâR AL-ISHÂ'î, Judaeo-Arab physician and pharmacist, who lived in Almeria ca. 1100 A.D. He wrote the K. al-Mustalînî for the Musta'im b. Abû 'l-Tâhir and in particular by Dozy for his Supplement. H.P.J. Renaud made several investigations into the Mustâlînî, the last in Hesperis, x (1930-1), 135-50; he planned an edition with translation and commentary, but this did not come to fruition; such a work is, however, long overdue. Of other writings of Ibn Bâlârîs, only one work on dietetics is known by its title; in the introduction to the Mustâlînî it is quoted twice as Risâlât al-Tâbirî as-Šâhît.

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(E. Glasse)

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(A. Dietrich)
various officials were ranged against the great vizier
Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.], his sons and his partisans,
the so-called Nizāmiyya; in this Ibn Dārūst placed
himself on the side of the vizier's enemies. Hence when
Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated in Ramadān
485/October 1092, many contemporaries assumed
that the real instigators of the murder, in which the
Isma'īlīs' Fikī was a mere tool, were Ibn Dārūst and
especially the vizier Yārūk, Malik Shah's son by another
wife and, at Nizāmiyya as their driving-force, at the battle of
managed to seize Isfahan, their forces were defeated
adulthood. Although Ibn Dārūst and Terken Khatun
Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated in Ramadan
485/October 1092, many contemporaries assumed
that the real instigators of the murder, in which the
so-called Nizāmiyya; in this Ibn Dārūst placed himself
[q.v.], expertise, was inclined to take him as his own vizier,
when Ibn Dārūst and Terken Khātūn
managed to seize Isfahan, even though Khātūn
was only a small child, and on grounds of experi-
ence and potential, was obviously inferior to Berk-
yarūk, Malik Shāh's son by another wife and, at
twelve or thirteen years old, on the threshold of
Muharram 486/February 1093. Ibn Dārūst was the
master of various Saldjuk poets
like Mu'tizī, and he was also one of several great
men in the Saldjuk state, both civilian and military,
who were active in founding colleges and other char-
itable and educational works; his Tājīniyya should be
began in 480/1098 in Baghdad at the Bāb Al'Abraz as
a Shāhī school, rivalling Nizām al-Mulk's own more
famous foundation; the celebrated scholars Abu Bakr
al-Shāhī and Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī's brother Abū
I'l-Futūh taught there.

Bibliography: There are very brief biographies
in Ibn al-Ḍawārī's Manṣūmān, ix, 74, and Sayf al-
Dīn Faḍlī 'Ukaylī's Abār al-sawā'ad, ed. Umayyāh,
Tehran 1337/1959, but for the rest, see scattered
references in the historical sources for the Saldjuk
period (Sadr al-Dīn Ḥasanī, Rāwāndī, Bundarī, Ibn al-
Ḍawārī, Sībit Ibn al-Ḍawārī, Ibn al-Ashīrī,
utilised in Bosworth, Cambridge history of Iran, v, 74
ff., 82, 93, 102-5, 216; M.F. Ṣana'ulla, The decline
of the Saljuq empire, Calcutta 1938, 9, 40-1, 83; I. Kafesoglu, Sultan Melikşah devrinde Bayrak Selçuklu
imparatorluğunu, Istanboul 1953, 169, 200 ff; Abbas
Eğbalī, Niẓāmār dar tabāri saḥfīn-i sahng-i Niẓāmī, Tehran 1358/1979, 93-100; C.L. Kluiver, The
ducational foundations, see G. Makdisi, Muslim
institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad, in
BSOS, xxiv (1961), 25-6, and idem, Ibn 'Aqīl and
the resurgence of the Islam traditionalist au Xe siècle, Damascus

(C.E. Bosworth)

IBN DIRHAM
seldom-used patronym of an emi-
nent family of Mälkī jurists and kādīs,
originally of Baṣra, who bear the ethnic name Al-
Azīzī in some sources; but since the members of
this family are most often cited under their personal
name or simply by their kunya, and since the line of
parentage which connects them there consequently
difficult to determine, it has been judged expedient
to assemble them here under this somewhat artifi-
cial appellation, following the example of F. al-
Bustānī who, in the Dārāzī al-mu'ārif (iī, 61), adopted
it for one of them, the tenth of those listed below.
These kādīs, who for the most part held office in
Baghdād in the 3rd and 4th centuries, are cited by L. Massinon (Codex et naqīs baghdadī-
en, in WZKM, li-1-2 [1948], 108, where Ismā'īl b.
Ishaq should be read in place of b. Hammād),
following the articles devoted to them by al-Khādib
al-Baghdādī (Ta'īrīkh Baghdādī), after Wākī' (Abūbār al-khādīj) and especially al-Tanūkhi, who gives them
considerable space in al-Fora'ī bīd al-khādād and par-
ticularly in the Nishwār al-muhābdata.
The following table, which cannot be regarded as
exhaustive, contains the names mentioned in the prin-
cipal sources for the period until the mid-4th/10th
century; it is unlikely that the family ceased to exist
at this time, but it does not seem to have given any
more eminent practitioners to the legal profession.

I. — Abū Ismā'īl Hāmād b. Zayd b. Dirham
(98-179/717-95) is the first member of the family to
have made a mark on history. A blind slave of
Hāzim b. Zayd al-Dhālamī (Adz), he was al-
franchised by his two sons, Da'nīr and Ya'qūb (see Ibn
Kutayba, sayf, 51, 81, 93, 102-5). He devoted himself to
the study of hadīth and passed on his knowledge to a
number of traditionists, including Biqīr al-Hāfīz
[q.v.]. He is to a certain extent regarded as the founder
of an independent madhhab and accorded the same
status as al-Thawrī in Kūf, Mālik in the Ḥijāz,
and al-Awza'i in Damascus; he thus represented Baṣra
his home-town, but in spite of the respect
with which he was treated he does not seem to have
founded a school, since his descendants were them-
selves Mālikīs.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, Taḥkāt, vii/2, 42;
Baladī, Futūh, 283; Ibn Kutayba, Ma'sāfī,
502-3, 525; Tabārī, index; Mas'ūdī, Mar'ādī, vi,
294 = § 2500; Ibn Baṭṭa-Laoust, index; Ibn al-
Ḍawūrī, Kurra', i, 258; Māksidi, Création, ii, 52,
145; Abū Nu'aym, Hikayat al-ausya', vi, 257-67;
Ya'qūb, Tabātib 'al-asmā', 217-8; Dāhābī, Tabātib al-
hads, i, 212-2; Ibn al-Imād, Nāṣib al-usmā', 147; Massinon, Lexique technique, 168,
197, 243.

II. — Abū Ya'qūb Ismā'īl b. Ismā'īl b. Hāmād
(176-230/792-845), grandson of the preceding, was
responsible for mazām in Egypt under the caliphate
of al-Ma'mūn in (215/830), then in Baṣra under that
of al-Mu'taṣim (Ya'qūb, Madārī, ii, 558-9; Ibn
Taghrībī Īd, Naḍīm, ii, 212).

III. — Abū Yusuf Ya'qūb b. Ismā'īl b. Hāmād
(al. 240/856), brother of Ismā'īl, was, it seems, the first
kādī of the family; having served in this office at
Medina, he made his way to Baghdad where he fre-
quently the court of al-Mu'taṣim and transmitted
hadīth. Subsequently, al-Mutawakkil appointed him for
the second time kādī of Medina, then of Fārs, where
he resided until his death (al-Tanūkhi, Niswādi, vii, 16-18;
Ya'qūb, Madārī, ii, 560-9).

IV. — Abū Ismā'īl Hāmād b. Ismā'īl b. Ismā'īl
(199-267/815-88) was described in a general sense as
being kādī of Baghdad (Khaṭīb Baghdādī, viii, 159),
but there can be no doubt that the area in question
was the Round City of al-Mu'āṣir in 251/865,
according to Massinon, Codex, 108. He is mentioned
among the companions of al-Muważafl, and to him
are attributed a Samā'ī al-Muḥādāna and a Radd 'alā
Ibn Dirham
After having first of all become interested in gathering together traditions of philological, literary and historical interest, he brought together hadiths from the mouths of 'Ata b. Abi Rabah, al-Zuhri, Muddajjih, 'Ikrima and other famous persons, and passed them on, notably to Waki', Ibn al-Mubarak and 'Uyuyu. His condition was such that he was considered as the imam of the Hijaz.

Little is known of his life, except that he accompanied Ma'n b. Zaid'a to the Yemen, soon returned from there and towards the end of his life made his way to 'Irak and al-Mansur's court. His name is connected, on one hand, with the question of the legality of the transmission of hadiths by letter and not by sam'a, and on the other, with the writing down of traditions. Like Sa'id b. Abi 'Araba [q.v.] in 'Irak, he was regarded as having been the first in the Hijaz, and even in the whole Islamic empire, to gather together hadiths into a work fi 'l-'ahtar waharáf al-tafsir, these two scholars are often cited together, especially by al-Dhahabi in Ibn Taghribirdi, Nadjam, i, 351, year 1431, who enumerates with some regret the authors of the oldest collections. Goldziher, in Muh. Studien, i, 211-12, Eng. tr. ii, 196-7, has shown that the priority accorded to Ibn Durayd was unmerited, and has remarked that collections of hadith under the same title, even if several hadiths are in common, are often the work of several hands. If this is the case with all events, his work was a selection of legal traditions in classified form, as the Fihrist, ed. Cairo 316, notes, grouped by chapters on legal purity, the prayer, the zakat, etc.

Bibliography: Qadhi, Bayan, iii, 283; idem, Hayawan, index; Ibn Kutayba, Mawrid, 488-9, 519; Ibn Khallifan, Wafayat, no. 348, ed.; Ihsan 'Abbas, iii, 163-4; Khattab Baghdadi, Tarikh, x, 400-7; Ibn Taghribirdi, Nadjam, i, 351; Ibn al-'Imad, Shaward, ii, 226-7; Nawawi, Tahdhik, 787; Ibn Hadjar, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, vi, 402-6; Dhahab, TadhkIrat al-Huffaz, i, 160; Goldziher, Muh. Studien, index; Brockelman, S. 255, and bibl. given there; Bustani, Della tit al-mawrid, ii, 404-5; Zirikli, iv, 305.

(Ch. Pellat)
IBN FARIGHUN — IBN HATIM

**Qusaym** resembles the slightly later Maṣḥūth al-Ṣālim of Abū `Abd Allāh al-Khārazmī [q.v.] in that it is divided in the first place into two mukāthās, one on the Arabic sciences and one on the non-Arabic ones, but it is not so clearly arranged as the Maṣḥūth. A full evaluation of the work must await publication of the text, for which several mss. exist.

**Bibliography:** In addition to references given above, see H. Ritter, *Philostrata XIII*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 83-5; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1968, 34-6; Brockelmann, S i, 435; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 384, 388 (reading the author of the Qusaymī’s name as “Mutaghābī (?Mubtaghaḥ b. Furayʿūn”).

(C.E. Bosworth)


As the jālīḥ appointed to the Moroccan sultan, he filled the office of muḥtasib of Fāṣ, then of kāʾid of the Ghirāb, before devoting a great part of his activities to literature. He is the author of several commentaries and glosses, of epistles of a religious character and of an account of the pilgrimage which he made, but also the author of a mukaddas [q.v.], of a poetic version of the Ḥikām of Ibn `Aṭī Allāh ʿIskandār [q.v.], of a poem of nearly 4,000 verses in praise of the Prophet (with a commentary in 5 volumes) and a series of eulogies of the sultan. Some of his writings have been preserved in manuscript at Rabat (see Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, nos. 292 (5), 305, 337, 338, 434, 497 (11-12), and part of his poetic output (mss. 337 and 338 above; now K 90 and K 2707) later gathered together into a Dīwān lithographed at Fas and containing notably a certain number of muwashshahāt. This verisimilitude, who still enjoys a certain celebrity, sometimes gave himself up to some curious pyrotechnics. M. Lakhdar (in *Littérature*, 283-4) sets forth a poem in 26 verses rhyming in ṣīn and in the metre basti, of which each hemistich is divided into four sections written successively in red, black, blue and black; if the blue column is removed, the metre munsarh results, if the red and the muktādab, and if the red alone, mūsīlākāb.” This genealogy and the mamlūkī [q.v.] of Hamdūn Ibn al-Hadjīdī were the subject of a monograph by his son Muhammad al-Tālib (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 342-5) called the Ruyaʿ al-awz (ms. Rabat 396).


**IBN HĀTIM, BADR AL-DIĪN MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤAMĀNĪ, state official and historian under the second Rūsūlīd sultan of the Yemen, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (1647-1694/1250-1297).**

IBN Hātim’s name appears nowhere in the biographical literature of mediaeval Yemen, and neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is known. The last reference to him falls under the year 702/1302-3. However, from his history of the Asyūbīd and early Rūsūlīd in the Yemen, the Siṃi al-ṣīḥālī al-Tulmiyyan fi ʿalāhīr al-mulāk min al-Qāwqaʾ bin Yūsuf (ed. G. R. Smith, *The Asyūbīd and early Rūsūlīd*, etc., GMS, N.S. xxvi/1, *The Arabic text*, London 1974), it is possible to cull some information concerning the man and his official life. He belonged to the Banū Hātim of Yām of Hamdūn, who at the time of the Asyūbīd conquest of the Yemen in 569/1173 controlled the area of Ṣaḥrā’ī, the country's
chief town. He was thus an Ismā‘īlī, though this proved no handicap to his rise to a high position in the staunchly Sunnī Rasūlid state under al-Muẓaffar Yūsūf. He was a member of the small cadre of some four or five officials employed by the sultan in the capacity of roving ambassador, personally representing him wherever in the country he was needed, now negotiating with recalcitrant tribes, now conveying a personal message from the sultan, at times even participating in military operations.

His official state position, however, did not restrict or hamper his historical writing in any way. His account of the Ayūbid and first two Rasūlid sultans is a refreshingly impartial one, perhaps slightly biased towards his own family, the Banū Ḥatīm, but containing much otherwise unknown information on this crucial period of Yemeni history, when the country was beginning to form a political unit after centuries of rule by numerous petty dynasties. He writes in the Simt of al-Muẓaffar Yūsūf’s reign as a dispasionate eye-witness. We know too that he wrote al-ʿlād al-γαιμīn fi ʾṣghār mušāl al-Yaman al-muṭāʾalākhšārin, though this remains undiscovered. It was clearly a more general history of the Yemen, covering a longer time-span than the Simt.


(G.R. Smith)
Ibn Kabar — Ibn Kayşān 389

rary and co-religionist, and this view is shared by Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghīrābī.

Moreover, it is certain that Ibn Kabar made a résumé of Baybars al-Mansūr’s history, the Mukkāt al-Abbârī, the ms. of which is preserved in the Ambrosiana collection of Milan (Ms C 45 Inf.). The section of the Fātimids, together with part of the reign of al-Mansūr Khârim, is lacking in this manuscript, and the text stops abruptly in the year 702/1302.

Ibn Kabar’s main work is a book on the ecclesiastical sciences of the Copts, Kitāb Miṣbāh al-zúmana wa-tābīb al-khâbān. This has been edited and translated by Dom Louis Villecourt, with the collaboration of Mgr. E. Tisserant and Gaston Wiet, in Patrologia Orientalis, xxiv, Paris 1928. Ibn Kabar also left behind a Copto-Arabic dictionary, published by Athanasius Kircher under the title Scala magna. A few others of his works remain unpublished.


(ABEL, HAMID SALEH)

IBN AL-KATTĀN, a name well-known to historians of the medieval Muslim West and, as such, long thought to have been borne by only one person. There is, however, no doubt that it was the name of two different people who, in all probability, were father and son. Since nothing further can be said of this putative relationship, it seems prudent to speak of the two persons as the “Elder” and the “Younger.”

1. IBN AL-KATTÂN THE ELDER. This person is to be identified with one Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Abd allâh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yahyā al-Kutamm al-Fasf, a religious scholar and jurist from Fas, for whom we have only the date of his death, viz. 1 Rabī‘ I 628/7 January 1231. As all his biographers agree that he died in A.H. 628, he can hardly have been the author (as supposed by Lēvi-Provençal and others after him) of the K. Naẓr al-ṣaḥīḥa (see below), since the author of this work served the Almohad caliph al-Murtadā (reg. 646–65/1249–66). Of the early background of this Ibn al-Kattān, all we know is that he was of Cordovan origin. We can only assume that either he or his father and family had emigrated from Andalusia to Fas. In later life his importance seems to have lain in the prominence of his position in the Almohad hierarchy, for we are told that he was head of the talāba in Marrakesh and that he enjoyed great prosperity in the service of the ruler (on the talāba as a high-ranking class of Almohad dignitaries, and on Ibn al-Kattān in particular, see Hopkins, Medieval Muslim government in Barbary, London 1958, 104 f. respectively). After the death of the caliph Abū Ya‘qūb Yūnus al-Mustāṣirīn, Ibn al-Kattān the Elder fell victim to the Almohad power struggle which ended in the victory of Muhammad ‘Abd Allâh (al-‘Abbād) over the caliph Abū al-Walîd after only eight months’ rule. Leaving Marrakesh in 621/1224, Ibn al-Kattān was able to return later, but in fact he seems never again to have been able to make a secure and permanent home there or indeed to lead a settled life. When he died, he was kādlī of Sidjīlmāsâ, a city then in rebellion against the reigning caliph. Among writings attributed to this Ibn al-Kattān are a commentary on the K. al-‘Abbâm of ‘Abd al-Hâjj al-Ighâfī (confused with the K. al-‘Abbâm of Ibn al-Kattān the Younger), a Makâkā fi l-a‘zaqān and al-Nazar fi ḥākîm al-nazar.

2. IBN AL-KATTÂN THE YOUNGER, otherwise Abū ‘Allī (and/or Abū Muhammad) al-Husayn (or al-Husayn b. Abī ‘l-Kattān, a chief of genealogy and co-religionist, and this view is shared by Abu ‘l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghīrābī. by Ibn Tādhrī to have written a history entitled K. Naẓr al-ṣaḥīḥa wa-tâbīb al-khâbān min akhâr al-ṣiṣn (there are variants of the title) as well as a number of other works, viz. K. Shīḥī al-ghūl fi ‘l-ṣaḥīḥa wa ‘l-ṣīḥā, K. al-‘Abbâm bi-bayān ṣīḥâtihi al-ṣīḥā (on hadīth), K. al-Mansūṭī, and K. al-Masmūṭī. Of all these writings, only a part of the Naẓr seems to have survived. Until this part was discovered, the work was only known through the use which other Maghāribi writers had made of it, notably Ibn ‘Idhârī. The complete Naẓr was, so far as can be gleaned, a large encyclopaedic work covering the history, and to some extent the geography, of North Africa and Spain from the Arab conquest to the author’s own time. The extant portion, dealing with the period 500–33/1106–7 to 1138–9, bespeaks a tendentious “palace” chronicle, but it is valuable as it not only reproduces original official documents and quotes authors whose works are no longer known to us, but it also reports on the Fātimids in Egypt, giving information not to be found elsewhere.

Bibliography: J.F.P. Hopkins, Medieval Muslim government in Barbary, London 1958, loc. cit.; Mahīdūrī, ‘Abduh al-Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. İbrahim, Bagdādī philologist who according to all the known sources, died in 299/311–12; this date is nevertheless challenged by Yâkūt who, believing that al-Khâṭīb al-Bagdādī is in error, opts for 320/932.

He was the pupil of al-Mubarrad and Thālūb al-Qāwī, and is said to have brought together the doctrines of the grammatical schools of both Basra and Kūfah, though his own preference was for the former; he was moreover the author of a work, no longer surviving, a K. al-Marʾa’il ‘alā maqābghī al-nahwīyya mimma ḥalafqa, a K. al-Maṣjīd wa ṭṣāʾīb ḥalafqa wa l-Basriyya, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī relates in his Inīţā (iii, 6) that he had written over his door “enter
and eat". In another, unspecified work, the same author (cited in particular by Yākūt and al-Suyūṭī) describes the programme of his lecture courses and describes the crowd which surrounded him, leaving about a hundred mounts in front of the gate of the mosque where he was teaching, but Yākūt does not seem to take Abu Hayyan's account at its face value. In addition to the **K. al-‘Afaqātī**, Ibn al-Nadīm attributes the following works to Ibn Kāsīm: *Ma‘ṣūm wa al-ma‘ṣūmat*; *Ma‘ṣūm wa al-ma‘ṣūmat*; *Mudhakkar wa al-mu‘annath*; *Mudhakkar wa al-mu‘annath*; *Chester Realty*.

The *Kitāb Masābih al-kitāb* which is doubtfully authentic. The *Ma‘ṣūm wa al-ma‘ṣūmat* contains in particular model letters and official documents. An incomplete manuscript of this work has recently been identified in the Suleymaniye Library in Istanbul (Fatih 4128).

Ibn Kāfāl was also the author of two works which he cites in his *Mawsīd*, the *Abl al-kitāb* (fols. 162b and 166a) and a *Kitāb al-ṣaḥīḥ* (fols. 16a and 25b), but these have not come to light. The date of his death is uncertain. Al-Habbāl al-Māṣrī records, in his *Subh*, which he cites in his *Wafaydt al-Misrīyln fi ‘l-‘Arabī*, that he died in Shawwal 533 (1137-1138/1725-1726) after serving on two occasions: firstly, for two days in the year 302/914-915 and for twenty days in the year 303/915-916. Despite some recent attempts at this identification, the name of a family, of whom the best-known two members are:

1. **Abū Ǧalīl Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Kāfāl**, called Fārādž al-Mulk, vizier of the Buyids, born at Fās. He received a traditional education from the local Muslims and litterateur of Mughrib, and killed by Sultan al-Dawla Abu Shudja al-Maghribī [see AL-MAGHRIBI]; to Ibn Kaysan seems to be in fact by an author (cited in particular by Yakut and al-Suyūṭī) and attributes the following works to Ibn Kaysan: *al-‘Azīm b. Ǧumhūr*. In another, unspecified work, the same author (cited in particular by Yakut and al-Suyūṭī) dedicates his *Mawsīd* to him.

2. **Abū Shudja b. ‘Alī b. Kāfāl**, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Kāfāl, son of the preceding, whose date of birth is unknown, but he was killed in 466/1073-4 by Badr al-Din al-Manṣūrī (q.v.), at the time when this later arrived in Egypt at the summons of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muṣṭāfan. Abū Shudja was this caliph’s minister on two occasions: firstly, for two days only, in Muharram 457/December 1064-January 1065, and secondly, at the end of the same month in the same year, and this tenure of office lasted till mid-Rabī‘ I of the same year/February 1065.

It seems that this minister should not be confused with ‘Abū b. Kāfāl al-Kātib [see the following article], despite some recent attempts at this identification which are conjectural and unjustifiable.

iii, 484; M. Lakhdir, *Vie littéraire*, 275-7 and bibl. given there.  

**IBN AL-KUUFF**, **AMIN AL-DAWLA ABU 1-FARAJI B. MUWAFALK AL-DIN YA'KUB B. ISHAQ**, known as **AL-MALIKI AL-MASHI** (the Melkite Christian) **AL-KARAKI**, in Arabic philology, literature, calligraphy, poetry and history. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, in his *'Uyun al-anbā* and *history*. Ibn Abf Usaybi'a, in his *al-Usul fi Shark al-jusul*, *on Hippocrates' art*, *and* *Dj_dmi* — *Function* of *God's speech is eternal according to Ibn Kullab, likewise His kindness (karam) and His generosity (qayraw), His friendship (wakāya) and His enmity (hadīya, wakāya)*. The formula was also applied to the *siyāf* *kkhabirya*, attributes which are only accepted because they form part of revelation, i.e., the anthropomorphisms: God's face, His hands, His eye, etc., are "neither identical with Him nor not identical with Him". They share common features, but they are not interchangeable. The same must therefore be said with regard to their relationship with God's essence; *lā bāna wasa-wa lā ba la ṣakeyraha*. They are not entirely different from Him, but also not completely identical with Him, i.e., no mere "names" in the sense of *'Abdāb b. Sulaymān* [g.e.], the Mu'tazilis with whom Ibn Kullab held frequent discussions. There was no necessity, in this context, for a distinction between *siyāf al-dīdāt* and *siyāf al-fāh*: God's will, which was considered a "factual quality" and as such temporal by the Mu'tazilis, is eternal according to Ibn Kullab, likewise His kindness (karam) and His generosity (qayraw), His friendship (wakāya) and His enmity (hadīya, wakāya). The formula was also applied to the *siyāf* *kkhabirya*, attributes which are only accepted because they form part of revelation, i.e., the anthropomorphisms: God's face, His hands, His eye, etc., are "neither identical with Him nor not identical with Him". We do not know what this meant exactly, but we hear that God is "sitting on His throne" with His essence, not as a body and not in a definite place. Ibn Kullab did not restrict God's attributes to those mentioned in the *kurān*. An attribute may be inferred from any description (nasb) given about God. But there are some of them which do not fit into the "formula". God is eternal and thus possesses eternity (*kidam*), which does not belong to the **IBN KULLÄB, 'ABBĀD ALLĀH B. SA'ID B. MUHAMMAD AL-ΚATTÂN AL-BAŠRĪ** (died 241/855?), foremost representative of a compromising theology during the time of the *mahdi* [g.e.]. Nothing is known about his life. He contradicted the Mu'tazili doctrine of *khalq al-kurān* by introducing a distinction between the speech of God (ka'lam Allāh) and its realisation: God is eternally speaking (*mutakallim*), but he can only be *makah* (*mukallam*), addressing himself to somebody, if this addressee exists. Speech is a permanent and unchangeable attribute (*siān or ma'nā*) which subsists in God; but when, in revelation, it becomes speech to somebody, it is subject to alteration: it may be represented in various languages and must adapt itself to various situations by taking the form of an order, a statement etc. The expression *khalq al-kurān* is thus misleading; it is true insofar as the "trace" (*nasr*) of God's speech is concerned, its reproduction (*khālīya*) in historical reality, especially in a Holy Scripture, and its subsequent recitation (*kurān = kānā*), which is a meritorious action (*kāsh*) performed by man; but it does not allow for the conclusion drawn by the Mu'tazilis that God is only speaking through temporal speech and not *per se*. That there is uncreated speech is proved by the word *kwāf*, by which God created everything else and which can therefore not be created itself. This uncreated speech does not yet consist of letters and sounds; it can therefore not be heard by anybody (in contradiction to sūra IX, 6 which had to be interpreted metaphorically). The only exception was Moses, to whom God said: "I have chosen thee, so listen to what is suggested" (XX, 13); he heard God speak to him directly. But we do not have any information about how Ibn Kullab explained this kind of perception. God's speech is eternal not by itself (which would mean that one attribute or "accident", namely eternity, were to subsist in another one, namely speech), but by the eternity of God's essence. God's attributes are related to each other in a most intimate way: they are "neither identical nor not identical". They share common features, but they are not interchangeable. The same must therefore be said with regard to their relationship with God's essence; *lā bāna wasa-wa lā ba la ṣakeyraha*. They are not entirely different from Him, but also not completely identical with Him, i.e., no mere "names" in the sense of *'Abdāb b. Sulaymān* [g.e.], the Mu'tazilis with whom Ibn Kullab held frequent discussions. There was no necessity, in this context, for a distinction between *siyāf al-dīdāt* and *siyāf al-fāh*: God's will, which was considered a "factual quality" and as such temporal by the Mu'tazilis, is eternal according to Ibn Kullab, likewise His kindness (karam) and His generosity (qayraw), His friendship (wakāya) and His enmity (hadīya, wakāya)
Kūrānic vocabulary), but this eternity must be directly identical with Him because nothing eternal exists besides Him. Similarly, His being can in no way be “not identical” with Him. The character of God’s divinity was discussed among Ibn Kullāb’s followers.

In other theological problems, Ibn Kullāb supported the view of the aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth. He believed in the ru’ya bi‘l-ābād, in the final salvation of all Muslims in spite of their sins, and in a moderate form of predestination. Man has no immanent capacity of acting (kudurā); he only receives it in the moment of the performance. He may use it for the contrary of his action, i.e. for sin as well as for obedience, but this freedom of choice does not influence the salvational status determined by God from the beginning.

Ibn Kullāb’s sījāt theory was prepared by earlier speculations inside and outside the Mu’tazila, especially by discussions between Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn b. Ḥishām b. al-Ḥakam and several books, among them a compendium of the sūrah fi al-ṣūrah (ibn Ḥabīb, 61 ff.). He was, however, the first to elaborate them into a coherent system which corresponded to the high rank of his ideas. He also apparently put them on a broader basis by adding, e.g., a theory of human speech which worked with the differentiation between speech as such and its reproduction through letters and sounds. He wrote several books, among them a K. al-sījāt and a refutation of the Mu’tazila. Only a small fragment of one of them has been found up to now (cf. Orosius, xvii–xix [1965–6], 92 ff.). Among his adherents in Baghdad was the mystic al-Harith al-Muḥasibī (died around 985) who was supported by al-Husayn b. al-Fadl al-Bādawī, a contemporary who was mainly known as a commentator of the Kūrān. The orthodox reaction under al-Mutawakkil and Hishām b. al-Hakam (q.v.) and by the ideas of al-Mukaddasī notes already in 733/1332–3 that “sons of the people of high rank”, which allowed him to become a member of the sultan’s guard of honour. After having undergone the wide-ranging military education of the “youths of good family”, he ended his long career as a military man, in this same elite corps, with the high rank of muṣāker (= colonel or brigadier?), earning him comfort of life and respect. To his cultural interests, Ibn Manglī added a deep religious sense, almost asceticism; at the end of his treatise on hunting, he thanks God for allowing him not to take a wife, the source of unhappiness. It is unknown whether his own death preceded or followed the ignominious end of his master, strangulated to death.

Ibn Manglī’s works on the art of war and on military and naval tactics are only known to us through titles and citations, but his treatise on hunting, put together in 773/1371–2, is preserved in a unique manuscript (Paris, B.N., Ar. 2832, ff. 53) called Uns al-mulāt bi-waḥsh al-falād “The sociable contact of the elite people with the wild beast of the open desert”. The author did not intend to compile an original work, but, so he says, conceived the idea of it as an abridgement (mukhtasar) of the great encyclopaedia on venery al-Dzhambāla fi ʾulām al-bayyana (Compromises in the art of hunting, Escurial, Ar. 905; Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3813; Calcutta, Asiatic Soc., Ar. 865 M9) written in 638/1240 by the Baghdādī author Abu ʾl-Ruḥ ʾIsbā b. ʾĀli b. Ḥassān al-Asādī. To the basic fabric of al-Asādī’s work Ibn Manglī was able to add, in addition to the fruits of his own long experience on the subject, references to the best authors, such as al-Dāmirī, al-Dāhibī, Ibn Kuttaṣa, Ibn Waḥshīya, Ibn Zuhr, al-Rāzī and many others. One is grateful to him for not having conceived of it as an adab (q.v.) work; his clear, precise and curt style reflects the military man, whilst certain dialectical expressions show the contemporary language.

In 1880 one Florian Pharaon, a person of Levantine origin, brought out an edition and translation, under the title Traité de venerie (Paris, pp. 154 text, 143 tr.), of Ibn Manglī’s work; but the manuscript which he used, very lacking and defective, is not the Paris one. As a result, one wonders whether this Pharaon knew Arabic and anything about hunting at all, since the work of the Mamlūk author is so manifold.

As well as the great interest which Ibn Manglī’s treatise holds for the devotee of the chase and the specialist on animals, the historian can glean from it a host of details on the horses, the style of riding and the handling of weapons as known amongst
the Mamluks of the 8th/14th century, for whom
hunting served as a school for... and cUmar, 
but did not however fall into sin; on the other hand, 
cUthman was to be rejected (takfir). For his part,
Abd al-Djabbar, whose 
environment was... and said that he abided by his read-
ing... a year later to Ibn Shanabudh (d. 329/939 [q.v.]). 
Yakit mentions the titles of eighteen books attributed 
to Ibn Miskam, mainly dealing with Kur'ān and the 
Arabic language, but also including a refutation of 
the Mu'tazilite hypothesis of the origin of the Qur'ān, 
and a work in two volumes on the nature of 
success (cf. al-Khayyat, Fihrist, 2569) the presence there of Hisham b. al-Hakam 
[ q.v.]. Ibn al-Djazarf, the editor of the great 
Mu'tazilite scholar of the time, especially Abu 
'l-Hudhlayh and al-Nazzām [q.e.], with whom he 
engaged in controversy, but apparently without great 
success (cf. al-Khayyat, Intisar, index, who states that 
he was under the influence of the young (ahdhāth 
Mo'tazilis). Al-Mas'ūdī, in Murūj, vi, 369 = § 2566, 
mentions him at the head of the theologians who took 
part in a colloquium organised by Yahyā b. Khālid 
b. Barmak on 'ākif [q.e.], and records (vi, 371 = § 
2565) the presence there of Hīlamān b. al-Hakam [q.e.]. 
The latter, who died in 179/795, is considered as the 
main representative of Imāmī theology in his time, and 
Ibn Mitham did not enjoy a parallel fame; but it is 
probable that Ibn Mitham was his elder, since he 
cited before him by Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, ed. 
Cairo, 249, who states that he was the first to 
formulate the doctrine of the imāmate, and attributes to 
him a Kātb al-imāma (called al-Kāmil) and a K. 
al-Iṣhkhāk. If al-Nawbakhshī (Fīsāk al-Ṣafi'a, 9) is believed, 
this political doctrine may be summed up in the 
following manner: 'Allī was the most meritori-
ous (wafī) after the Prophet, and the community 
committed an error in choosing Abī Bakr and 'Umar, 
but did not however fall into sin; on the other hand, 
Uthmān was to be rejected (takfīr). For his part,
al-ÁÁhrir, makáal, 42, 54, 516, delineates the main outlines of his theological doctrine: the Divine Will is, for him, as for Ḥishám, a moving force (haraka), but for him, a moving force external to God, which moves Him. In regard to faith, this consists essentially in respect for the divine obligations; whoever infringes them loses the quality of mu'min and becomes a ḥákīf, without however being wholly excluded from the community, since he can marry within it and inherit.

**bibliography:** In addition to the sources mentioned above, see Túsi, Fihrist, 212, no. 458; Naǧáši, ṭabl, 176; Abú 'Alī̇ al-Karbállí'í, Muḥtadá'ah, 207-8; Mámákání, Tābik al-makáal, ii, 270; Baghdádí, Haḏyát al-irfán, i, 669; Kahhála, Muqádám, vii, 291; W.M. Watt, in St. It., xxx, 395, 291; Iden, The formative period of Islamic thought, Edinburgh 1973, 158-9, 188. (Ed.)

** Ibn al-Mubáraakah al-Látámí** [see al-Látámí].

Ibn Múbílik, Abú Ká'b (Abú '1-Hurra in Ibn Duráyid's aligmatic, 12) Tamín b. Ḫaráy b. Múray, b. al-ÁÁdíllán al-ÁÁmir (i.e. the ÁÁmir b. șa'á'á, see al-Káblí b. ṭabkál, Tab. 101), Bedúin poet of the muğádam, who is said, like many other poets of his age, to have lived 120 years (although al-Sidjástání does not cite him in his K. al-Anfus al-ÁÁmir). Ibn al-Múbílik was already made known to the compilers of geographical dictionaries (Yáykí cíte him 142 times in the Muqádám al-bulbán). Ibn al-Múbílik seemed to have led the rather monoto-

nous life of the Bedúin of his time, and his biog-

raphery, who was born and who died at al-Kayrawán, (ca. 762-837 or 839/1240-1304). He was approached basically because he had written too much the pre-Islamic times and found himself ill at ease (Ibn Salláám, ṭabkál, 125; see Diwán, 129-

41), and it may be because of this that the judg-

ments of the critics on him differ considerably. Ibn Salláám, 119, places him in the fifth class of the Ḥáníyya poets with Khádís b. ẓabíy, al-ÁÁswád b. Yá'ír, and al-Múbílik b. ẓabíy, who are not remarkable as poets. Most curiously, al-ÁÁqthál, whom he had in fact attacked (Diwán, 109-12, 312-14), is said to have delivered a very favourable verdict on him (Thaláb, Muqádám, 481; Ibn Rájíyí, ṭuma, i, 80, whilst al-ÁÁsmaí [q.v.] did not consider him as all as one of the jubál (al-Marzbání, Muqádám, 80); this severe judgment did not however prevent this same scholar from collecting together his Diwán, of which other recensions were made by Abú 'Ámir al-Sháyábání, al-ÁÁrúsí, Ibn al-Sikkit and al-Súkkárí (Fihrist, ed. Cairo, 224) and a commentary written by Múhámmad b. al-ÁÁlaá-ÁÁzdi (Yáykí, Umdá, s.v.; al-Mubarrad, Al-agdílís, ii, 37-8; al-Husayn, al-Marzubání, i, 30-4, 516; cf. PELLAT)...

One at least of these recensions was known in Iríkíyá, as the ṭuma of Ibn Rájíyí and the Masálál al-intikák of Ibn Súráfí (who adjudged Ibn Múbílik's poetry as archaic and solidly constructed) attest in particular, and also in al-ÁÁndalús (see Ibn Kháyí, Fihrist, 397), but it is only recently that there has been discovered at Córum (see Córum) the manu-

script of an unidentified recension. A very careful edition of the Diwán has been done by Izzát Ḥasan (Damascus 1381/1962), to which he has appended a Dhagi and various highly useful indices; another ed. by ÁÁhmet Í. Túrí, Ankara 1965.

**bibliography:** The main sources have been given in the article; Izzát Ḥasan's introduction to the Diwán contains the sparse biographical details which are known and a study of Ibn Múbílik's works. See further Zírálí, ÁÁmí, s.v.; Wahhábí, Muqádám, i, 123-5; where some new references may be found. (Ch. PELLAT)

**Ibn Nádíji.** Anó 'l-ÁÁqthál/Abú '1-Fádel b. Ḫaráy b. Nádíji al-Tásqántí, kádtí, preacher and biog-

rapher, who was born and who died at al-Kayrawán (as, 762-837 or 839/c. 1361-1433 or 1435). He studied in his natal town and in Tunis, and then filled various posts as kádtí and as káhtib in (Djibra, Beja, Lorbeus, Souss, Gabés, Tebessa and al-Kayra-

He had previously expressed pro-Umayyad senti-

ments in an elegy inspired by the murder of 'Uýámán (Diwán, no. 3), but apart from his polemics with al-Nádíji, he seems to have been uninter-

ested in political affairs and to have held aloof from addressing elegies to high-placed per-

sonages. Hence if mudáth [q.v.] is little represented in his Diwán, boasting poetry (fakhr), personal or tribal, abroad on the other hand. As a Bedúin poet, he defends naturally the Bedúin qualities such as generosity, contempt for riches, courage and en-durance; the main characteristic of his work is indeed description (ṣafá'), of the desert, atmospheric phenomena, the camel, wild animals, and especially, the arrows (kádhá) used in the gambling game called mayyir [q.v.], to such a point that he became proverbial for them and one spoke of the kádtí Ibn Múbílik (Ibn Kutábýa, Shir, 427). His work was exploited by the philologists (Sibawayh cítes him ten times; see also, e.g., al-Múbarrad, Kámíl, 498; al-Baghdádí, Khádzíb, Bálík, i, 111-13 = Cairo, i, 211-15, şáhíd 32, etc.), and because of the number of place names in his poetry, he was a source for the compilers of geographical dictionaries (Yáykí cítes him 142 times in the Muqádám al-bulbán). Ibn Múbílik was reproached basically because he had written too much the pre-Islamic times and found himself ill at ease (Ibn Salláám, Tabkál, 125; see Diwán, 129-

41), and it may be because of this that the judg-

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rapher, who was born and who died at al-Kayrawán (as, 762-837 or 839/c. 1361-1433 or 1435). He studied in his natal town and in Tunis, and then filled various posts as kádtí and as káhtib in (Djibra, Beja, Lorbeus, Souss, Gabés, Tebessa and al-Kayra-
wân), and put together commentaries on fiqh works, in particular, on the Risdâ of Ibn 'Abî Zayd al-Kayrawânî (this Ïgarî was printed at Cairo 1914, 2 vols.). However, his fame stemmed especially from a collection of biographies of religious scholars of his native town from its origins till the 9th/15th century, the Ma'alîm al-imâm fi marrâtah ahl al-Kayrawân, only the part with the notices on the 8th/14th century being completely from his own pen; all the opening is in reality a borrowing from a collection by a predecessor, al-Dabbagh [q.v. above].

Bibliography: Ahmad Bîhûh, Qalqashandî, No. 1330; Introd. to Ibrahim Shabbuh's ed. of the Ma'alîm; see also the Bibli. to al-Dabbagh.

IBN NÂSîR, the name, nowadays replaced by Nâsîrî, of a Moroccan family who founded the branch of the Shadhîlîyya order [q.v.] known as Nâsîrîyya and founded its headquarters at the zîdwiya of Tamgrût [q.v.] in southern Morocco. The numerous biographical sources, published and unedited, as well as a monograph on the family, the Ta'rifat al-nasirîyya (Fâs 1309) by A'mâd al-Nâsîrî al-Sâlîwî, allows its history to be traced easily and allow a genealogical tree to be constructed; the reader will find information on this in the article AL-NASIRIYYA, and there will merely be given here some information on those members of the Bâni Nâsîr who took part in a conspicuous fashion in literary and intellectual life over the last four centuries.

1. al-Husayn b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Husayn b. Nâsîr b. 'Amr b. Uthmân al-Darî (d. 1091/1680) succeeded his father (d. 1071-72) as head of the zîdwiya of Ighlan (a few miles south of Zagora). This zîdwiya was, however, definitively abandoned after an outbreak of plague which broke out in 1091/1680, of which al-Husayn was himself a victim; he had made three journeys to the East and had composed a Fihrasa extant at Rabat (ms. 506K).

2. His elder brother, Abû 'Abîl Aḥâlî Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (1005-1006/1665-66) had left the Ighlan zîdwiya in 1040/1631 in order to settle in the one at Tamgrût, which he now headed; according to the later biographies, it was he who founded the Nâsîrîyya order. He wrote several works of fiqh, some poetry, letters and adhûnû on points of law.

3. Muhammad's son Aḥâm (1057-1129/1647-71) succeeded his father as head of the order. He made the pilgrimage four times, and utilised these occasions to establish branches of the order in various parts of North Africa, as far as Egypt, and composed concerning his pilgrimage of 1121/1709-10 a voluminous Rûhî (lith. Fâs 1320; partial tr. A. Berbrugger, in Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie, ix, 1846, 165 ff.); this travel account has a certain interest because the author adds his personal observations on the regions which he passed through and records events of some importance, in addition to his mention of his itineraries and the religious personages whom he met en route. Since Aḥâm left behind no children, the headship of the zîdwiya passed to the descendants of his brother Muhammad al-Kâbir.

ceded his father, who died in 1142/1729. The task of inspecting the order's branches in the various towns of Morocco led him to write a travel narrative, al-Rayâhih al-wardiya fi 'l-rîhla al-Marrokâshgirya (ms. Rabat 88 G, 1-83), but he also left behind some poetry and several biographical works, amongst which may be noted the Faṭîh al-nasîrî al-Nâṣîr fi ifḍâzâtî marwânîyya Bani Nâṣîr (ms. Rabat 323 K) on the ifḍâzât received by his forebears, and above all, al-Durâr al-manassîyya fi al-gharb âyân Darâ or the Kadî al-rasûlî fi 'l-teyîf bi-suluhî Darâ (ms. Rabat K, 265 and 88 G, 84-116), finished in 1152/1739, which traces the history of the Nâṣîrîyya order. He died after 1170/1756.

5. Abû 'Abîl Aḥâlî Muḥammad b. ABD al-Sâlîm b. 'Abîl Aḥâlî Muḥammad (al-Kâbir), who died in 1239/1823. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca twice and wrote two accounts of these. The autograph ms. of the first, al-Rûhî al-kâbir, is extant in the Royal Library at Rabat (no. 5650); the author adds his own personal observations and is not afraid to contradict his predecessors (notably al-AYâshî and al-'Abdârî [q.v.]). He furthermore left behind al-Ma'âshî fi-muḥaddathâtih ud'bîyya min al-bîd'û bi-Umm al-Zâziwârî, a Fihrasa (ms. Rabat 3289 K), a commentary on the 40 hadîthîs of Muḥammad al-Djâshwî (ms. Rabat 137 Q) and some responsa on some cases in point, the Kadî al-watîf min al-makîk fi'll-dîn (ms. Rabat 1079 D, fols. 107-15).

6. It is convenient, finally, to note that the famous author of the Shadhîlîyya, Ahmad Nâsîrî [see al-Salâwî] was a direct descendant of Ibn Nâsîr.

Bibliography: To the works by the members of the family cited above, one should add the great biographical collections of Moroccan authors like Ibn 'Abîd al-Munir, Safwat min inshârahî, Fâs n.d.; Kâdirî, Naṣîr al-maṭhûbât, Fâs 1310/1892; Muḥammad al-Katûnî, Safwat al-unjûf, Fâs 1316; 'Abîd al-Hâsy al-Katûnî, Faḥris al-fâhâmîs, Fâs 1346/1927-9; the manuals of Moroccan literature: Ibn Sûdâ, Dannâshûh, al-Maghrîb al-Akâ, Casablanca 1960-5; Lévi-Provençal, Chorja, index s.v. Ibn Nâṣîr; M. Lakhdar, La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie 'ouïdîde, Rabat 1971, index s.v. Ibn Nâṣîr and the bibli. cited there. (Ed.)

IBN NÂSÎR AL-DJAYSH. TA'RÎH 'L-DIN 'ABD AL-RAHMÂN, kâhidî, official and author of the Mamlûk period in Egypt. His precise dates are unknown, but he was apparently the son of another kâhidî who had been controller of the army in the time of Sultan al-Nâṣîr al-Din Muḥammad b. Kalâwûn, and he himself served in the Diwân al-Iḫlîsî under such rulers as al-Manṣûr Salâh al-Dîn Muhammad (762-6/1361-3) and his successor al-Ṭâhir al-Nâṣîr al-Dîn Shaṭîb (764-76/1363-76). His correspondence was apparently collected into a mawdu'dî, for al-Kâlqâshândî [q.v.] quotes four letters from it, to external rulers, in his Shub al-dâgh, Ibn Naṣîr al-Djâshî was also, in a well-established Mamlûk tradition, the author of a manual for channey secretaries, the Ta'rifî al-Târifî, an improved version of the well-known guide of Shihâb al-Dîn Ibn Fâlîd al-lâlî al-Umârî [see Fâlîd al-lâlî], al-Târifî bi 'l-mustalah al-qâtîfî; the Ta'rifî has survived in at least four manuscripts (not however recorded in Brockelmann) and is again quoted several times by al-Kâlqâshândî.

Bibliography: M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes, Paris 1923, pp. XII-XIII; W. Björkman, Beitrag zur Geschichte der Staatskunde im islamischen Ägypten, Hamburg 1928, 69, 75, 129; C.E. Bosworth, Christian and Jewish religious dignitaries in Mamlûk Egypt and Syria. Qalqashandî's information on their hierarchy, titulature and appointment, in IJMES, iii (1972), 67. (C.E. Bosworth)
IBN AL-RĀḤĪB, Coptic polygraph, born between 1200-10 and died between 1290-5. Known principally as a historiographer on account of the Chronicon orientale, which has been falsely attributed to him since the 17th century, Nushū al-Khilafa (or simply al-Nushū) Abū Shakīr b. al-Sanāʿah (abberation of Sanāʿah al-Dawla) al-Rāḥīb Abu l-Karam (alias Abu l-Madjd) Butrus b. al-Muhādhib in fact represents, with Abū Ishāk b. al-Āṣāl [q.v.] and Abu l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar [q.v.], the leading encyclopaedist of the golden age of Christian Arabic literature, in the 7th/13th century. He wrote about all the disciplines of human knowledge which an Arab Christian of the period was in a position to cultivate: chronology and astronomy, history, philology and hermeneutics, philosophy, and theology (in the full spectrum of their ramifications). But it is not this fact alone which confines upon his work an encyclopaedic character; such versatility was not unusual in his milieu. The decisive factor is most of all his method of working, the very dimensions of his studies and finally, the abundant wealth of textual sources, Greek and patristic, Muslim Arab and Christian, which he quotes or incorporates to a large extent in his own works. It is in this work of compilation, besides, even more than in original thought, that the value of his writings seems to reside.

He wrote about all the disciplines of human knowledge which he virtually played a role in the administration, apparently in the capacity of a historiographer on account of the extent in his own works. It is in this work of compilation, besides, even more than in original thought, that the value of his writings seems to reside. It is particularly to be noted that the theodicy of the K. al-Barhūn (chs. 28-40) hinges entirely on that of the K. al-ʿArbuʿa of the great Persian theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rażī [q.v.], which are dotted throughout the work, make it an interesting Arabic florilegium of Biblical commentaries relating to the person of Christ.

(a) K. al-Taṣawwīrāt. Recently identified in three manuscripts, this is the work on which, in reality, Ibn al-Rāḥīb's renown is based. It comprises three distinct parts, unequally divided into fifty-one chapters: a study of astronomy and chronology (chs. 1-47); a history of the world (ch. 48), of Islam (ch. 49) and of the Church (in the form of a history of the patriarchs of Alexandria—ch. 50); and finally, a brief account of the Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Orient (ch. 51). The celebrated Chronicon orientale represents, in fact, only a mediocre abstract of the long chronological section (chs. 48-50). The K. al-Taṣawwīrāt was, in addition, exploited to a large extent by the Christian historiographer, al-Makfī b. al-ʿĀmid [q.v.] and—through the latter, apparently constantly mentioned by al-Makfī and Ibn Khalidūn [q.v.]. In the first half of the 16th century it was translated into classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez) by no less a person than the Etcheguier Ebaqom, which acquired for it a position of considerable eminence in Ethiopian literature. For this the manual of ecclesiastical year and of universal chronology, entitled Abūyakhrūk, is not the least of the evidence.

(b) The study of Coptic philology, completed in 1263, includes a rhymed vocabulary (sullam nakujūf) according to the method used by the Arab lexicographers, preceded by a grammar (makhdūmana [q.v.]), which, through its originality, is distinguished from the series of Coptic prefaces of the Middle Ages. Although the vocabulary itself hitherto seems to be lost, an attentive reading of the prologue—which is available to us along with the grammar and in which the author sets out his project in detail enables us to see there a work of lexicography far superior to the Scala rinata of his contemporary Ibn al-Āṣāl [see sullam].

(c) K. al-Sīḏīf (1267-8). A work of Biblical Christology, of an exclusively exegetical character. Conceived according to massive proportions, it was originally structured on the basis of the image of the Tree of Life, consisting of a triple trunk (adil), each part bearing three branches (fīrat) loaded with innumerable fruits (qamāna). The abundance and the variety of patristic and other commentaries (especially the Firdaws al-nasrāniyya of the Nestorian Ibn al-Taybih [q.v.]).


(A. Sīdārus)

IBN AL-RŪMĪYYA. ABU 'L-'ARBĀʾ (sporadically: Abu Dja'far) AHMAD B. ABI 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤARRIR B. ABI 'L-KHĀLĪF. 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤAMMĀZ AL-ẒAIḤIR AL-NABATI AL-ʿΑΣΗΜΗ, Spanish Arabic pharmacobotanist. He was born in Seville in 561/1166 (according to others, 567/1172) and died there in 637/1240. His allegedly Byzantine origin on the maternal side may have procured him the nickname by which he became known, but which he did not like hearing. In any case, he was a freedman of the Umayyads. He was educated as a Mālikī traditionist and jurist, but then joined the Zāhirīyah and became an ardent adherent of Ibn Hazm [q.v.]. None of his writings bearing upon this activity seems to have survived; some nāgīl-works may be mentioned here: al-Muṣlim bi-ḥaḍrah 'ud (or: bi-mā zādahu, al-Bukhārī 'ālama Muḥammad, Rihāṣir Qarāʾib hadith al-Mālikī [l-Darā responseType], Nauz al-danaʾīr fi-mā tafṣarāna bihi Muḥammad 'an al-Bukhārī, further an abstract from Ibn al-Kaṭājin (d. 360/971) K. al-Kāmil fi l-dalaʾīl wa l-maṭālāt, and a supplement to this work under the title al-Hāṣī fi taddīl al-kāmil, finally legal investigations on the performance of the prayer, like Ḥakīm al-dīl fi ṣadaqāt al-yalamlāt and Kanfiyyat al-adlān yawm al-dījām. The knowledge related to these subjects he acquired during an
IBN AL-RUMIYYA — IBN RUSHD

extensive study-tour, made in connection with the pilgrimage which he undertook in 613/1216, and which led him through North Africa, Egypt, al-Hūdāj, Syria and ʿIraq. His extraordinary long biography in Marrakushi’s Rihla, explained by the fact that this author cites most, if not all, of the traditionists and jurists whose lectures Ibn al-Rumiyya attended and who were his authorities in hadith.

His real renown, however, is based on his achievements as a pharmacobotanist. As he himself relates, Ibn al-Rumiyya attended and who were his author-

(1) the materia medica of Dioscorides; (2) the work by Ibn Djuljul [q.v.] in which the latter explains the simple medicines named by Dioscorides (Tafsir asmaʿ al-adwiya al-munāfda min kitāb Diwāyī-kārīds); and (3) the brief treatise of the same author on medicines not mentioned by Dioscorides (Makāla fi dhikr al-adwiya allatī lam yadhkurī Dinuskuridis ilkh). Seventeen years later (600/1204), Ibn al-Rumiyya in his turn taught the works mentioned, also in Marrakush. The shortcomings and inaccuracies which meanwhile had struck him in the works of Ibn Djuljul induced him now to write a corresponding book by himself, namely Tafsir asmaʿ al-adwiya al-munāfda min kitāb Diwāyī-kārīds (the title thus being identical with that of Ibn Djuljul). In all probability, bordering on certainty, it is this work which exists in an anonymous text of the magāfiʿa Nūrūsmānīy ʿi 3589; the present writer is preparing a text-edition together with an annotated German translation. Ibn al-Rumiyya shortened considerably the contents of Dioscorides’ work, to the extent that he left out almost completely the therapeutic uses of the medicinal herbs; instead, he did, however, give much space to their botanical description. The nomenclature of the herbs is also particularly important: it offers significant material for the knowledge of Mozarab [see ALJAMA] and of the Berber dialects in Morocco at that time. Above all, it is noteworthy that the author makes a sharp distinction between the certain and the uncertain, especially between what was transmitted and what he had seen himself. If one bears in mind that ancient natural science already at an early stage abandoned personal investigation in favour of compilation and came to rely more and more on written sources, the endeavour, recognisable here, to gain a solid basis, particularly by examining nature itself, has to be rated highly.

It is reasonable to assume that Ibn al-Rumiyya wrote down the Tafsir before he started on the journey to the Orient mentioned above. The second botanical work, however, al-Rihla al-muṣṭārikīya, more comprehensive but only known to us through numerous extracts by Ibn al-Baytār, turns out to be the richly scientific result of this journey which lasted about two years. Of particular interest for the history of civilisation is the description of the manufacture of papirus, the oldest one since Piny (for this and the other Arabic accounts, see A. Grohmann, Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papiers, Vienna 1924, 53 f.). The Rihla is of high quality and has led both L. Leclerc (Histoire de la médecine arabe, ii 244) and M. Meyerhof (Maimonide, xxxii) to the judgement that Ibn al-Rumiyya is the botanist par excellence among the Arabs and that he can only be compared with al-Ghafikī [q.v. above] as far as independence of scientific method is concerned.

With the latter, Ibn al-Rumiyya found moreover many faults; his work al-Tanbīḥ al-adāʾi ṣghāṭ al-Ghafikī

If adnayyītqa (quoted by Makkari, Najh al-tib, 1/2, 513) has been unfortunately lost, as is also a treatise on compound drugs (Makāla fi tahrīk al-adwiya), mentioned by Ibn Abī Ṣaʿyībā.


(A. DIETRICH)

IBN RUSHD. Abu ʿl-Walid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dīṣad ("the grandfather" of the celebrated philosopher Averroes or Ibn Rushd [q.v.]), the most prominent Mālikī jurist of his day in the Muslim West, whose very real merits as an exponent of Mālikī have been eclipsed by his grandson’s fame as an exponent of Aristotle. Born in 450/1058-9, he died on 30 March 1126 to warn the Almoravid ruler Ibn Rujud, as our Ibn Rushd was, of the danger that still threatened Islam from within, Ibn Rushd hastened to Marrakesh on 30 March 1126 to warn the Almoravid ruler ʿAli b. Yūsuf b. ʿAṭṭūfīn [q.v.] and to advise him. Expressing his legal opinion that the Mozarabs had, by their treachery, lost all right to protected status, he prevailed upon ʿAli to have large numbers deported, and in consequence many were transported before he started on the journey to Andalus for Christendom and had gained wide-
al-Mukaddamān al-mamahhāddāt bi-bayn mā ḥaḍāthu rūṣūm al-Mudāmān-xama (Cairo 1324; Muḥāmmād ṭibr. Baghdād, n.d. but 1906). To his pupil Ibn al-Wazzān (n.b. - Wārāk) we owe an important—historically and otherwise—collection of fatāwā entitled Nawāzil Ibn Ruhdī, a selection of which, together with son illumination, an introduction, has been published by Iḥṣān Ābās in Al-Abbāh, xxii (Beirut 1969), 3-63. In such of Ibn Ruhdī’s writings as have come down to us, one perceives an incisive and logical mind and clarity of thought matched by lucidity of expression.

**Bibliography:** All the essential references have been brought together in Iḥṣān Ābās’s introduction to the Nawāzil cited above.

(I.J. Latham)

**IBN SA’DĀN, ĀBD ‘ABBĀD ALLĀH AL-HUSAYN B. AHMAD, official and vizier of the Buyids in the second half of the 4th/10th century and patron of scholars, d. 374/984-5.**

Virtually nothing is known of his origins, but he served the great amīr ‘Ābd al-Dawla Fana-Khusraw (q.v.) as one of his two inspectors of the army (ārīd al-qāyda) in Baghdad, the ārīd responsible for the Turkish, Arab and Kurdish troops. Then when ‘Ābd al-Dawla’s murderer, his son ‘Abd al-Salām al-Dawla Marzūbān assumed power in Baghdad as supreme amīr, he nominated Ibn Sa’dān as his vizier. He occupied this post for two years, and seems to have made it his policy to reverse some of the trends of the previous reign; thus according to Ābū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī (q.v.), he favoured the release in the new reign of the historian Ibrāhīm b. Hīlāl al-Ṣabi’ (see al-Ṣabi’) and took charge of the proper burial of Ibn Bakīyya (q.v.), the former vizier of ‘Īza al-Dawla Bahjīt. As executed by ‘Ābd al-Dawla. However, his enemy Abu ‘l-Kāsim ‘Īsā b. ‘Arīd was one of his dependants, but kept himself inaccessible from the populace of Baghdad—in Rūḏrāwārī’s phrase, bādhiq’ li-ʾaṭāʾihī, māniyya li-baḥā’ihī—thus incurring unpopularity to the point that his personal boat on the Tigris (zabqah) was once stoned. His claim to lasting fame does not derive from Sirāḍī, but from his epistle on friendship, the Nishwdr al-muhddara, in which all kinds of speculative and philosophical questions were discussed. He was the friend and patron of scholars which had lapsed on ‘Ābd al-Dawla’s death—and as the organiser of a circle of literati in its highly important military district. By the early 9th/15th century the family was playing a vital part in defending Nasrid frontiers and enjoyed a reputation for valour in the oḥdd.


(C.E. Bosworth)

**IBN AL-SARRĀDĪ, appellative of a family prominent in the 9th/15th century history of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada.**

Passing into Spanish literature as “Abencerraje” in the 16th century (“Bencerraje” may date from the end of the 15th), the name appears as “Abencer(r)-age”. Although this was not completed for the 18th century later in French as “Abencerrage” (which, pace Levi-Provencal (Hist. Esp. Mus., i, 351) does not derive from Sirāḍī, and finally in English as “Abenerring-geh”).

The patronymic “b. al-Sarrādī” is known well before the 9th/15th century. It is borne, for example, by Abu ‘l-Wafa’ b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abd al-Malik, a 5th/11th century panegyrist of the Hammūḏīds (q.v.), and in the 7th/13th century both by a grammarian of Pechina living in Almeria and by yet another Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, a fākīh and khoṭṭī of the Great Mosque of Granada. Early in the next century we find an Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarrādī, a Granadan doctor and botanist whose works, now lost, were esteemed in their day.

Up to the beginning of the 8th/14th century the patronymic is borne by isolated figures whose connections with one another are really indeterminate. If, as claimed, the B. al-Sarrādī were of noble Arab lineage—seemingly of old Yemeni stock—it is strange to find no mention of them in the great Hispanic-Arab genealogical treatises.

From the mid-8th/14th century we begin to discern in Granada the emergence of a clearly definable family, militarily successful and increasingly influential. One notable member was Abū ‘Isā b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sarrādī (d. 766/1364), commander of the kasaba of Ronda and governor of its highly important military district. By the early 9th/15th century the family was playing a vital part in defending Nasrid frontiers and enjoyed a reputation for valour in the qāwāb. Before mid-century it...
already constituted a powerful and ruthlessly ambitious political party.

In 1419 the party staged its first rebellion through members in command of Guadix and Illora. Resentful of 'Ali al-Amin, then regent for the Nasrid minor Muhammad VIII El Popa, they slew the former and replaced the latter by Muhammad IX. El Zaid, grandson of Muhammad V. The grand vizierate fell to Abu l-Hadidjadj Yusuf b. al-Sarradj, organiser of the coup, and thereafter for eight years the Abencerrajes held sway in Granada.

When, in October 1427, Muhammad was restored by loyalists led by 'Ridwan Bannigash (Banegas), Yusuf b. al-Sarradj and his followers opted not to follow their sultan into exile at the court of the Hafid Abd Fairis in Tunis, but to lie low and spy a chance for pardon. This once gained, they plotted and achieved the restoration of Muhammad IX with the aid of Juan II of Castile and Abu Faris. By December 1429 Yusuf b. al-Sarradj and his sultan were back in power in Granada and so remained till December 1431, when the former fell at Laga fighting a joint Castilian and loyalist Granadan force, whose success put Yusuf IV on the throne. But Yusuf's reign was brief: by April 1432 Muhammad IX was back on the throne and Yusuf deposed. Through the years Yusuf's deposed reign was marked by the grand vizierate up to 1445—prominent positions were assigned to the sons of Yusuf b. al-Sarradj (Muhammad and Abu l-Kasim) and other members of their family and party. The period 1445-60, on the other hand, was one of vicissitudes as the Nasrid throne fell successively to Muhammad X El Coto and Yusuf V, and then reverted first to Muhammad X and then to Muhammad IX, who reigned till the end of 1453 or early 1454. Since the sultan Sa'd (Cincia) Muley Zaid (Cah. ng. 1454-62, 1462-4) owed his throne to the B. al-Sarradj—now led by Abu l-Surur al-Mufarridj—the family enjoyed his favour for a time. In 1460 we find the son of Abu l-Kasim (above), another Abu l-Hadidjadj Yusuf, as one of the most influential khalifs of the realm, and yet another Yusuf b. al-Sarradj as a waqif in Mufarridj's administration. But soon came a rift: resentful of tutelage, perhaps, and arrogant in covert attempts to have his son Abu l-Hasan 'Ali (Muley Hacen) supplant him, Sa'd had Muhammad and the waqif Yusuf summarily removed to the Alhambra (July 1462). Muhammad and 'Ali b. al-Sarradj fled to Malaga and set up Yusuf V (Abn Isma'il)—who was assured of Castilian support—as counter-claimant. His premature death brought Abu l-Hasan 'Ali to the fore again, and in August 1464, the latter, in concert with the B. al-Sarradj, overthrew Sa'd and seized the throne. The B. al-Sarradj were back in power: an Ibrahim b. al-Ahdar, an influential khalif who had married into the family, became grand waqif. His administration included Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad, son of Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Sarradj (above). A strange circumstance was soon to undo them. In 1419 'Ali had married Fatimah, daughter of Muhammad IX. On his death, the negotiation in which they held him as their patron shifted to Fatimah. And so 'Ali's late marriage to a Christian renegade was seen as a personal affront, and they drifted into rebellion. Savage retribution followed. Those who escaped with their lives fled, some to asylum in the noble houses of Medina Sidonia and Aguilas, other to various Castilian border towns. In 1482 they then slipped back to supplant 'Ali by his eldest son—by Fatimah—Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad (XII), the famous Boabdil. Till the end of Boabdil's reign and of Muslim Granada, the family's party held supreme political power. Granada once in Christian hands (1492), the Abencerrajes sold up and moved to the Alpujarra, then in March 1493 emigrated almost en masse to the Maghrib. Ironically, the family that had once defended Islam in Spain so well, had, by their part in ruinous civil wars, done so much to bring about its downfall.

Their story as told in Perez de Hita's Historia de los vandos de Zegers y Abencerrajes (1595, 1619) is fiction born of a few grains of truth. In this celebrated novel, which moulded most subsequent literary treatment of "moros de Granada", the Abencerrajes are the model of all chivalry, valour and charm. Their rivals are the brave but jealous and brutally perfidious Zegers—from Thagri "borderer", a term seemingly applied to Magribi madhabli in Spain (who were in fact politically a spent force well before the 9th/10th century). False and secretly accused of dishonouring Boabdil and plotting against him, the leading Abencerrajes are unsuspectingly summoned to the Alhambra and assassinated. Not all perish; the word gets out, and insurrection follows. After a fierce struggle Muley Hacen is proclaimed, but finally the rebels are pacified, and Boabdil is restored. This once gained, they plotted and fled to refuge in Castle where they convert to Christianity. The honour of Boabdil's wife—besmirched by the Zegers at the beginning of the whole saga to turn Boabdil against the Abencerrajes—is finally vindicated and the accusers slain by Christian knights. During the 17th and 18th centuries the theme of the Abencerrajes was taken up by other European authors, notably Chateaubriand in his Les aventures du dernier Abencerage.

The Tale of the Abencerrajes, in the Cuarto de los Leones of the Alhambra, derives its name from various assertions that thirty-odd Abencerrajes were slain there by Muhammad X or, as others say, Muley Hacen or Boabdil. The fiction appears to have its roots in (a) Sa'd's assassination of Mufarridj and Yusuf (above), and (b) Hernandez de Baeza's account of the murder of Muhammad IX and his sons by Sa'd and Abu l-Hasan 'Ali in the Cuarto de los Leones.


IBN SHAKRÜN (pronounced Shukrul) AL-MIKNASI, Abu Muhammad of Abu Nasr Abū 'Abd al-Kādir b. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Munābbar al-Madāqārī, Moroccan physician and poet who was contemporary with sultan Mawlay Isma'il (1082-1139/1673-1727) and who died after 1149/1727-8. He received a traditional education at Fas, studied medicine under Abū Ḍarrākk [q.v. above] Ahmad b. Muhammad, performed the pilgrimage and profited by the opportunity to follow courses in medicine at Alexandria and Cairo. He then returned to settle at Meknes, where he entered the sultan's service, but led a fairly austere and cloistered life.

As well as a commentary on a grammatical work and various poems which reveal a certain talent for versifying, Ibn Shakrün owes mainly his fame to an alwīkā of 673 verses on food hygiene, the Shukrānīya, which has always been highly popular among the people; it gives interesting pieces of information on food practices of the time (ed. Tunis 1232/1905; lith. Fas 1394/1916; ms. Rabat K 1613). He was also the author of a risāla called al-Naḥa fi l-waṭriyya

IBN AL-SARRĀDJ — IBN SHAKRÜN AL-MIKNASI

**IBN AL-SUKKĀT** (vars. Sukkāṭ, ʿSukkāṭ, ʿSaqqāṭ), *al-Muwaffak Fādiʿ Allāh b. Abī ʿl-ʿAṣār ʿal-Katīb al-Naṣrānī*, officier de l’État mamlouk, qui est mort après le centenaire à Damas en 726/1325, ayant laissé derrière lui la réputation de n’avoir été un bon chrétien et un honnête homme de bien. Il composa une Harmonie des quatre gospels (un travail qui correspond à la description de ms. 400 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris) et l’estima parmi les plus illustres de son temps.

The **Taʾlīh** is thus the sole work of Ibn al-Sukkāt which has survived. It is in the conventional form of a biographical collection containing entries, arranged in alphabetical order, of persons who died between 657/1258 and 725/1324. Beyond the apparently monotonous nature of the compilation, it is from the choice of persons covered, the terms used to describe them and the anecdotes related about them, that the personality of the author emerges. He appears as a Christian firm loyal to his personal dignity and without compromising his faith.

The historian al-Safādī is not confirmed by another, more elaborate account. According to one report, he visited Baghdad towards the end of the first decade of the 4th century (913-22 A.D.), he heard from a number of renowned hadith students were al-Darakūnī, Ibn Abī Ḥāmid, Ahmad ibn al-Walīd b. Iṣa b. Mūṣa al-Ḥāṣimī respectively. His father was a Khāṣīn Zaydī making a living by copying books and teaching the Kurʿān, literature and grammar, and was given the nickname ʿUkda because of his knowledge of the intricacies of Arabic grammar. He was visited Baghdād three times. The first time, he was still a youth, in 727/886, he heard hadīth from a number of renowned hadiths. According to one account, he was briefly imprisoned by the vizier ʿAlī b. Iṣa [q.v.] at the instigation of the followers of Ibn ʾAṣār until his criticism was proved correct. This detail is not confirmed by another, more elaborate account. A third time, he visited Baghdād towards the end of his life and taught in the mosque of al-Ruṣāfī, where he is known to have transmitted hadīth in Saḥra 330/November 941, and in the Shīʿī mosque of Barāṭhā. His only other trip was to the Ḥadīj. Thus he transmitted mostly from Kūfāns and visitors to Kūfā. He died on 7 Dhu ’l-Ka‘da 332/1 July 944 in Kūfā.

Ibn ʿUkda was generally recognized as the greatest hadiths transmitter of Kūfā in his time. Fabulous stories were related about his prodigious memory and the hundreds of thousands of hadiths collected and memorized by him and the camel-loads of books which his library contained. His transmission spanned the whole gamut of Kūfān traditions, Sunnī, Ḥanāfī, and Shīʿī and Sunnī and Shīʿī traditions were equally eager to hear from him. Among his prominent Sunnī students were Abū Ṭabarānī, Ibn ʿAṣīr, al-Tābakūnī, Ibn Ṭabīb, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh al-Marzūqī. Though he was criticized for relating objectionable (muḥrak) hadīth, reports on the blemishes (mubāhah) of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and traditions from newly-discovered books (waḏāʾa), and on this basis was accused of having spoiled the hadīth of Kūfā, he considered a faithful transmitter. Among the Ḥanāfīs, Hārūn b. Mūṣa al-Tallāʾūkbarī and Ṭabīb b. Muḥammad b. al-Saḥī transmitted from him. He appears frequently as the only Kūfān transmitter of early Kūfān Ḥanāfī traditions in his time complementing the common Ḥanāfī transmission of the school of ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh Zaydī until his death. Actually, he seems to have
supported the views of the Talibiyya, who considered in principle all descendants of Abū Tālib as suited for the imamate, rather than those of the sectarian Zaydiyya of his time, who restricted it to the descendants of 'Ali. He appears as an important informant of Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isfahani, to whom he transmitted in particular the K. Nāsib Abī Tālib of the 'Aliyd Yāḥya b. al-Hasan b. Ḍafār.


IBN 'UMDAR [see al-Dīkān, above]

IBN 'UTHMĀN AL-MIKNĀSĪ. 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥādnn b. 'Abd al-Wahāb b. 'Uṯmān, a Moroccan diplomat and vizier of the 12th/18th century, who played a prominent role in the forging of ties between his country and Spain. At the start of his career he followed his father as preacher in one of the mosques of Meknes; he came to the attention of the Sultan, Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (1171-1204/1757-89) who, at a date difficult to determine, took him into his service as a secretary. In 1193/1799, he was sent to the court of King Charles III of Spain with the object of obtaining the redemption of Algerian captives and of renewing friendly relations between the two states; this mission met with success and led to the treaty of Arajuz which was signed in 1780 (see V. Rodriguez Casado, La embajada del Talib Sidi Mohamed en España, Madrid 1941, 304-9; idem, Política marroquí de Carlos III, Madrid 1946, 245-306; M. Arribas Palau, El texto árabe del Convenio de Arajuz de 1780, in Tamuda, vi (1958); idem, Carta árabe de Meknès Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh relativa a la embajada de Ibn 'Uṯmān de 1780, in Hesperis-Tamuda, ii/2-3 (1961), 327-35), and Ibn 'Uṯmān has left a detailed account of his mission, at-Hāṣir fi ṣīḥāk al-asrāf published by M. El Fasi in Rabat in 1965, with a long introduction describing the life and work of the diplomat.

On his return, he was appointed vizier, but the success of his first mission induced the sultan to entrust him with a second, to Malta and Naples, to secure the redemption of more captives; this mission, carried out in 1196/1782, was also made the subject of an account entitled al-Badr fi ṣīḥāk al-asrāf min yad al-adwār al-kitāb (this has been summarised by Ibn Zaydān, Ḥašif, iii, 320-9, and a number of manuscripts exist in Rabat and Meknès).

Three years later, Ibn 'Uṯmān was entrusted with a new mission, this time to the court of 'Abd al-Hamīd I in Isfahan, with the object of resolving the conflict between the Ottoman sultan a Persian crown protected by Turkish soldiers on the borders of Algeria and Morocco. The diplomat set out on the 1st Muharram 1200/4th of November 1785 and did not return to Morocco until 29th Shībān 1202/4th of June 1788; he had in fact taken advantage of his stay in the Orient to make the Pilgrimage, which provided him with the material for a third tābiḥ, with a more elaborate title than the preceding two: al-Tābīḥ fi ṣīḥāk al-adwār al-hāṣir wa τάμοι της του ταξιανικής προστασίας (this was also published by Ibn Zaydān, Ḥašif, iii, 50-5; an edition by M. El Fasi has been in the course of preparation for a considerable length of time).

On his return, he was sent to escort to Algeria the captives released by Spain. On the death of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, he continued in the service of Mawlāy al-Yaṣīd (1204-6/1789-92) who set him on to the court of Charles IV of Spain; setting out at the end of December 1790, he was received by the sovereign in Madrid on the 27th of January 1791, but his mission was unsuccessful and he set out for home on the 18th of August; the following day, Charles IV declared war on Morocco; Ibn 'Uṯmān was however permitted to return to Rabat, where he lived as a private citizen until April 1792. Some very interesting documents concerning his stay in Spain have been discovered and published by M. Arribas Palau (La estancia en España de Muḥammad ibn 'Uṯmān (1791-1792) in Hesperis-Tamuda, iv/1-2 (1963), 120-92; cf. the same Cartas árabe de Marruecos en tiempo de Mawlāy al-Yaṣīd (1790-1792), Tetuan 1961). On the death of al-Yaṣīd, Ibn 'Uṯmān returned to Morocco and entered the service of Mawlāy Sulaymān (1206-38/1792-1823), who had already written to him in Spain entrusting him with a diplomatic mission. The new sultan did not hesitate to appoint him governor of Tetuan, as well as his representative in dealings with foreign consuls in residence in Tangier (see M. Arribas Palau, Muhammad ibn 'Uṯmān designado gobernado de Tetuan a finales de 1792, in Hesperis-Tamuda, ii/1 (1961), 113-27). Because of his talents as a diplomat, he was also given the task of resolving internal problems; one of his major achievements was persuading, in 1797, the governor of Saff, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Nāṣir, to support the new administration; the latter had previously refused to recognise Mawlāy Sulaymān. His last important diplomatic act was the signing on 22 Ramadan 1212/2 March 1799 of the treaty between Morocco and Spain (see M. Arribas Palau, El texto árabe del tratado de 1790 entre España y Marruecos, in Tamuda, vii (1959), 9-51). He died soon after at Marrakesh, where he was travelling in the Sultan's entourage (beginning of 1214/mid-1799) and it was his rival al-Zayyānī who was entrusted with the task of returning his belongings to Meknès.
In addition to descriptions of journeys, which are also historical documents of great value, Ibn 'Uthmān is the signatory of a considerable corpus of diplomatic correspondence which has for the most part been published and translated by M. Arribas Palau. He has also left a number of poems which bear witness to a considerable poetic talent and confirm what one might be entitled to expect of a Moroccan with a strong grounding in traditional culture. His account of the journey to Istanbul and the Holy Places also reflects the education that he had received, and it often gives the impression of a stylistic exercise in rhymed prose, rich with religious and literary reminiscences. On the other hand, his other writings are composed in a simpler and more natural style; a number of dialectical forms are encountered here, and the author does not hesitate to transcribe Spanish words when he talks about Spain and describes, not what he has observed in that country.

Bibliography:
In addition to the fundamental works of M. Arribas Palau given in the article, see Marrakūsh, al-Fi'am bi-ma nalla Marrakūsh wa- Ağhrāmīn min al-dām, Fās 1355-6/1936-9, v, 142-3; Ibn Zaydān, Ibtāfī dām al-nās, Rabat 1947-52/1929-33, iii, 301-5, 310-30, iv, 159-68; Zayya.nl, Le Maroc de 1631 a 1812, Paris 1886, index.; H. Pères, L'Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans, Paris 1937, 17-29; M. al-Fāṣī, Muhammad b. 'Uthmān al-Miṣnaṣāb, Rabat 1961-2; M. Lakhdir, Vie littéraire, 266-71, and bibl. cited there.

(Ed.)

IBN WAḤB, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣafī al-Ṭabāṭābāʾī, scion of an old and distinguished secretarial family and author of a remarkable Shi`ī work on Arabic rhetoric, style and the secretaries' art, the K. al-Baḥrān fi Ṣalāḥ al-baydān. His grandfather Sulaymān was vizier to al-Muḥtaḍī and al-Muʿtāmid, fell in disgrace under al-Muwaffak and died in his prison in 292/905. About his father and himself we know almost nothing. His florescence belongs to the first half of the 4th/10th century. His book must have been composed in or after 335/946-7, since it mentions the vizier 'Abī b. Ṣafī as already dead. He is also contemporary of Kudama b. Ḍajfār [q.c.], under whose authorship the work was placed by the editors of the truncated Escorial ms., 'Aḥā, ʿAbbādī and T. Husayn, despite strong doubts of the latter, and published under the title Nakda al-nattar (Cairo 1351/1933). The discovery by 'Abī l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Kādīr of a complete copy of the work in the Chester Beatty Collection (ed. A. Matlub and Kh. Hadlthl, Baghdād 1387/1976) made possible the correct identification of author and title. The Baḥrān represents an interesting attempt to apply Greek, Muʿtaṣīlī and Imāmī doctrines to Arabic rhetoric. The latter trend is evidenced by positive references to some imāms of the Twelver line, including the eighth, and by the use of principles such as tākitya, ṣima, ḍāʾer-bāṭīn, taʾalīʿ, ṣuṣūr (in the Kurʿān), ḍimān and badāʿ. It also shows some influence of Dājjāz’s Bāṣān, but is strongly critical of it. Whether he was also influenced by Kudama has not yet been conclusively proved. The author also cites four writings of his own, the K. al-Hudāja, K. al-Ḥaqīqa, K. al-Ṭalābīḥa and K. Ṣārī al-Kurṭān. None of these has survived, however, and the name has been found in the sources so far.

Bibliography:
T. Husayn and 'Aḥā, ʿAbbādī

IBN 'UThMĀN Al-MIṣNAṣĀB

...
Tlemcen, by publishing the epitaph of his tomb discovered by him at Tlemcen “three hundred paces from that of Sanût”, also corroborating the assertion of al-Warthâlâm (1121-93/1710-79) who says he had “visited his tomb, at al-Ubbâd, in the vicinity of those of Abu Madyan, al-Sanusf, the ‘Ukbanfs, Ibn Marzûk and the two sons of the ‘Imâm”.

After losing his father at an early age and being brought up by his brother, Ibn Zakî was placed at the age of twelve as an apprentice weaver. With a gift for study, the young Ibn Zakî made his way, when he was able, to the mosques and madrasâ of Tlemcen (al-Ubbâd, Ya’kûbiyya) to hear the lectures of the ‘almâni of the age, among others Ibn Zâgî (Ahmad b. Muhammad, d. 845/1441; see Ahmad Bbâ, 70, 308; al-Hajîfî, ii, 42), who was also a weaver; al-‘Ukbânî (Kasîm b. Sa’îd, d. 834/1430; see Ibn Maryam, 147; Ahmad Bbâ, 85; al-Hajîfî, ii, 85); Abu ‘Abd Allâh Muhammad b. al-Abbâs b. Isâ al-Ubbâdî (d. 871/1467; see Ibn Maryam, 223). On his relations with his masters and on his character, the biographical accounts report some anecdotal details which show him as studious, obliging and, moreover, gifted with a fine voice.

Having become in his turn a doctor of religious law, engrossed in the sources of fiqh, jurisprudence, fiqh, he exercised successfully the functions of muftî, kadi, and that he is the mufti of Tlemcen (an Andalusian author said “Knowledge of al-Tanâsîf, virtue with al-Sanusf and pre-eminence (uzûs) with Ibn Zakî’, whom another described as ibn dhidâr-i-hi (“son of his arms” or “son of his works”).

It should be added that Ibnou-Zekri (Muhammad al-Sâ’îd b. Ahmad al-Zawâwî al-Dâmânnî, professor of fiqh in the upper division of the Algiers madrasa and mufti of Algiers, originally from the tribe of Ayth Zakrî of Great Kabylia (1267-1322/1851-1914), author of Awdî al-dâlîl ‘alâ wadîdâ islîh al-zawâyâ bi-bîlîdâl al-Kabîlî, Algiers 1321/1903, used to say that he was a descendant of Ibn Zakî of Tîlimsânî, as al-Hajîfî remarks, who, with a note of scepticism, declares “In a descendant of Ibn Zakî and the Al-Hajîfî remarks, people have to be taken at their word”.


2. Ibn Zakî (Abû ‘Abd Allâh Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmân al-Fâsî), born at an unknown date in Fâs where he always lived and where he died in 1144/1731, was at first a young apprentice tanner (dubbîgh) in the service of his father with whom he used, after his manual work was done, to attend classes given by the latter’s friend Abû ‘Abd Allâh Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allâh al-Râhîmân b. ‘Abd al-Kâdir al-Fâsî [see al-Fâsî in Suppl.]. He also followed the lectures given by Abû ‘Abd Allâh Muhammad, otherwise known as al-Hâjîjî al-Kâfîyât al-Rûkî b. (d. 1155/1740; see al-Kâdirî, ii, 172-173; Kâttânî, ii, 230), always staying shyly at the rear of the auditorium. One or the other, or both, of these twoî qâhîs noticed the pertinence of the questions that he asked them and the active part that he took in discussions, and they immediately suggested to his father that he be given leave of absence from the tannery and encouraged to study, offering to take upon themselves the cost of his tuition. Their advice was followed.

The young man completed his education with other teachers, including: Abû ‘Abd Allâh Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Kâdir al-Fâsî [see al-Fâsî in Suppl.]; Ahmad Ibn al-Hâjîjî (d. 1169/1667; see Lâkhdîr, 107-8 and Index); Abû ‘Abd Allâh Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Manâwî (1072-1136/1661-1724, see al-Kâdirî, ii, 204; al-Kâttânî, ii, 44; Ben Cheneb,
Abu'l-Hasan CAI b. Muhammad al-Manalf al-Zabadl has seen the Prophet. It is also said that, endowed with this, which he regarded as a vice. The result of this effort at explanation and deduction in the judicial and technique of 

Furthermore, to practise indecency outside the view of the Prophet and believe oneself blameless is hypocrisy!" Disconcerted, the reply, "abstinence would be imposed by decency and technique of 
mysticism composed by Muslim authors of East and

in Morocco and which bears two titles, in praise of Hamziyya of Ibn Malik, whereas in Egypt one was either a Hanafi or a Shafi'i. He asked his opponents: "Would you smoke in the presence of the Prophet?"—"No," was the reply, "abstinence would be imposed by decency and respect for the Prophet"—"Well then," he added abruptly, "should not anything that cannot be done in the presence of the Prophet be forbidden? To abstain from the performance of a duty is a ba'a (culpable innovation) and bida' and its agent are condemned to the fires of Hell. Furthermore, to practise indecency outside the view of the Prophet and believe oneself blameless is hypocrisy!" Disconcerted, the "ulama' of al-Azhar made no reply.

Ibn ZakrI al-Fasi enjoyed visiting the chotha of Wazzan, in particular Mawdlay al-Tayyib (d. 1089/1679), and was associated with their disciple and biographer al-Hadjdj al-Khayyat al-Ruk
cf, whose pupil was he. He was ultimately regarded as a miracle-worker who believed that, when wide-awake, he had seen the Prophet. It is also said that, endowed with a considerable fortune, he used it to render aid to the disinherited.

His writings, dealing with various subjects, were, it is said, "numerous, read and studied to advantage almost everywhere." These are, on the one hand, commentaries on works of grammar, theology and mysticism composed by Muslim authors of East and West, and annotations and glosses which have for the most part been left incomplete, and on the other hand, didactic poems concerning various matters, and at least one original prose work. Kattanl, i, 158, supplies the following list:

Shahr al-Farida fi 'l-nahw wa'l-farisi wa'l-khatt of al-Suyuti [lith. Fas 1319/1901]; Shahr al-Hikam at-'at'a'iyya, ms. Paris 1531, on the programme of his teaching and the object of more than twenty glosses by Zarruk (Ahmad b. Ahmad b. 'Isa al-Buransfi al-Fasi [346-1442-93 [q.v.]); not to mention other commentaries, of which the most important would seem to be that of the Spanish mystic Ibn 'Abbad al-Rundi entitled Ghayth al-mawadhib al-'atya, Bulaik, 1285/1868; see Brockelmann, G II, 143-4; S II, 145-7, Ibn 'Arrad al-Rundi and Ibn 'Ata' Allah; Shahr al-kawad fi 'l-tasawwuf by Zarruk, considered the most important and the best known of the latter's writings, Cairo 1318/1900 (see Brockelmann, S II, 326); Shahr al-Nasifa al-khaya la man khaya la Allah bi'l-'atya by the same Zarruk (see Brockelmann, S II, 361, who gives a list of other commentaries on this work); Shahr Sulai'a Abd al-Salam b. Madaghd, also known as al-Sulai'a al-maghibiya (see its text in al-Fasi (Abu 'Abd Allah and Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad al-'Arabi b. Yusuf, 988-1052/1580-1643), 63; in Garnun, 356, and in Hadjdji, 175) which has been the object of a number of other commentaries (see Kattanl, i, 146; Levi-Provenzal, 312); notes (al-dakhil) on al-Bulgari's compilation, exegesis of Kur'an verses, an incomplete marginal gloss (hadibya) on the commentary he composed on a collection of the Makki poems on various subjects, miscellaneous mentioned by al-Kadiri and al-Kattani whose continued existence cannot be verified; a Hanziya in praise of the Prophet, modelled on that of al-Busiri (q.v. in Suppl.), with a commentary in two volumes (ms. Rabat K. 1372 and 1245); an original work which, after his death, seems to have caused a sensation in Morocco and which bears two titles, al-Sayf al-jiham fi 'l-raqi 'ul'il-mudadd fi'l-salim and al-Fawad fi-muttaha fa'awa'id al-mudadda; in these he propounds the thesis according to which "merit is a matter of piety, not of genealogy." This work exists in a manuscript volume in the library of "Abd al-Rahman b. Zaydani at Meknas (see Ibn Suida, i, no. 418, p. 118). It aroused among the Moroccan "ulama' a polemic which lasted for almost a century, on the problem of racism and anti-racism. Al-Kadiri, who could have known Ibn Zakri at the age of twenty, since he died only forty-two years later than him, at the age of sixty, claims that he heard a very widespread rumour (mustafidu) that the latter had been responsible for the publication of a book in support of the Sh'a'biyya, which asserted the superiority of non-Arabs over Arabs; he adds that all the contemporary men of religion reproached him for this and vilified him ruthlessly and justly. In the long biographical notice which he devotes to him, al-Kadiri invokes the authority of more than twenty teachers, and derives support from many Kur'an verses and hadith. In the attempt, first to give a definition of the Sh'a'biyya, those who put non-Arabs and Arabs on the same level and those who put non-Arabs above Arabs, and then to lay emphasis on the merits of the Arabs, who gave birth to the Prophet Muhammad and supported him in his noble mission, finally concluding that, as regards Muslim law, all Muslims, irrespective of race and irrespective of the period in which they embraced Islam, enjoy equal rights. However, a careful reading of this article gives the impression that, according to al-Kadiri, Ibn Zakri had appointed himself the spokesman of Muslims of Jewish origin, then very numerous in Fas, who did not care for the Arabs, to whom they denied any distinctive merit, making no exceptions in this regard even for
the Ansār, the Kurayjah and the parents of the Prophet, to whom a great many authentic hadiths explicitly gave a privileged status. Furthermore, these neo-Muslims prided themselves on being the descendants of the Banū Isrā’īl and of the prophets Mūsā, Hārūn, Zakariyya, and others, and on this account they considered themselves superior to the Arabs. By means of his treatise Ḥall al-ʿulūm al-Kādirī, Al-Kādirī, whom Zakrī had committed a reprehensible deviation and cut himself off from the faith, thus deserving "the punishment laid down for those who allow themselves to be led astray by passion." Moreover, he had not spent his time "among groups of men of his own kind, men living in ease and opulence, who arranged performances of musical entertainment in his presence, and whose sympathy he made great efforts to gain, putting forward ideas of the type which have been attributed to him, so well and to such an extent that all his associates ultimately became his disciples?"

More than half a century before, Mayyāra al-ʿAbdār (Abū Tālīf Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad al-ʿAbdār, 999-1072/1566-1622, see al-Kādirī, 235; al-Kāṭṭānī, i, 165; Lévi-Provencal, 259, n. 4, 7?) had also written a book dealing with this problem and entitled Naṣḥ al-muqā Pittānāt fī-rrādāt ʿalā dhuqayl tīf tāfīkā bi-ham al-Muslimīn (Royal Lib., Rabat ms. 7148, fol. 71a-123b); its author, according to al-Kādirī, had a valid excuse, and did not deserve reproach because, in his time, the neo-Muslims were the victims of harassment and even persecution on the part of Muslim Arabs. Mayyāra took their part, arguing in favour of the "unity of the Muslim community."

Ninety years after Ibn Zakrī, Abu Tābīs Ahmad b. Abū al-Salām b. Muhammad b. Asbāb of the early Kadjar period, and a most influential agent in the transfer of power from the Zand dynasty to the Kadjar (1209/1795).

Under Fath Aḥ̀lī Shah, who owed his accession to a losing cause, was brought to betray his chief Mīrzā Muhammad Kalantar earned him the favour of the latter in his ensuing struggle against the Kadjar Aka Muhammad Khān, he entrusted the holding of his capital to this rather dubious kalāntar. Thus in 1205/1791, having turned against his chief Mīrzā Muhammad Kalantar, which the latter staged against the Zand party in 1206/1791, under Fath Aḥ̀lī Shah, who owed his accession to a losing cause, was brought to betray his chief Mīrzā Muhammad Kalantar, which the latter staged against the Zand party in 1206/1791, under Fath Aḥ̀lī Shah, who owed his accession to a losing cause, was brought to betray his chief Mīrzā Muhammad Kalantar, which the latter staged against the Zand party in 1206/1791, under Fath Aḥ̀lī Shah, who owed his accession to a losing cause, was brought to betray his chief Mīrzā Muhammad Kalantar, which the latter staged against the Zand party in 1206/1791, under Fath Aḥ̀lī Shah, who owed his accession to a losing cause, was brought to betray his chief Mīrzā Muhammad Kalantar, which the latter staged against the Zand party in 1206/1791, under Fath Aḥ̀lī Shah, who owed his accession to a losing cause, was brought to betray his chief Mīrzā Muhammad Kalantar, which the 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partly to the wise arrangements made by the old Ḥājjī Ḥārim, the latter's prestige and fortune increased rapidly, and his sons, brothers, and relatives obtained vast tracts of land with important positions throughout the Persian provinces. However, his own arrogance, along with the offensive behaviour of his relatives, caused considerable administrative hostility, and some of his opponents presented to the Shāh convincing documents—forged or authentic—to prove his involvement in treasonable activities. A royal decree, issued in great secrecy, directed the royal emissaries to seize and prosecute Ḥājjī Ḥārim and all his relatives at one time, on a previously fixed date, in Tehran and the provinces (1215/1801). Of all his male descendants, only two small boys were spared.

Ḥājjī Ḥārim's downfall, in which his rival Mirzā Shāfiʿ Māzdandārānī had an important rôle, was later deplored by Fath 'All Shah. His political opponents, however, did not cease to criticise him severely for his so-called treacherous character, his sellish impetuosity and his lack of tact in diplomatic affairs.


(Ḥ. Zarrinḵooḵ)

IBRĪK (in Islamic art), a term used for any kind of ewer, irrespective of function or material, but generally a vessel for pouring water or wine. Together with a basin, it is also used for washing hands and feet. Other terms for specific kinds of ewers are kubra or ṭulbula (see Ābū Nuwās, Dīwān, ed. Wagnēr, i, Beirut 1958, 54, 3).

The chronology and geographical origin of early metal ewers up to the 4th/10th century have not yet been definitely established. They can be classified typologically into five groups, representing a slow departure from mainly Sāsānīd and Soghdian prototypes towards the formation of two large families of shapes. The most characteristic features are: a tendency towards heavier bodies, with an emphasis on the lower part of the body in the earlier phases, shifting to the formation of shoulders; a development of shapes in which the transition between body, neck, mouth and foot is clearly marked and set off; and a preference for faceted shapes. One group is characterised by a bipartite neck which is contract- ed in its lower part and is cylindrical and faceted in the upper half. The ovoid or cylindrical body rests on three small feet (Saray, Pl. 244A). Another group is best known from the "Marwān" ewer in Cairo (Saray, Ps. 245-6), but its traditional association with the Ūmayyad caliph Marwān has to be dis-carded. The chronologically latest type has an ovoid body, a low footing and a straight, slightly flaring neck with a flat lip. It is well-balanced in proportion and its shape was retained up to ʿSaljūq times. Except for one group (the "Marwān" ewer), the handles meet the neck by its lip. Popular types of thumb rests are a pomegranate or a full palmette.

Between the early 5th/11th and the beginning of the 7th/13th century, workshops in Khorāsān and Transoxania produced bronze ewers which carry an oil-lamp-shaped spout. Early examples have been found in Aḵšāk, in ancient Fārdāna, and in Shahrastān, ancient Ugrāsana. Late 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century specimens are inlaid with silver and copper. One ewer in Paris is dated 586/1190-1 (Saray, Pl. 1309A). Khorāsānian workshops active in the late 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries also produced ewers with a high raised spout. Some have spherical bodies, while in other cases the body is either melon-shaped, faceted or fluted. One of the fluted ewers is signed by Muhāmmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarāwī and dated 577/1181 (Mayer, Islamic metalworkers, 1959, 59; for the whole group see Abū ʿAlā Yar Ḡur al-ʿUṣ, A bronze ewer with a high spout. The dates suggested by the author are debate-able).

In the 7th/13th century, Mosul, Damascus and Cairo workshops produced richly decorated inland brass ewers with a pear-shaped, plain or faceted body, cylindrical neck and straight spout. Dated and signed specimen are the "Blacas" ewer in the British Museum (Barrett, Islamic metalwork, 1949, pls. 12-13), and two ewers in Paris (Rice, Inlaid brasses, appendix, nos. 16 and 21). The pear-shaped body and straight spout remain characteristic features of 8th/14th century Mamlûk ewers. They have a high body, which is contracted in its lower part, and the neck is surmounted by a top-heavy cup (The arts of Islam, Hayward Gallery 1976, no. 216). Ewers with a strongly swelling body, curving spout and handle, a contracted or funnel-shaped neck and a high spayed foot occur in 9th/15th century Egypt and Iran simultaneously (J. Carswell, Six tiles). Their occurrence on painted tiles from Cairo and Damascus suggests a wider distribution than that attested to by preserved objects. Ewers depicted on contemporary and later miniatures seem to point to a con-tinuation of this type in the 10th/16th and later centuries.

Ceramic ewers follow the metal shapes very closely. Some early ceramic renderings even imitate solder-ing marks. Ewers with a fluted or cylindrical body and a raised spout are particularly common among Persian monochrome glazed relief wares of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries.

Wine ewers and washing services are frequently depicted in miniatures and other media (for 8th/14th century washing sets, see M. S. Ipširoglo, Sary an, Diez'sche Klebebände aus dem Berliner Sammlungen, Wiesbaden 1964, pls. XVII and XVIII).


(EVA BAER)

ICHTHYOLOGY [see SAMAK].

IGÇOGLAN [see iGÇOGLANT].

IDRIS B. AL-HASAN, *'Imad al-Din, the last great exponent of the Isma'ili da'wah [q.v.]* in Yaman, came from a prominent al-Walid family of Kuraysh which headed the Musta'li-Tayyib da'wah since the beginning of the 9th/13th century. He was born in 794/1392 in the fortress of Sham'it, a high peak of Mount Haraz and a stronghold of the Isma'ili's. In 832/1428 he succeeded his uncle 'Ali b. 'Abd Allâh as the nineteenth i. His three historical works are the main sources for the history of the Isma'ili's from the 5th/11th century until the second half of the 9th/15th century. The first, *U'uyûn al-âkkâb*, in seven volumes, is the most comprehensive work on the history of the Isma'ili 'inâmâ and the Fatimid dynasty. It also contains valuable information on the beginning of the da'wah in Yaman and on the Sulayhids [q.v.]. The second work, *Naqashat al-âkkâb*, in two volumes, deals with the Isma'ili history in Yaman, especially after the collapse of the Sulayhids, until the year 853/1449, and is considered to be the most important source for the three-hundred-year history of the da'wah there. The third work, entitled *Ras'asat al-âkkâb*, is a continuation of the preceding work, wherein the events are brought up to the year 870/1465. Both the latter works are of great importance, since they deal with contemporary events and shed light on an obscure period of Yaman history. In addition to panegyrics of the 'inâmâ and the da'wah, his poetic *Diwan* contains some historical information. His work on Isma'ili doctrine entitled *Zâbit al-ма'tân* is regarded as the highest achievement on *hâkit* [q.v.] ever reached by the Yamanî da'wah. He also composed several refutations of Sunni, Zaydi and Mu'tazilî doctrines. Most of his works have survived and have been preserved in private collections.


AL-IDRISÎ.

IDIWARAL, DJAMAL AL-DIN ABU DJAFAR MUHAMMAD [see IDWARAL, D. A.-AZZ], B. *'Abd al-Kâsim (d. 649/1251), upper Egyptian author of Moroccan background who wrote, under the Ayyûbid sultan al-Malik al-Kâmiil, his monograph on the monuments of Djizâ (Giza), the *K. Amâr wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa'saw wa
function as one builder of the Pyramids. In the late 13th and the 14th century, we observe the dramatic widening of this chasm between iconoclastic Muslim zealots and the moderates of Idrisi's kind who point at the unadulterable place of these 'afaq'āb within Muslim Heilsgeschichte.

In chs. 2 to 6, Idrisi gives valuable data on the sites of Džaża, many of which are not repeated by later compilers. He gives a detailed description, also architectural, of the way the traveller takes from the Bāb Zuwayla, the south gate of the Fātimid city of Cairo, to the Pyramids. He mentions all the holders of high office who, between the days of al-Ma’mūn and his own, came to the Pyramids, often in search for treasures, natalīk, as the Egyptians say. The Fātimid period saw the apogee of activities around the Pyramids; in al-‘Ałfāl b. Badr al-Djamālī’s days fires were lit on top of the Great Pyramid in certain nights. Idrisi gives a list of contemporary scholars who saw, or wrote on, the Pyramids, among them Ibn al-Djawzi, ‘Abd al-Latif b. al-Baghīdhī (whose description of the Pyramids and the Sphinx he faithfully reproduces) and Ibn Mammātr (who composed a book on the Pyramids which Idrisi counts among his sources), but also, min ghyr aḥd al-kibīr “from among the vastness of the one.”

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He was among the religious notables who actively supported the Khedive Ismā‘īl in his efforts to counter the danger of increasing international control, and played a significant role in the events preceding the Khedive’s deposition in 1879.

His role during the ‘Urabi [q.v.] insurrection, when he sided with the ‘Urābiyyān and publicly demanded the deposition of the Khedive Tawfik, caused his arrest following the British occupation of Cairo in September 1882. He was set free in the course of the subsequent court proceedings against those involved in the insurrection, on condition that he return to his native village of Idwa. He died in Cairo on 17 Ramadan 1305/19 June 1885 and was buried in the now-demolished mosque which had been constructed by him near the mosque of al-Ḥusayn (cf. ‘Alī Mubārāk, Ḥustain, v, 48) and close to the newly-erected mosque named after him, where his shrine may be found today (cf. the monthly al-Mulūm, xix (Cairo 1969), 9, 4).


(F. DE JONG)

IKĀ ‘form IV from w-k’, literally “to let fall” the wand (kābīb) in order to mark the rhythm in singing, a term denoting musical metrics or “rhythm” in the sense of measuring the quantity of notes. The early Islamic ikā’ can be considered as a forerunner of mediaeval European menauration. Based on oriental practices inherited by the Arabs, it shows elements of Greek rhythms and similarities to Indian tāla. According to Saḥīf al-Dīn al-Urmawī, the roots of ikā’ go back to Sāsānīd Iran, where Indian musical presence is attested.

The internal structure of ikā’ is obviously of Arab origin, being built up in analogy to the prosodic rules of Arab poetry. One ikā’ consists of two “cycles” (adwāt), each of them being composed of several “basic” notes (wūl) and a pause (fāṣila). In modifying the basic notes, the musician gets at the metrical patterns of the chosen “form” (ḏīnī) of ikā’. The early music schools knew seven or eight forms, namely al-thākīl al-awwal, al-thākīl al-thānī, al-ra‘īd, al-hāzād and their “quick” (fàṣilī) forms.

Al-Khālīl b. Ahmad (d. 175/791), author of a lost Kitāb al-Ha‘, is regarded as the “inventor” of this science. Citations in later sources or original texts give information about the ikā’-theories of more than ten authors up to the 5th/11th century, the most important being al-Fārābī, who dedicated two chapters of his Kitāb al-Muṣūkī al-kabīr to and two remarkable monographs to this subject.
The *ikāb* tradition of the Mawṣūl school, preserved in the Kitāb al-Aghdham of Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī, persisted for a long time in Spain, whilst the development in the Eastern caliphate had already given birth to more elaborate systems. The metres described by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ṭūrmi (d. 693/1294) led to the basic musical practice of the last "international" school of *Abd al-Kādīr al-Maḥarrī (d. 838/1435) as well as to the *wašt, azūzan, darbūt* or *adwār* (*al-ikāb*) of the succeeding local traditions in Iran (disappearing there in the 12th/18th century), in Turkey (where practice and theory continues up to our own days) and in the Arab countries (where the late 19th and the early 20th centuries have brought a revival of local metrical forms).

**Bibliography:** Almost all Arabic, Persian and Turkish musical treatises and most encyclopaedias dealing with music contain a chapter on *ikāb*. For its early Arabic theory, see F. Dieterici, _Die Propaedeutik der Araber im 10. Jahrhundert_, Berlin 1865, 112-17; H.G. Farmer, *Ṣaḥib al-‘uṣūr* (London 1943), 78-89; A. Shiloah, _L’être sur la musique des Ibnān al-Safī‘a*, in _REL_, xxxiv (1966), 176-8; E. Neubauer, _Die Theorie vom ṣīḥa_.

For Turkish musical treatises and most encyclopaedias, see F. Dieterici, _Die Theorie vom lqd* (1966), 176-8; E. Neubauer, _Die Theorie vom ṣīḥa_.


**E. NEUBAUER**

**IKHTISĀN, MUHAMMAD SĀDĪR ‘ALĀ‘**

He was the son of Ahmad Hasan, a native of Dili, and entered his ancestral profession of *dabīr* or secretary under the Dīwān al-Inghār or royal chancery some time towards the close of the Jalālīd period. On his accession to the throne in 709/1302, Sultan Qayyām al-Dīn Tughluk Shāh raised him to the position of Dabīr-i Ḫāyā in recognition of his learning whilst he was still in his early twenties, and in this capacity he accompanied the sultan on an expedition to Bengal. After the conquest of Bengal, the sultan, on his way back to Dili, invaded the independent territory of Tirhut, seized it and entrusted its charge to Ahmad Yalbugha. In Tirhut, Ikhtisan supported him in this respect; Ikhtisan calls Baranf, the author of this introduction is a document of considerable historical significance, supplementing Baranf’s *Tarīḥ-i Prūz Shāhī* with regard to the radical views of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluk. Like Baranf, Ikhtisan also belonged to the sultan’s faction and required of the time. The orthodox ulama condemned him as a tyrant and oppressor (*gāhār* and *kabāh*).

On Muhammad b. Tughluk’s death, his confidants were either killed or thrown into jail. Fortunately, Ikhtisan happened to be in Iran at that time, having been sent there by the late sultan as an ambassador to the Ilkhanid Sultan. He may have got information of his patron’s death and the accession of Sultan Firuz Shāh III to the throne (752/1351) in Multān, then a border city. It was there that he fell ill and died after a short illness. Thus Ikhtisan escaped imprisonment, while Baranf, the author of the *Tarīḥ-i Prūz Shāhī* undertook as it is a result of the reaction against Muhammad b. Tughluk’s policies.


**IKHTIYARIYYA, the élite or veterans of an Ottoman guild or army unit (oğak).**

Ikhtiyār, “choice” in Arabic, had acquired the meaning of “old” both in Turkish and in modern Arabic, and thus came to designate the chosen and the elders of certain units, two attributes which in traditional society were virtually identical. The oğak *ikhtiyāriyya* in Ottoman Egypt consisted of retired officers and veterans of the oğak, and their function was mainly ceremonial and advisory. They were headed by a bāšik ikhtiyārī. In the guilds the informal group of *ikhtiyāriyya* was also designated by a large variety of other similar terms (cf. Baer, *Egyptian guilds*, 53, and *Structure of Turkish guilds*, 183). There were no rules to determine when and under what conditions an usta became a member of this group. Similarly, its members had no well-defined tasks. Originally, as long as *jawār* traditions survived in the guilds, they played an important role in the ceremonies and their function was to support the head of the guild in his relations with the authorities and thus to demonstrate that he was acting in the guild’s name. It was upon their recommendation that the head of the guild was appointed by the kâti, and the chief assistant of the kâti, that is, the guild’s major, was chosen from among them, and apparently by them, but their choice had to be confirmed by the authorities. In 19th century Egypt, the traditional term for veteran masters in the guilds was replaced by the term *uṣmā* (pl. *uṣmād*), but the character and functions of this group remained the same. Documents from that period show that they participated in the control of prices of commodities and the distribution of the tax burden among the members of the guilds.

which are indigenous to uncultivated lands in Europe

hayya

tail of a scorpion. Certain roots, introduced from

plant was known in Arabic Spain under the

of the form of its blossom-pods which resemble the

mu`akrab

"scorpion-like melilot", thus known because

kinds—or still another one?—is the

and Asia, but not in the North. One of these

infrequently-used synonyms are

nafal, hantam, shaajarat

and were used as medicine. The Arabic term ("royal

Papilionaceae family, of which about 16 kinds are

nalis

or were used as medicine. The Arabic term ("royal

Papilionaceae family, of which about 16 kinds are

Melilotus offici-
that without the use of almanacs it was not possible to follow the Ilahi calendar properly; and some discrepancy between the actual vernal equinox and the initial day of the official solar year gradually appeared in course of time. Mirza Radja Djahf Singh's ziyaf-i Muhammad Shahi in the next century was an attempt to evolve a new solar calendar for official use, based largely on the same principles as the Ilahi calendar.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Fadl, Akbar-nama, iii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1873-87; idem, A'in-i Akbari, i, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1867-77; Muhammad Haghim Khafi Khan, Manzukhab al-tabab, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1860-74; S.H. Hodivala, Historical studies in Maghul namismatics, The Numismatic Society of India, Calcutta 1923; see also TAKIR.

(M. ATHAR ALI)

ILAK, the region of Transoxania lying within the great northwards bend of the middle reaches of the Oxus river. It thus lay between the provinces of Shash [see QV] and Farghana [QV], with its mountains producing silver and salt. They give the names of many towns there, the chief dihkar

Kurush, Mubarak, Khitat, Mir*at Khan, bibliographical data, see KATIF.

[IILAYSH], Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad, onetime Mullah of Egypt and one of the principal protagonists in the events preceding the British occupation of Egypt in 1802. He was born in Cairo in Radjab 1217/October-November 1802 into a family of Moorish extraction. After a period of study at al-Azhar [QV] from 1232/1816-7 until 1245/1829-30, he was engaged in teaching at this institution, as well as at the Husayn mosque. In 1270/1854 he was appointed to the office of ghulam al-sida al-Mubayyad [QV] in succession to Muhammad Hubayyad, and remained in office until the end of his life.

Concomitantly, he held supreme leadership of a Shadhiliya [QV] tekfa, that of al-Arabiyya, in which position notable scholars such as Muhammad al-Amir al-Kabir and Muhammad al-Imad al-Saghiri had been his predecessors.

However, the mystical conception of Islam to which he must have adhered is only incidentally manifest in his writings—the scope of which encompasses the majority of the fields of traditional Muslim learning—such as in his Faith al-'ali 'l-mdlik ji, id al-Djawhan (214/829) wrote a commentary on it, including, among other things, a number of figures and particular cases

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SUMMARY

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Forty-eight or forty-five miles from modern Tashkent.

In early Islamic times, Ilak lay on the frontiers between the abode of Islam and the pagan Turkish steppes. During the Samanid period and just afterwards, its local princes (given the title of dihkar) enjoyed additional Muslim learning—such as in his Path al-'ali 'l-mdlik ji, id al-Djawhan (214/829) wrote a commentary on it, including, among other things, a number of figures and particular cases

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(M. ATHAR ALI)
G. The work of Hero of Alexandria, notably the K. Hali shukak Uklldis ("Resolution of doubts concerning Euclid"); and the K. al-Hiyal al-ruhniyya ("Pneumatics").

We may note, finally, the translation of the Sindhutanar which familiarised the Arabs with problems concerning the measurement of solids and surfaces, and in a general manner, with the various applications of geometry.

II. The period of creativity (4th-9th/10th-11th centuries).

The translated material was, as we have noted, progressively annotated, discussed and corrected.

From the 3rd/9th century, but especially after the 4th/10th one, the specific contribution of the Arabs became more important. The latter supplemented the ancient works in a number of disciplines (astronomy, optics, algebra), with new proofs and with the resolution of geometrical problems; new applications came into being, especially in sculpture and in architecture; trigonometry was discovered and codified; important theoretical questions were raised; the authority of ancient masters was contested, and the way was open for the progress of geometry in hitherto unknown directions.

But before reviewing certain of the most celebrated Arab contributions to geometry, here follow, century by century, the authors and the works which may be mentioned:

3rd/9th century: al-Kharażmi (d. ca. 232/846); Bāb al-misāḥa—al-Dawhari (214-15/839-30); Kitāb taṣfīr K. Uklldis ("Commentary on the Book of Euclid"); K. al-Aghfāl allâti ṣādaha fi 'l-mukālā al-dâ alâ min Uklldis ("On the figures that he has added to the first proposition of Euclid"); Ḣayyāt fi a-makhrūd (Sa'īd ibn al-Hāsmid, 579-672/1201-74) in his Tahrīr wa'il Uklldis ("Restatement of the Elements of Euclid"), and his Tahrīr muṣādārāt Uklldis ("Observations on the postulates of Euclid").

C. The Conic sections (al-Kutā' al-maghārīyya) of Apollonius, a work which apparently comprised 8 propositions; the first four were translated, under the supervision of Abu d. Māsā b. Ṣhākil, by Ḥalāl b. Abī ḤiYY al-Ḩusayn (d. 218/833), and the last three by Thābit b. Kūra.

D. The Elements of geometry of Menelaus. Thābit translated three of its propositions. An unknown translator revised the chapters relating to triangles. The problem of transversals and their applications in the study of conic forms inspired Thābit to compose his work al-Kuči fi 'l-ṣā'āl al-ḥattā wa l-nisba al-ma'-ālīyya ("Survey of the transversal and harmonic division")

E. The work of Pappus (the Collection of mathematics), notably a translation by Thābit of his commentary on the Book of Polymery relating to the area of the sphere; and his commentary on the tenth proposition of Euclid.

F. The geometrical work of Archimedes: (a) His work On the sphere and the cylinder, translated by the Banū Muṣā, later by Thābit and by Ḥishāk b. Hunayn. A translation by Kustā b. Lūkā (299/912) served as the basis for the Hebrew translation of Kalonimos b. Kalonimos (728/1328). (b) On the square of the circle (Fi tākhir al-dā'ira; Tāhri al-dā'ira; Misāḥat al-dā') translated by Thābit and by Hunayn b. Ḥishāk, a translation revised by Nasīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (ed. Hyderabad 1359/1940). (c) The Lemmata (al-mukālā al-kalāmīyya) translated by Thābit and annotated by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Ḥamād al-Nasawī (370-431/980-1040); ṢūFI makes use of it in his study published in 1940 at Hyderabad. (d) Measuring the side of a regular heptagon inscribed in a circle (Sāhbi al-dā'ira), a work which inspired in particular, Abū Sahl al-Ḳūfī.
ON THE PROPERTIES OF THE CIRCLE IN A GIVEN POINT "In a given circle, to draw certain straight lines through given points" (ms. Paris 2458, 1; Sédillot, Notices et Extraits, 143); R. fi 'l-dawa'ir al-mawdu' min al-nukat al-mu'attāt. On the properties of the circle in a given point, to draw certain straight lines through given points.

On the other hand, in spite of the duality of origin of geometry and of arithmetic or of algebra, the two latter being initially discrete sciences, the former of continuous scope, the Muslims, since al-Khārizmī, have used algebra for the solving of geometric problems; they have also made use of geometry for the solving of new algebraic problems. It is sufficient, in this context, to recall the solution by al-Khayyām of cubic equations by means of intersection of circles, parabolas or hyperbolas; we may also cite al-Māhāni's problem concerning the plane sections of the sphere, which led him to the third-degree equation $x^3 + b^2 = bx$.

2. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the revolution brought about in astronomical calculations, in particular, or in physics, by a sister science of geometry, developed and codified by the Muslims who made it of an independent discipline, sc. trigonometry. Thanks to this new science, a whole range of problems was completely solved, and with a precision depending uniquely on tables (ṣādīq) established at an early stage.

In the 3rd/9th century, al-Battānī solved the equation
\[ \sin x = \frac{a}{\sqrt{1 + a^2}} \] (for the arcs of the 1st quadrant).

Habashi compiled the table of tangents. In the 4th/10th century, Abu 'l-Wafā' brought real progress to trigonometry. He established the relations: $\sin (a + b) = \sin a \cos b + \sin b \cos a$

$\sin 2a = 2 \sin a \cos a$

$\sec \frac{a}{\cos a} = \frac{1}{\sin a} = \sqrt{1 - \tan^2 a}$

He set out the formula of sines in a spherical triangle:

\[ \sin a = \sin b = \sin c \]

\[ \sin A = \sin B = \sin C \]

Ibn Yūnus (958/1009) author of the Hākimī table, demonstrated the formula:

\[ \cos a \cos b = \frac{1}{2} \left[ \cos (a + b) + \cos (a - b) \right] \]

permitting the passage from a sum to a product, an operation which was to be of importance in the logarithmic system of calculation invented later.

In the 6th/12th century, Džābir b. Ḍaffāʾ knew the equation $\cos b = \cos B \sin c$. In short, Arabic trigonometry was already a long-established science when Fibonacci used it, ca. 1220, for the measuring of surfaces and when, ca. 1464, Regiomontanus, putting al-Battānī's work to good use, composed the first treatise on trigonometry published in Europe in 1485.

3. Geometry was further applied by the Arabs in geodesic measurements, executed to check the ancient propositions and to verify the conclusions of the Almagest of Ptolemy (scientific expeditions by the Banū Shakir, ca. 212/827, in the region of Palmyra and Rakka, then in the neighbourhood of Sindjār, the Latin Singara, with the object of measuring the earth's inclination). Al-Battānī fixed the geographical coordinates of 310 locations, including 30 in the West; al-Hasan al-Marrākiṣī gave the coordinates of 133 locations, of which 71 belong to the western Mediterranean. Al-Bīrūnī dealt with the problem of cartography and of the representation, on a plane surface, of the celestial or terrestial sphere. He reviewed various methods of projection, conical, cylindrical, orthographical or spherical trigonometry.
steregraphical, the lines of the sphere being represented by ellipses, parabolas or hyperbolas.

4. "Geometry," wrote the Ikhwan al-Safa', "has as its principal field of application the measurement of surfaces, measurement of which is essential for surveyors, accountants, tax agents, landowners, in their various operations or transactions, such as the collection of property tax, the drainage of water-courses, the postal service, etc."

5. An important area in the application of geometry is that of architecture and sculpture; Muslim art, inspired by geometry, invented the extended arch, cupolas resting on regular polygons, corbellings, stalactites, groups of polyhedrons of stucco and light. The work of the sculptor in stone or in stucco was designed by the mathematician.

B. Works.—Among the works of pure geometry written by the Muslims, Suter mentions only two treatises, in the 3rd/9th century the book by the Banū Shākir (Mundūf al-mukākkīl al-basīta wa 'l-kuriyya), and in the 4th/10th century, the Geometry of Abu 'l-Walā which has come down to us in a Persian edition owed to one of his pupils (cf. F. Woepcke, in J.A [1855], 210-56 and 309-50). However, it is possible to take account of other writings which in our view are of great importance:

The ms. of Thābit b. Kūra mentioned above Fi mislalat kaf al-mukākkīl alladāfiyya yāsamā l-mukākkīl, where, following the example of Archimedes, the former uses a method of integral calculus in the quest for the limit of the equivalent on "integral sums" for the determination of the volume of a paraboloid revolving around its axis or of the equivalent on "integral sums" for the determination of the sequence of progress of geometry; they posed some essential questions, from a scientific as well as from a philosophical point of view. They had the excellent idea of not limiting geometry to continuous scales. They were remarkably adept at holding the balance between theoretical abstract thought and practical art, i.e. concrete application. If they were to a great extent the disciples of Euclid and of other masters of Greek geometry, they had the courage to criticise the works that they had inherited and to express serious doubts on their subject, and their theoretical scruples were great. They thus prepared the way for the subsequent development of geometry.


'Iḥmād al-Dīn 'Alī, Fakīh-I Kirmānī

Persian mystical poet of the 8th/14th century, was born at Kirmān about 690/1291-2.

In the Sa'īda-nāma he relates that when his father died in 705/1305, he and a brother took over the direction of the khānākāh which had been founded in Kirmān by his father's shahīq, Nizām al-Dīn Māhmūd, for the benefit of the followers of the kadh al-akībāt Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām Kāmilī. Through this line of mystical tradition, 'Imād al-Dīn was connected with the teaching of Abū Hāfīz Umar al-Suhrawardī [q.v.]. Besides his occupation as the shahīq of a convent, he was also a doctor of Islamic law, as his lākab suggests. Little reliable information concerning his life can be drawn from the traditional biographies. According to a frequently retold anecdote appearing for the first
time in the Ḥabīb al-siyar, the cat of ʿImād al-Dīn could imitate his master in the performance of his prayers. The origin of the story can be traced to a line in one of the poems of Ḥāfīz, which has been interpreted as a reference to a rivalry between the two poets. One of the favourite themes of the Mughal poet Ṣāḥib Shudra (cf. Humayūn-Farrukh, Introduction, 81 ff.). Many panegyrical references in the poems of ʿImād al-Dīn indicate that he was on good terms with the rulers of his age and several of their ministers. His most important patrons were the Mughals. Though Ṣāḥib Shudra favoured him in particular, ʿImād al-Dīn already wrote poems dedicated to Mūbhāriz al-Dīn Muhammad. Occasionally, he praised their opponent, Abū Ḫaṣtu Ṣafīr of Shīrāz, as well and it is possible that he stayed some time at Shīrāz himself. His poetry was also appreciated at the court of the Il-Khān Abū Sāʿīd. Most of ʿImād al-Dīn's life was apparently spent at Kirmān where, according to Dāwlat-Ṣāḥib, he died in 773/1371-2. The alternative, but less probable, date of 793/1391 is mentioned by Tāki Kāshfī (cf. Sprunger, Oudh catalogue, Calcutta 1854, 436-8). The convent and the tomb of ʿImād al-Dīn were still visited in the late 9th/15th century.

The known works of ʿImād al-Dīn consist exclusively of poetry. As a pen-name he used the form ʿImād, or more rarely, ʿImād-ī Ṣafīk. The Diwān contains predominantly ghazals. His place in the development of the Persian ghazal is an interesting one, as he was among the most prominent writers who cultivated the genre during the interval between the lives of Saʿdī and Ḥāfīz. The former is named by ʿImād as an admired predecessor. The latter was a younger contemporary who must have been acquainted with ʿImād's work. Not only did Ḥāfīz and Ṣafīr share a number of patrons; their poetry shows that they made use of many similar motifs. Listings of these common elements have been made by some modern researchers (e.g. Ibn Yusuf Shīrāzī, Muḥammad Muʿīn and Humāyūn-Farrukh). On the other hand, the style of ʿImād is clearly distinguishable from that of Ḥāfīz on account of the former's greater simplicity of language and the more coherent structure of his ghazals. The central theme is the longing of the lover for the transcendental Beloved. Anacreontic and kalendari elements, though not lacking, are only subordinate motifs. The mystical intention of ʿImād's ghazals cannot be mistaken, even in those cases where the poem serves as the prologue to a short panegyrical address. The poet used to recite and discuss poems of his own in his Makhānd, as ʿImān tells us in the Bahshīriyān. From this notice, the conclusion may be drawn that he used them as a tool for this mystical teaching. The ghazals of ʿImād have been analysed by K. Stolz, Der Dīwān des ʿImādīdīn Faqīh, in Ḵᵛājem, xlix (1942), 31-70.

The second part of ʿImād's literary output consists of a series of mathnawīyyāt. Apart from a few very short pieces, there are five poems of an intermediate size:

1. The Saḥā Ṕānāmā, or Muʿīns al-dawār, is a didactic poem written in imitation of Niẓāmī's Makhżūn al-dawār with which it has the same title in common. It was completed in 766/1364-5 and dedicated to Ṣāḥib Shudra. One of its original features is a description of Shīrāz. The text has been edited by Muḥammad Ḵbāl in Oriental College Magazine, v-viii (1929-32), passim.
2. The Ṣabḥāt-īnāma, or Tārisk-ī subḥat-īnāma, in the same metre as the Būstān of Saʿdī, was completed in 731/1330-1. It was dedicated to the waṣīr of the Il-Khān, Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Muhammad b. Rāshīd al-Dīn Fadl Allāh. Ten discourses, the manners are described of the rulers, the saints, the students, the scholars, the anchorites, the travellers, the ḥāṭī fakhrāt, the beautiful ones, the lovers and the singers and musicians. To each discourse, one or more illustrative stories are added. The seventh chapter has been edited and translated by H.W. Duda, ʿImādīdīn Faqīh and (in ArO, vi (1934), 112-24.

3. The Muhabbat-īnāmā-i ṣirdābdān, a short mathnawī preceded by a prose introduction containing the dedication to the Il-Khān waṣīrī Khāṣṣa bī Taḵī al-Dīn Ṣaṭkī. The metre used in the second part is hāzādī fī masādād-ī muḥḥāfī. The theme of love, studied here in all the realms of nature, is treated in the form of a series of ten disputations, between the soul and the body as well as between a number of entities which belong to the mineral, the vegetable and the animal kingdom. The illustrative stories, added in each case, deal with famous pairs of lovers (cf. H.W. Duda, Ferhān and Schīrīn, Prague 1933, 98-109, where the story of the fifth disputition is discussed). The title of the poem is a chronogram indicating that it was completed in 732/1331-2.
4. The Tārisk-īnāma, composed in the same metre as the preceding poem, was completed in 750/1349-50 according a chronogram hidden in one of the lines, but Humāyūn-Farrukh regards the line as corrupt and dates the work between 754-9, i.e. during one of the last years of the reign of Mūbhāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, to whom it is dedicated. The subject of the present work is an adaptation of the Miḥkāb al-bīṭāyā, the Persian translation by ʿĪz al-Dīn Mahmūd Kāshānī (died 735/1334-5) of the Aswīrī al-melā̀īn of Alāʿī Ḥafsī Umar al-Suhrawardī for (a list of the ten chapter headings, see further M. Baṣīr, The genesis and definition of a literary composition, the Dānānumā, “Ten love-letters” in cit., xvii (1971), 59-66.

5. The Dāh-īnāmā in the ms. Aya Sofya no. 4131, dated 841 A.H., the work is called Nasihat-īnāmā belongs superficially to a genre of mathnawīs in the metre of the preceding poems which consists of collections of ten letters exchanged between an imaginary pair of lovers. ʿImād has introduced several changes into the conventional pattern: he uses other metres as well, alternates between the forms of the mathnawi and the koṣīrī, and even deviates from the basic theme by inserting letters to some of his patrons instead of love-letters. See further T. Ganjī, The genesis and definition of a literary composition, the Dānānumā (“Ten love-letters”), in cit., xvii (1971), 59-66.

Contrary to the relative oblivion that has become the fate of the works of ʿImād in later centuries, they seem to have been held in high esteem during his own lifetime and the immediately-following century. Several early manuscripts have been preserved, one of which (Madjlis no. 1030) may be an autograph. Among the writers of the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Buṣṭān al-ʿAṣharī highly praised the poetical talents of ʿImād.

Bibliography: The Dīwān-ī Ṣabḥāt-ī Ṣafīk-i Kirmānī has been edited by Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn-Farrukh, Tehran 1386/1969, with an extensive introduction; the aforementioned mathnawīyyāt, together with a short poem entitled Humāyūn-nāmā, have been edited in the same by Pandj gandj, Tehran 1923, v-vii; for descriptions of the most important manuscripts, see further Sir G. Ouseley, Biographical notices of Persian poets, London 1846, 193-200; Sachau-Ethe,
IMÁD AL-DÍN ‘ALÍ FAKHÝR-I KIRMANI — AL-IMÁRÁT AL-‘ARABIYYA AL-MUTTAHIDA


IMÁDÎ is the pen name of a Persian poet of the 6th/12th century whose personal name has not been transmitted. Sometimes the title Amîr is added to it, presumably referring to his prominence as a poet of the court in his own days. Another nisba (Rdhat al-sudur, 57) has been transmitted. Sometimes the title Amir is added in Kâzwmf, Mamduh-i ‘Imdî, Sar, etc., although he cannot be identified definitely with any ruler known from other historical sources (cf. M. Kâzwmf, Mâshîmî-nâma-i ‘Imdî, i, Tehran 1332/1953, ii, 343-51). ‘Imdâd seemingly started his literary career under the protection of this ruler, on whose death he wrote an elegy (Râhût al-sudur, 371-2, cf. especially the note by the editor). Afterwards, ‘Imdâm went over to the service of the Saljqûk court and composed several panegyrics for Sultan Rukn al-Din al-Din Toqirî (526-9/1132-4). Many other patrons are mentioned in the poems of ‘Imdâm, one of the latest may have been the Eldîgûzî dîlavâh Dîhânî, Pahlawân Muhammad (570-81/1175-86) (cf. the different opinions of Kâzwmf, op. cit., 348). It is less certain that he also praised Sultan Toqirî (351-90/1167-94), as it is sometimes asserted (for the full list of the patrons of ‘Imdâm, see S. Naftsi, Te’ilkat-i Lâhûb al-îláb, 724 f.). Of the two dates mentioned for his death, 573/1177-8 (‘Atiq Khâsqu) and 582/1186-7 (Atâegahodâ), the former seems to be the most probable.

Awlî has entered a few of ‘Imdâm’s poems under the name of ‘Imdâm al-Din Qâzamfawi. This has led to speculation among later biographers of ‘Imdâm. Later biographers mention the Ghâznawî poet Mukhâsqu as his father. According to a notice given by Taki Khâsqu, ‘Imdâm studied treatises on tapawwuf with Sanâ’î at Balkh. The same writer proposes the possibility that there might have been two different, but contemporaneous, poets by this name. This assumption was rejected already in the Haft ëklem. There is no evidence known from his own works that could corroborate the theory of his connection with Qâzamfawi.

Although ‘Imdâm was first of all renowned as a poet of the court, he also wrote religious poetry. He recites poems of this nature during the sessions held by the famous preacher Ibn ‘Abbâm (Râhût al-sudur, 209). In one of his ghâzals, ‘Imdâm clearly refers to the transcendental meaning that should be read into the conventional imagery (cf. e.g. Dzâdzûrmur, ‘Umis al-‘arâm, ii, Tehran 1350/1971, 1108 f.).

There are some indications that point to a fairly high esteem for ‘Imdâm’s poetry in his own time. Hasan Qâzamfawi, who even recommended his work as good material for the study of tyro poets (Râhût al-sudur, 57), ‘Imdâm exchanged poems full of mutual praise with another poet of Rây, Khwâmâm. Both poets were in many respects imitators of the style of Sanâ’î. ‘Imdâm even went so far that he adapted one of Sanâ’î’s poems for his own use (Shams-i Kay, 461 f.). A modern critic (Furuzân-farr) has praised ‘Imdâm’s ability to maintain a fair balance between subtility of concepts and simplicity of language.

Quite soon, however, ‘Imdâm’s poetry appears to have lost the interest of the public. No complete copy of his Dîvân is now known to exist. The largest collection now extant is the British Museum ms. Or. 298 containing more than 1400 lines, most of which belong to kaftûds. More material is scattered over a great number of sources, but a comprehensive collection is still lacking.


(J.T.P. de Bruyne)

AL-IMÁRÁT AL-‘ARABIYYA AL-MUTTAHIDA

The United Arab Emirates. The federation of seven shaikhdoms of the lower Gulf, formerly known as the Trucial States, inaugurated on 14 Shawkâl 1391/2 December 1971. The member states are Abu Zabi (Abû Dhabî), Dubayy, al-Shâriks (Shârdja), ‘Admân, Umm al-Kaywain, Ra’s al-Khâyma and Fuja’yya. The federation’s total area is about 30,000 square miles and its population (180,226 at the 1968 census) has been variously estimated, in the absence of reliable statistics, at anything between 320,000 and 700,000, mostly concentrated in Abu Zabi and Dubayy shaikhdoms.

Until December 1971, the seven shaikhdoms were
linked to Great Britain by a series of treaties, the oldest dating back to 1236/1820, whereby Britain exercised responsibility for the conduct of the shaykhdoms’ foreign relations and ensured their observance of the engagements they had entered into over the years to respect the maritime truce and to abstain from piracy and slave-trading. It was generally accepted that an implicit reciprocal obligation devolved upon Britain from these engagements to defend the Trucial Shaykhdoms against their enemies. A first step towards promoting some form of association among the shaykhdoms was taken in 1371-2/1952 with the establishment of the Trucial States Council, made up of the rulers of the seven shaykhdoms. Further steps were the setting up of the Trucial States Development Council to assist economic, and especially agricultural, progress, and the organisation of the Trucial Oman Scouts (first formed as the Trucial Oman Levies in 1950 on the model of the Jordanian Arab Legion) to keep the peace throughout the shaykhdoms and along their borders. The definition of these borders was, for the most part, accomplished in the years between 1374-5/1955 and 1380-1/1961.

In Shawwal 1387/January 1968 the British government announced that it intended to withdraw from its special position in the Gulf by the end of 1971 (Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 1390), and at the same time to terminate its treaty relationship with the Trucial States, Bahrayn and Katār. A month after the statement was made the rulers of Ābū Zābī and Dūbāy announced (on 19 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 1387/18 February 1968) that they were forming a union of their two shaykhdoms with the intention of co-ordinating their foreign and defence policies, and of co-operating over such matters as internal security, education, health services and immigration. At their instigation a conference of the Trucial Shaykhs and the rulers of Bahrayn and Katār was held at Dūbāy the following week, and on 28 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da/27 February a decision was reached in principle to create a federation of the nine shaykhdoms. Ultimate power in the federation would reside in a supreme council made up of the nine rulers, while executive authority would be vested in a federal council. The agreement to establish the federation, which was to be called the "Federation of Arab Amirates" (Ittihād al-Imrāt al-Arabiyya), was to come into force on the last day of Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 1387/30 March 1968.

At this stage, it was necessary to elect the rulers of the shaykhdoms to being drawn into Ābū Zābī’s frontier disagreement with Sa‘ūdī Arabia. In the absence of this agreement, the federation could not come into force. The other states, however, were reluctant to risk offending Persia by according Bahrayn the support she sought. Dūbāy, for instance, because of her close commercial ties with Persia, was most averse to becoming embroiled in the dispute. There was a similar aversion on the part of most of the shaykhdoms to being drawn into Ābū Zābī’s frontier disagreement with Sa‘ūdī Arabia. Katār’s relations with the Sa‘ūdīs had been intimate for many years, whereas those with Ābū Zābī had been distant, and at times hostile, for generations. Bahrayn was counting upon Sa‘ūdī diplomatic help against the Persians, while Dūbāy had for years been locked in a contest with Ābū Zābī for political influence in Trucial Oman.

A fateful stage in the negotiations towards a federation of the nine shaykhdoms was reached in Rabī‘ I 1390/May 1970, when a resolution of the Perso-Bahraynī dispute was achieved. At the request of both parties, and of Britain as the protecting power, the UN secretary-general had appointed a personal representative in Muharram 1390/March 1970 to ascertain the wishes of the people of Bahrayn regarding the future political status of the shaykhdom and its relationship to Persia. The secretary-general’s representative reported at the beginning of May that the Bahraynīs were “virtually unanimous” in wanting a fully independent, sovereign state, and that “the great majority” desired it to be an Arab state. The UN security council unanimously endorsed the report on 11 May, and later that month (Rabī‘ I 1390) the Persian government accepted it. The renunciation of the Persian claim to Bahrayn, although it was henceforth to determine Bahrayn’s attitude to the Federation of Arab Amirates, had no effect upon the other threats to the federation’s territorial integrity. In the first week of May, Sa‘ūdī Arabia reasserted her claim to the western and southern areas of Ābū Zābī and to the Buraynī oasis. A fortnight later Persia put forward a claim to the islands of Ābū Mūsā and the Greater and Lesser Tūnbs (Tūnī Buzurk and Nābiyy Tūnī).
situated a few miles inside the Gulf to the west of the Straits of Hormuz. Abu Musa had up to this time been regarded as a possession of the Trucial Shaykhdom of al-Sharīka and the Tūnbs as belonging to Ra’s al-Khayyāma.

Having secured the abandonment of the Persian claim, the Bahrayīns had no wish to create a fresh source of friction with the Persians by taking the part of al-Sharīka and Ra’s al-Khayyāma in the controversy over Abū Musa and the Tūnbs. This caution, combined with the resentment felt over what was considered to be the insufficient weight given to Bahrayn’s interests and importance in the projected federation and the aversion to siding with Abū Zabi in its resistance to the Sa’ūdis, served to set Bahrayn after May 1970 on a political course that took it steadily away from the federation and towards independence. Where Bahrayn led, Katar was bound to follow, as much for reasons of amour propre (its ruling family had been at feud with that of Bahrayn for over a century) as out of considerations of political advantage and prudence. The final spur was applied by the decision of the Conservative government in Britain, which had been elected to power in June 1970, to adhere to its predecessor’s policy of withdrawal from the Gulf by the end of 1971. (The decision was announced in March 1971 but there is evidence that it had been reached some time previously.) Bahrayn declared its independence on 22 Dżumāda I 1391/1 August 1971, and Katar followed suit on 11 Rādjāb 1391/1 September 1971.

A few weeks earlier, six of the seven Trucial States, having concluded that a federation of the nine shaykhdoms was no longer feasible, had decided to form a federation of their own. The Trucial federation, entitled the “United Arab Amirates” (al-Imrat al-ʿArabiyya al-Muttaḥida), was proclaimed at Dubayy on 25 Dżumāda I 1391/18 July 1971. The ruler of Ra’s al-Khayyāma, Shaykh Saqr b. Muhammad al-Kāsimi, refused to join the federation, partly because its members showed no anxiety to assist him actively in opposing the Persian claim to the Tūnbs, partly because of his jealousy of the position and power which the rulers of Abū Zabi and Dubayy commanded within the federation. His fellow Kāsimi ruler, Shaykh Khalīd b. Muhammad al-Sharīka, proved more pliable over the extension of Persian authority over Abū Musa Island. His acquiescence in a Persian occupation was obtained in late November in return for an annual subsidy and an equal share in the exploitation of the submarine oilfields located off Abū Musa. On 12 Shawwāl 1391/30 November 1971, the day before Britain’s special treaty relationship with the Trucial States was due to end officially, Persian troops occupied Abū Musa and the Tūnbs, meeting with armed resistance on the Greater Tūnbs from the retainers of the ruler of Ra’s al-Khayyāma. There were a number of repercussions from the Persian occupation of the islands, among them the expulsion of several thousand Persians from Irāk and the nationalisation by the Libyan government of the British Petroleum Company’s assets in Libya. The most violent individual reprisal was the murder in Dhu l-Ḥijdżah 1391/late January 1972 of the ruler of al-Sharīka, Shaykh Khalīd b. Muhammad al-Kāsimi, by his cousin the ex-ruler, Shaykh Saqr b. Sūlān al-Kāsimi, in revenge for the alienation of Abū Musa to Persia. Shaykh Saqr b. Muhammad of Ra’s al-Khayyāma was so shaken by the assassination that at the end of Dhu l-Ḥijdżah 1391/mid-February 1972 he joined the federation.

The treaties between Britain and the Trucial States were abrogated on 13 Shawwāl 1391/1 December 1971, and the United Arab Amirates was temporarily established at Abū Zabi until a permanent capital had been built on a site on the border of Abū Zabi and Dubayy.

The fons et origo of executive and legislative power within the federation is the supreme federal council, composed of the rulers of the seven constituent shaykhdoms or amirates. Decisions of the council are by majority vote, with Abū Zabi and Dubayy both possessing the power of veto. The president appoints the prime minister, the deputy minister and the other ministers (some two dozen) who together make up the federal council or cabinet. The cabinet’s prime function is to carry into effect the decisions of the supreme council and the instructions of the president. The provisional constitution, which runs to 152 articles, also established a federal national council to serve as a consultative assembly. It consists of forty delegates appointed for a term of two years by the rulers of the amirates, Abū Zabi and Dubayy each having eight delegates, al-Sharīka and Ra’s al-Khayyāma, six, and the other three amirates, four. Although the constitution would appear to empower the national council to initiate legislation, its principal task is clearly to discuss and approve the budget and draft legislation presented to it by the council of ministers. The constitution also provides for the establishment of a supreme court for the federation and a number of courts of first instance. Responsibility for the defence of the federation is vested in a higher defence council, headed by the president and consisting of the vice-president, the prime minister, the minister of defence and the interior, and the commander of the Union Defence Force, which has been formed around the nucleus of the Trucial Omani forces.

The constitution of the UAA, both in its provisions and in its operation, reflects the primacy within the federation of Abū Zabi and Dubayy, the two wealthiest and most populous amirates. At the end of their term as president and vice-president in 1396/1976, Shaykh Zayid of Abū Zabi and Shaykh Khalīd of Dubayy were re-elected to their respective offices for a further five years. Members of their families and close adherents hold the chief portfolios in the council of ministers. The federal budget is provided almost exclusively by Abū Zabi from its large oil revenues. (Dubayy, although deriving a substantial income from oil and commerce, refuses to contribute more than a token amount.) Abū Zabi also has a defence force considerably larger and better equipped than that of the union. Naturally, the wealth and political predominance of the two shaykhdoms has inspired envy and some resentment among the less fortunate members of the federation, with the exception perhaps of al-Sharīka, which enjoys a national preponderance of influence from oil revenues. The arbitrariness of fortune which has blessed Abū Zabi and Dubayy has tended to perpetuate and to intensify the longstanding rivalries and animosities among the shaykhdoms, more particularly those between the northern Kāsimi tribal confedera-
tion and the southern Bani Yas confederation. There are other strains within the federation besides those caused by the imbalance of wealth and by old tribal and dynastic vendettas. Social and economic changes in recent years have been rapid and profoundly unsettling. A huge influx of immigrants of all kinds has broken the traditional mould of society. Unearned affluence of an unreal magnitude has corroded customary morals, values and restraints. Alien ideological notions have undermined the old political certainties, with what eventual consequences it is impossible to foretell. The basis of the UAA member states, especially the need for some kind of 'indk, mdgh, indk), INAK (spelt inak, inakh and inak), a title which existed in various Turkic and Mongol states.

The word is evidently a deverbal noun from the Turkic verb inan- ['sha'] "to trust, to rely on" etc., with the basic meaning "close friend, confidant, trusted person". The spelling 'inak, with initial qn, very often found in the Central Asian sources of the 19th century, is most probably only an indication of the initial back vowel; an explanation of this spelling given by A.A. Semenov, deriving the word from Arabic 'inak "embrace", is, at best, a late literary invention. A similar derivative from the same verb, inan-k "reliance", "trust", is registered in the Turkic texts of the 10th century and later as a title or rank of persons belonging to the close retinue of the ruler (cf. especially inan-k in Khwarezmian, 1, 10, and Kaudaeng bilig, Farghana MS. 293; this title was used through the whole Saldjik period (cf. also such titles as inan-powy, inan-hi bilig etc.; see Sir G. Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 187). The same meaning, probably, had also the title inanl (another deverbal noun from the root +an-: +an-). Another reading and explanation of this title given by A.A. Semenov, deriving the word from Arabic 'inak "embrace", is, at best, a late literary invention. A similar derivative from the same verb, inan-k "reliance", "trust", is registered in the Turkic texts of the 10th century and later as a title or rank of persons belonging to the close retinue of the ruler (cf. especially inan-k in Khwarezmian, 1, 10, and Kaudaeng bilig, Farghana MS. 293; this title was used through the whole Saldjik period (cf. also such titles as inan-powy, inan-hi bilig etc.; see Sir G. Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 187). The same meaning, probably, had also the title inanl (another deverbal noun from the root +an-: +an-). Another reading and explanation of this title given by A.A. Semenov, deriving the word from Arabic 'inak "embrace", is, at best, a late literary invention. A similar derivative from the same verb, inan-k "reliance", "trust", is registered in the Turkic texts of the 10th century and later as a title or rank of persons belonging to the close retinue of the ruler (cf. especially inan-k in Khwarezmian, 1, 10, and Kaudaeng bilig, Farghana MS. 293; this title was used through the whole Saldjik period (cf. also such titles as inan-powy, inan-hi bilig etc.; see Sir G. Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 187). The same meaning, probably, had also the title inanl (another deverbal noun from the root +an-: +an-)...
In the third quarter of the 18th century, Muhammad Amin Inak, chief of the Uzbek tribe, became the ruler of the khānate and the founder of the dynasty, which remained in power till 1920 and is called sometimes in scholarly literature “Inaks.” The third ruler from this dynasty, Eltuzar Inak, proclaimed himself khān in 1219/1804. After that, Inak became the highest title for the Uzbek nobility in Khiva (the historians of Khiva mention cases of promotion from the rank of atalik to the rank of inak, see e.g. Fanarx al-askāl (ms. cit., ff. 117b, 358a). During the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khān (1220-1408), his elder brother Kutlug Murād had the title ināk-bek and was styled amīr al-umūr (ibid., f. 316a; but the atalik was still considered as senior Uzbek amīr; he was called also biy-inak and inak-ādār). In the middle of the 19th century, the title of inak-bek (that is, senior I.) was given to the khān’s heir, who was mostly governor of the town of Hazārāsp before the Khokand conquest (1873), however, this title was applied not to the heir, but to one of senior relatives of the khān (cf. A.L. Kuhn’s papers in the Archives of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, file 1/13, ff. 36a-38b). Besides him and the four inaks of the Uzbek tribes, the title was granted sometimes to the tribal chiefs of the Turkmen.

The title inak existed also in the Khānate of Khokand (q.v.), where it was given to a court official (or official in charge of the provision for the court and for the khān’s bodyguards; they supervised also the personal domains of the khān. At the same time, apparently, it was here also, as in Bukhārā, an honorary rank given to various dignitaries, such as provincial governors (cf. V.P. Nailikvin, Histoire du khutat de Khokand, Paris 1889, 104).


INĀT, a town in Hadramawt, about 10 miles/15 km. due east of Tarīm, and situated at the confluence of the Wādis ‘Ināt and Hadramaut. The holy family of ‘Ināt is the Al Bū Bakr b. Shaykh and the illustrious mansūb, Shaykh Bū Bakr b. Sālim, known as Mawālī ‘Ināt, is buried in the town. The family has been subjected to severe criticism from other Sayyid groups because of its bearing arms. ‘Ināt has become one of the most important hājpas (q.v.) in Hadramawt. It is famous for its own breed of hunting dogs which seem to be indistinguishable from the common “pie-dog.” With these dogs the inhabitants participate in the ibex hunt under the direction of the Mansāb. The number of the inhabitants of the town was greatly reduced after the war-time famine in Wādi Hadramaut, and a fairly recent figure suggests a population of about 1,300. The old quarter organisation has in reality disappeared, though originally there were several quarters. Landberg employs the spelling ‘Eynat (‘Aynā), though it seems that all other European forms proposed are erroneous.


INAYAT KHĀN, a noble of the Indian Mughal emperor Awarangzub. He stemmed from the Mangit tribe, became actual ruler of the Khanate of Khokand after its conquest by Nadir Shah in 1696. He certainly already held the title inak before (cf. A.L. Kuhn’s papers in the Archives of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, file 1/13, ff. 36a-38b).

INAYAT KHĀN, an obscure general of the Mughal emperor Awarangzub. He was appointed head of the divān-i khalīsa (division of crown lands). In 1079/1668-9 he was promoted to the rank of pishdast-i daftar-i khalīsa, and was promoted to the rank of 900 suwar. In 1080/1669-70 he reported that the expenditure had increased since the time of Shāh Dāיוān and that there was a large deficit; Awarangzub thereupon ordered an enlargement of the khalīsa lands and a reduction in expenditure. In 1082/1671-2 he was appointed faṣūdār (q.v.) (commandant) of Cakla Barelf and in 1086/1675-6, governor of Adjmer. He took part in a campaign against the Rathaors, but died in 1093/1682. He was apparently not implicated in the conspiracy of Padshah Kulf Khan, his son-in-law, who was killed at about 2/1680-1. When in Dhu ‘1-Hijja 1091/January 1681 Awarangzub advanced to Do-raha, in the Adjmer region, ‘Inayat Khān was ordered to write to Tahawwur Khan, one of the principal supporters of Awarangzub’s son Akbar during the rebellion of 1091-2/1680-1. When in Dhu ‘1-Hidjdja 1091/January 1681 Awarangzub advanced to Dōrāha, in the Adjmer region, ‘Inayat Khān was ordered to write to Tahawwur Khān inducing him to desert the prince’s army,
then at Kurkê, Tahawwur Khan compiled, but on his arrival in Awrangzib's camp some confusion arose in which he was killed. 


INCENSE [see LURÂN].

INDEPENDENCE [see İSTIKLAL].

INFALLIBILITY [see İSMA].

INHİSAR, or in Ottoman Turkish also Hàşîk, were the words used for monopolies and restrictive practices of Ottoman guilds, the full term being inhîsâr-i beyi ve şirîr. These monopolies included restrictions concerning the number or kind of people allowed to perform a trade or a profession, as well as limitations imposed on production or on commerce. Restrictions of this kind were considered necessary and beneficial to society. As against this, monopolistic hoarding or cornering was condemned and prohibited by the government. To distinguish between the two kinds, the second was called in Turkey ihtikdar, but this term was used in Arabic for both kinds of monopolies (cf. Baer, *Monopolies*, 145-6; *Egyptian guilds*, 107 n. 11, 159-61).

Documents relating to Istanbul and Cairo dating from the 18th and 19th centuries show that a craftsman or merchant who wanted to practice his craft or trade independently needed the agreement of the guild's head. In earlier periods, and in some smaller towns, economic activity seems to have been less restricted, though there is evidence that in the 17th century Cairo craftsmen in various branches underwent ceremonies of initiation in order to acquire an idâza, without which they were not allowed to practice their craft. One of the main purposes of these restrictions was to limit the number of shops or people occupied in a trade or craft. Such limitations are indeed documented for Istanbul from the 16th century onwards well into the 19th. In addition, efforts were made to prevent the establishment of "wildcat" enterprises, and especially to eliminate the illicit trade of hawkers and peddlars (kolukulalar).

Another kind of restriction was the limitation of each guild to producing or selling specific goods only. The aim of such measures was to eliminate external and internal competition and thus to prevent social upheavals and unrest. For the same purpose it was ordered, in some cases, that specific production of particular dresses was limited to specific communities in order to maintain their distinctive costume. Many trades or guilds were confined to specific places or markets, which often bore the name of the craft or the trade.

Most of these restrictions were controlled by the gedî system. Gedî literally means "breach" and hence acquired the meaning of privilege. Thus a gedî was the right to exercise a craft or a trade, either in general or, more frequently, at a special place or in a specific shop. Most gedîs included the right to the tools of a workshop or a business. The number of gedîs in each craft was fixed, though it could be changed from time to time. Since nobody was allowed to become a master or open a shop without owning a gedî, new masters could be accepted only when a vacancy occurred. Gedîs were inheritable if the heir fulfilled all other conditions for becoming a master in the craft; otherwise the rule was that they be transferred to apprentices or journeymen of the guild, not to outsiders.

All monopolies and restrictions of the guild system were sanctioned by the authorities, decreed as government orders and enforced by the officers of the state. After some unsuccessful attempts to abolish them in Egypt in the middle of the 19th century, they gradually disappeared, in Egypt as well as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, in the course of the second half of the century. On 9 January 1890 it was decreed in Egypt that every person was free to exercise any craft or occupation or profession or trade, except for dangerous occupations or for those which were government monopolies.


INIMITABILITY OF THE KUR'ÂN [see ʿīgâz].

INSPECTION OF TROOPS [see İSTİRÂD and (above) DÂĞI VE TASHIÎRA].

INSTITUT DES HAUTES ÉTUDES MAROCAINES (I.H.E.M.) al-Maḥâd li l-ʿulâm al-uḫyâ al-maghribiyah, one of the most important centres of intellectual life in Morocco over a period of forty years, bearing in mind the fact that it followed on from the École Supérieure de Langue Arabe et des Dialectes Berbères opened in Rabat in 1915 for the training of highly-qualified civilian interpreters.

The I.H.E.M. was established, by decree of the grand vizier, on 11 February 1920/20 Dümâdî 1338, with "the object of instigating and encouraging scientific studies relating to Morocco, of co-ordinating them and centralising the results." It was replaced, in 1956, after Moroccan independence, by the Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines of Rabat. If the École Supérieure had been directed by interpreters of distinction like M. Nehill and I. Hamet, the I.H.E.M. was headed by a succession of professors of high renown, sc. H. Basset, E. Lévi-Provençal, L. Brunot and H. Terrasse. The staff of directors of studies, lecturers and research supervisors has included among its more distinguished members now dead, F. Arin, A. Basset, E. Biarnay, R. Blachere, H. Bruno, H. de Castris, J. Gelezier, P. de Cernat, L. Chatelain, G.S. Colin, J. de Cossé-Brissac, R. Hoffler, M. Bendaoud, E. Laoust, C. Le Ceur, R. Le Tournue, V. Loubignac, G. and W. Marçais, G. Marcy, P. Mauchausse, J. Meunie, R. Montagne, L. Paye, H. Renaud, P. Ricard, J. Riche and A. Roux. Many of these have been contributors to this Encyclopaedia.

The achievement of the I.H.E.M. has been considerable. Morocco has witnessed the emergence of a strong school that has addressed itself with energy and enthusiasm to the scientific study of the country and has almost entirely re-evaluated our knowledge of the Maghrib and Muslim Spain. The Institute first published, as successor to the review *Les Archives Berbères*, a *Bulletin de l’I.H.E.M.* which after the first issue, took on the splendid title *Hespéris*, which it kept until it ceased publication. The scientific authority and exceptional documentary interest of this publication were such that in 1972 a complete facsimile edition was published (comprising the *Archives Berbères* and the unique *Bulletin*).

*Hespéris* published among its articles a *Bibliographie Marocaine* of a very wide-ranging character since it embraces, under some forty headings, all that is known concerning Morocco and its successive
civilisations. Edited by specialists from the Bibliothèque Générale de Rabat, it has made an unrivalled contribution to any methodical study of the Maghrib. This bibliography was published between 1923 and 1953.

Hespéris merged in 1960 with the review Tamuda, born in Tetuan in the last years of the Spanish Protectorate, and it continues in this form to serve Morocco and the pursuit of knowledge.

Besides Hespéris, the I.H.E.M. has published several collections comprising the complete Hespéris (15 volumes); collected Arabic texts (12 volumes); Publications of the I.H.E.M. (62 volumes); collected articles of the Centres d'Etudes Juridiques (45 volumes); Proceedings of the Congresses of the I.H.E.M. (9 volumes); some extra-mural publications, including *Initiation au Maroc* (3 editions), a *Notice sur les règles d'edition des travaux* and some *Brefs conseils pratiques* for the transcription and printing of Spanish and Portuguese words (R. Ricard); collected Notes and Documents (21 volumes); and collected Moroccan Berber Texts (2 volumes).

In addition to research, publications, public sources in Arabic (classical and dialectal), in Berber and in law without the obligation to Moroccan civilisation, the I.H.E.M. provided trainings for the various degrees and the Casablanca law degree awarded by French universities. It thus enabled many young people to start and complete their higher studies in Arabic and in law without the obligation to go to France.

Also worthy of mention is the Institut Scientifique Cherifien, founded in 1920, an institution of higher learning founded in Tetuan, by the decree of 31 March 1960.

Apart from routine education, the Institut des Hautes Études included a number of laboratories and study centres, providing and co-ordinating specialised equipment and research facilities for the students of the various departments. Similarly, a university library offered its resources to the students, resources that in time were added to the study facilities provided by the General Library of Sūk al-ʿĀṯārīn.

Finally, the Institut des Hautes Études was responsible for the creation of two reviews: the *Cahiers de Tunisie*, a quarterly review of the arts, replacing the former *Revue tunisienne*, and the *Revue de droit*, also quarterly. A certain number of volumes were published in the form of specialised collections: a Library of Law and Economics, Publications of the Section and the Literature Section (Paris, P.U.F.).

Thus there operated for some fifteen years an institution of modern higher education, equivalent to that of the French universities. The patronage of the University of Paris, reinforced by numerous visits from French professors, ensured that a high standard was maintained.
Superiure, Ahmed Abdesselem, both of them intellectuals, writers and academics of great distinction. Thus the University of Tunis, totally and progressively integrated with the country, and totally independent in its fortunes, in the framework of the institutions of independent Tunisia, has become distinguished and effective universities of the Arab world. Straightaway, in spite of its relative youth and in spite of its scattered, it has entirely integrated with the country, and totally independent in its fortunes, in the framework of the institutions of independent Tunisia, has become distinguished and effective universities of the Arab world.

(P. MARTELLOT)

INSULT [see SHATM].

INTERPRETER [see TURQUUMAN].

INTERROGATION [see ISTIFHAM].

INVENTIVE [see HEG].

INZAL (French spelling: "enzel", from anjala, to lodge, give hospitality), traditional type of lease peculiar to Tunisia. Presumably a survival of the Roman emphyteusis, it served as a means of circumventing the inalienability of pious foundations. The Malikis define it as a "lease in perpetuity (kird mub'ahad) of a property to a person engaging himself to build a house, or any other edifice, or plant trees on it and pay a perpetual rent calculated by the year or month" (D. Santillana, Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita, Rome 1925, i, 441). E. Clavel's definition distinguished between the two domanial aspects of the estate: "L'enzel est un contrat sui generis, par lequel le wakf ou le propriétaire d'un bien mulk se dépouille, à perpétuité, du domaine utile d'un immeuble, n'en conservant que le domaine éminent, à charge par le tenant de payer un canon annuel fixe" (Le Wakf ou Habous, Caire 1896, 2, 188). The rights of the lessee are so wide as to place him in loco dominici: he may build, plant, make improvements (which become his property), bequeath or transfer his rights, etc. The inzal resembles the Tunisian khadr and the Egyptian kisr, but differs from both in four points: (1) it has lost its original purpose, viz. to render wakf property productive thus providing income to its beneficiaries; (2) it is no longer limited to wakf, but includes private property as well; (3) it is annulled in case of non-payment of rent for two consecutive years; (4) the amount of rent cannot be adjusted to the fluctuations of the rental value of the property. Under the French protectorate, the practice of inzal gained momentum, as it enabled the colons to acquire extensive land holdings without prior capital investment.


(P. SHINAR)

AL-'IRAKI, SAYYID SHAAMS AL-DIN, religious leader active in the evangelisation of Kashmir. He was the son of Sayyid Ibrahim, a Mughal Sayyid, and was born in the small town of Kund Sullkan, situated near Tehran on the road to Kashmir. He received a good education, and, while still young came under the influence of Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh. (see NURBAKHSHIYYA ORDER [see KSIR, NASIM AL-DIN].)

Impressed by his eloquence and learning, Sultan Husayn Mirza Bakyara (873-911/1469-1506) took him into his service and sent him as his envoy to Sultan Hasan Shah (877-89/1472-84) of Kashmir. On arriving in the Valley, where he stayed for eight years, he became the disciple of Baha Ismali, a Kubrawi saint, and then secretly won over Baha Ali Nadjdar, one of his most devoted followers, to the Nurbakhshiyaa creed, which was a mixture of Shi'i and Sunni doctrines, leaned on by Shi'i pantheism. But his success was limited because, being an envoy, he could not preach openly. Besides, the Sunnis 'ulama came to know of his religious beliefs and compelled him to leave Kashmir. He returned to Harat, but as he lost the favour of Sultan Husayn Mirza on account of his unorthodox beliefs, he left for Ray to live with 'Ali Kasm, the son of Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh.

While he was in Ray, Shams al-Din heard that those whom he had converted to Kashmir had relapsed into orthodoxy; so, on the advice of 'Ali Kasm, he decided to proceed to the Valley. He left Ray in Rabii' 1 907/September 1501. Travelling via Mashhad- Kandahar-Multan, he entered Kashmir in the spring of 1502 through the Punja-Baramula route. On arriving in Srinagar, he again won over Baha' Ali Nadjdar. But the most important convert was Mirza Rayna, a powerful noble, who supported him in his activities, and gave him money to build a khankah [q.v.] at Doodhbal in Srinagar. But on account of the opposition of the orthodox 'ulama and of and of Sayyid Muhammad Bayhaqti, the waqfi of Sunnan Muhammad Shah, he left Kashmir. He went to Baltistan, to the northeast of Kashmir, and carried on missionary work among its Buddhist inhabitants with considerable success. He stayed there for over two months until the defeat and death of Sayyid Muhammad Bayhaqt [see BAYHAKTI SAYYID above] in 911/1505, and returned to Srinagar at the invitation of Mirza Rayna, who had again become powerful. During the nine years that Misa Rayna was waqfi, Shams al-Din carried on his activities without any hindrance. The conversion of Tadjji Cak and other Cak nobles further enabled him to consolidate his work.

Meanwhile, a great change had come over the Nurbakhshiyaa which, under the influence of Sufism, increasingly began to identify itself with Shi'i by shedding those of its doctrines which it had borrowed from Sufism and Sunn Islam. Shams al-Din, too, felt the impact and, inclined as he had always been towards the doctrine of the Twelvers, he now openly preached it, so that by the time he died in 932/1526, Shi'Iism had become well established in Kashmir. In remote Baltistan, however, the Nurbakhshiyaa beliefs survived.

Bibliography: The only biography of Shams al-Din known to exist is a Tahfjat al-abhabh by a contemporary of his whose exact name is not known. The manuscript of the work is with Sayyid Muhammad Yuusuf, a Shi'i muqaddas of Kashmir and a descendant of Shams al-Din. Other works to be consulted are: Pr Hasan Shah, Ta'riikh-i Hasan, ii, Srinagar 1954; Mirza Haydar Dughlat, Ta'riikh-i Ragisti, tr. E.D. Ross and N. Elias, London 1895; Nur Allah Shusharti, Muqaddas al-mu'minin, Tehran 1299/1882; Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans, Srinagar 1974; Oriental College Magazine, Lahore (February and May 1925, and August 1929).

(MOHIBUL HASANI)
IRAN

ii. LANGUAGES

(a) Pāhsto [see AFGHAN. (ii). The Pāhsto language]
(b) Kurdish [see KURDS, KURDISTAN. v. Language]
(c) Zaza [q.e.]
(d) Khārazmian
(e) Sogdian and Bactrian in the early Islamic period
(f) New Persian
(g) New Persian written in Hebrew characters [see JUDEO-PERSIAN. ii. Language]

(d) Khārazmian.
Khārazmian, last attested late in the 8th/14th century (before yielding to Turkish), belonged to the Eastern branch of the Iranian language family, being most closely related to Sogdian, its southeastern neighbour. Pre-Islamic records are limited to coin legends and other inscriptions in a regional, partly ideographic development of the Aramaic script, found on wooden tablets, ossuaries, and silver vessels, and some documents on leather. Surviving Iranian sources consist almost exclusively of [a] some 400 isolated sentences quoted in Arabic books of case-law, and [b] the Khārazmian glosses (in one case almost complete) in different copies of al-Zamakhshārī’s Arabic dictionary, Muqaddimat al-adab. They use the Arabo-Persian script, augmented by two letters (h and f) with triple dots above, producing چ (for both affricates چ and چ as originally in Pāhsto) and ب (i.e. گ, distinct from گ) respectively. While چ, گ, چ (f), گ (k), چ (k) and گ, the emphatics ۚ, گ (k), گ, گ, گ (d), گ, گ presumably had their Persian values, the remaining letters, including گ, گ (fricative گ, گ) evidently kept their original pronunciation. The letters are, however, often unpointed and for the most part unvowelled. Remarkable is the distinct spelling of words in pause position, with a presumably stressed vowel گ (before the last consonant, e.g. گرک [پرگ] ‘wolf’, in pause گرک [پرگ] ‘wolf’). The basic numerals exemplify some typical consonant developments: ١ گر (بیچ), ٢ گار (بیچ), ٣ گی (as Christian Sogdian, گی); also ٣٠ گی (بیچ), but ١٣ گی (بیچ), cf. Parthian گود (بیچ), ٤ گر (بیچ), ٥ گر (بیچ), ٦ گر (بیچ), ٧ گر (as Sogdian, گر) (for both affricates گر and گر), ٨ گر (بیچ, گر) (for both affricates گر and گر), ٩ گر (بیچ, گر) (for both affricates گر and گر), ١٠ گار (بیچ) in a regular order, even when they appeared later as independent forms, e.g. گودعَلَم گودعَلَم ‘he recited the greetings before him’ (literally, “he read-him-them-off-upon-the greetings”).


(e) Sogdian and Bactrian in the early Islamic period.

1. Sogdian (or Soghdian) was the Middle Iranian language of Sughd [q.v.] and adjacent areas. As an Eastern Iranian language, Sogdian is related fairly closely to Choresmian (Khārazmian, see above) and Bactrian, more distantly to Middle Persian (Pahlavi). The form of Sogdian known from texts seems to be based on the language of the capital Samarkand, but the limited evidence available indicates that the dialects spoken in areas such as Bukhārā and Čāč (Shah, Tahkent) were quite similar and no doubt mutually comprehensible with Sogdian proper.

Most of the surviving Sogdian manuscripts date from the 4th to 10th centuries A.D.; in addition to secular texts such as letters and business documents, they include a mass of Buddhist, Christian and Manichaean literature, written in four different scripts. Almost all of this material was found far to the east of the Sogdian homeland, in areas where Sogdian merchants had founded trading colonies, in particular the Turfan [q.v.] oasis in Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang) and Dunhuang in western China. The most important Sogdian texts found in Sughd itself are the so-called “Mug documents” (published by L. A. Ziegler and Bogoljubov-Smirnova). These date from the period of the Islamic conquest of Sughd under Kusayba b. Muslim [q.v.] at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century and represent part of the administrative archives of its last independent rulers. Of particular interest is a letter in Sogdian from an Arab official named ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Suḥb to the Sogdian king Dheväšāṭī (see I. Yakubovich, Magh. I, revisited, forthcoming in
As a result of the important role of the Sogdian merchants in the long-distance trade between China, India and the West, Sogdian came to be used as a "lingua franca" of the Central Asian trade routes and many Sogdian documents may have been written by and for non-native speakers. This is particularly obvious in the latest Sogdian documents (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries), some of which display strong influence from Turkish. Soon after the beginning of the 5th/11th century, Sogdian seems to have gone out of use as a written language, having been superseded by Turkish and in Sughd itself by Persian. Although New Persian is in origin the language of the south-western Iranian Turks and other Eastern Iranian words (see W.B. Henning, Mitteloiranisch, 84-6), particularly remarkable is the philosopher al-Farabi's discussion in his Kitab al-Huruf of the means for expressing the notion of existence in Sogdian (see A. Tafazzoli, Three Sogdian words in the Kitab al-Huruf, in Bull. of the Iranian Culture Foundation, i/2 [1973], 7-8).

The disappearance of Sogdian as a language of culture and administration did not immediately lead to its disappearance as a spoken language. Indeed, one Sogdian dialect has survived to this day as a result of its speakers' location in a remote mountain valley in northern Tajikistan. Now known as Yaghnoé, this language was estimated in 1975 to be spoken by some 2,000 persons, mostly Sunni Muslims.


2. Bactrian was the Middle Iranian language of ancient Bactria with its capital Bactra, later Balkh [q.v.]. Bactrian is generally reckoned as an Eastern Iranian language, but it is now becoming clear that it has much or most in common with Western Iranian especially Parthian, as with Eastern Iranian languages such as Sogdian and Choresmen (Khâræzamian). Unlike other Middle Iranian languages, Bactrian was usually written in the Greek script, a legacy of the conquest of Bactra by Alexander the Great. It is chiefly known from short inscriptions on coins and seals from Afghanistan and the north-west of the Indian sub-continent; a few more substantial monumental inscriptions (mostly found in Afghanistan, but also in the neighbouring areas of Uzbekistan and Pakistan); a handful of manuscript fragments from Chinese Turkistan (Xinjiang), including a unique folio in Manichaean script; and a recently-discovered group of more than 150 documents, including letters, legal and economic documents and a couple of fragmentary Buddhist texts, most of which appear to originate from the principality of Rôb (al-Tabarî's Ru'îb, modern Rûî in the northern Hindûkush). These documents now form by far the largest part of the surviving corpus of Bactrian, so that all surveys of the material written before they began to come to light in the 1990s must be regarded as seriously out of date.

The earliest Bactrian inscriptions date from the 1st to the 2nd centuries A.D., when Bactria was the centre of the Kushân empire, the latest to the 3rd/9th century. The documents belong to the intervening period, from the 4th century A.D. to the 2nd/8th century, during which time Bactria was subject to a succession of foreign rulers: the Sâstânà dynasty of Iran, the Chionites, Hepthâlites (Arabic Ḥayûlî, see Haytatîla), Turks and finally Arabs. By the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the area was substantially under Muslim control. Some of the latest Bactrian documents refer to the use of "Arab silver dirhams" and to taxes payable to the Arabs (the word used being Tâzîg), while the very last (dated in the year 549 of the local era, probably corresponding to 164/781) seems to have been written by a Muslim ruler, who prefaces the text with a Bactrian version of the hamildih.

A number of Bactrian words and titles are cited by Muslim writers, who refer to the language as al-balkhîyya (the language of Balkh) or al-tukhdriyya (the language of Tukhristân [q.v.], a term commonly used in Islamic sources but first attested in two Bactrian documents of the Hepthâlîte period, ca. 6th century A.D.). A list of Bactrian month-names is found in some manuscripts of al-Bîrûnî's Chronology, for example, though this does not seem to have the authority of al-Bîrûnî himself (see N. Sims-Williams and F. de Blois, The Bactrian calendar, in Bull. of the Asia Institute, x [1996 [1998], 149-65).


(f) New Persian.

1. General introduction: definition, position, periodisation, denominations
2. History of the language, scripts
3. Phonology, grammar, word formation, vocabulary
4. History of grammar writing: Western-type and indigenous
   1. Studies on Persian in Europe
   2. Persian grammars by indigenous authors

i. General introduction
   1. Definition

New Persian is the name given by Western scholars to the language written in modified Arabic script,
which has been used roughly in the past millennium, from the 9th century A.D. up to the present day, that is, historically, in the Islamic period of the Persian-speaking population. Geographically, it was first spoken in Western Iran, with the south-western province of Fars or Fars (Arabicised form; Late Persia) acting as a centre in mediaeval times. However, the bulk of its earliest literary documents (9th-10th centuries) originated from the north-east (Khurāsān, including Niāhāpūr, Marw, Harāt, etc.) and Central Asia; but from the late 10th century, it became the literary language in Western Iran as well. In the subsequent centuries, parallel with the Islamisation of the neighbouring countries, Persian as a language of culture, administration and everyday communication dominated vast territories ranging from Anatolia to the Indian subcontinent (North India), including Transoxania and Afghanistan, developing various written and spoken standards and dialects. Shortly after its emergence, Classical Persian became the culturally-dominant language of the area in question. Its latest representative, Modern Persian, called Fārsī by native speakers, with its closely related dialects and variations is spoken by approximately 50 million people as their mother tongue or their second standard language. Today, Modern Persian is the official language of Iran, spoken as a mother tongue by 50% of the population (ca. 30 million). Its closest relatives are Tādžīkī [q.v.], the official language of Tadžikistān, written in modified Cyrillic script, and Afghān or Kābulī Dart [q.v.], the second official language after Pashto (which was declared to be the first in 1936) [see Ariqān, ii] in Afghanistan (ca. 5 million) and, in Central Asia, in the modern republics of the former Soviet Union (ca. 5 million). These three languages, Modern Persian, Tadžīkī and Dart, regard Classical Persian as their common ancestor with which unbroken continuity is supposed to have been maintained. Therefore the latter two are sometimes described as the varieties or dialects of Persian (see G. Lazard, *Le persan*, in *Compendium linguarum iranicarum* (= CLI), ed. R. Schmitt, Wiesbaden 1989, 289; J. Wei, *Dialektale Differenzen zwischen drei standard varietäten von persisch, toehari, kahul, und tojiki*, Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America, Washington D.C. 1962; G.L. Windfuhr, *Persian, in The world’s major languages*, ed. B. Comrie, London and Sidney 1987, 523). Small segregated Persian-speaking communities can be found in neighbouring multilingual areas as well.

2. The position of New Persian among the New Iranian languages

New Persian is a member of the South Western group of the New Iranian languages within the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. From among the Western New Iranian languages (e.g. Kurdish dialects, Balōčī, etc.) New Persian is the major representative, sharing a series of phonological and grammatical features with them while also exhibiting innovations. See, for instance, the preservation of the Old Iranian initial voiced plosives b, d, g both in the South-West Iranian New Persian brādās < Middle Persian brādas < Old Iranian *bhrāt- “brother” and in the North-West Iranian Balūč brāt vs. Eastern Middle Iranian Sogdian brāšt and Eastern New Iranian Pashto uto (cf. D.N. MacKenzie, *Pashto*, in Comrie, *op. cit.*, 548). New Persian is the only New Iranian language which is documented in all three of its historical periods (Old, Middle and New Persian), displaying various local dialects as well. After an approximately two-century period of cultural and linguistic dominance of Arabic between the collapse of the Sāsānīd empire (7th century) and the emergence of a new literary Persian language (ca. mid-9th century), it became the culturally dominant language in subsequent centuries. Its first documents appeared in the eastern provinces after its having supplanted Middle Persian and Arabic in the written medium and other Middle Western and Eastern Iranian languages such as Parthian in Khurāsān, and Sogdian, Bactrian and Khārazmian in Transoxanian (cf. Lazard, *The rise of the New Persian language*, in *CHr*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 595-632).

Genetically, New Persian derives from Middle Persian, although not without breaks in the continuum. Geographically, the two preceding phases, Old Persian and Middle Persian, are linked to the regions of the southwest of Iran (i.e. the province of Fars), while New Persian appears to have emerged first as a language of literature in the East. Typologically, however, the differences between Old Persian and Middle Persian are very considerable (especially in phonology and grammar), but less so between Middle Persian and New Persian (see H. Jensen, *Neupersische Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1931, 4; Lazard 1975, 596; idem, *Les modes de la virtualité en moyen-iranien occidental*, in *Middle Iranian studies*, ed. W. Skalskiowski and A. van Tongerloo, Leuven 1984, 1-13). The changes concerned mainly the exponents of inflectional morphology which induced alterations in the language type. Old Persian, like many other old Indo-European (Greek, Latin) and Indo-Iranian (Sanskrit, Avestan) languages, was inflectional, while Middle and New Persian became a language of a mixed type displaying less inflectional and more agglutinative characteristics. That is to say, grammatical categories earlier expressed by inflection and conjugation were partially preserved, even though with significant restructuring in the verbal paradigm, but some of them were completely abandoned (see W. Sundermann, *Westmitteliranische Sprachen*, in *CLI*, 110-11). In nominal morphology, for instance, the old case system was supplanted by new ways of expressing grammatical categories such as by pre- and postpositions, *ufa* structure or word order, supposedly due, among other factors, to stress placement. As a result, analytic structures began to be dominant in New Persian morphology, while inherited Old Iranian synthetic structures came to be gradually, but not completely, abandoned. Simultaneously, the vocabulary incorporated a large number of northwestern and eastern Iranian elements (see W. Lentz, *Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache bei Firdosi*, in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, iv [1926], 251-316, and W.B. Henning, *Sogdian loan words in New Persian*, in *BSOA*, 43 [1938-42], 93-106) and, in increasing proportion, Arabic lexical items. More recently, there has been considerable borrowing from various Turkic languages and neologisms from such Western languages as French, English and Russian.

3. Periodisation

New Persian, which spans more than a thousand years, has undergone considerable changes. Persian as it appears today is markedly different from the language of the classical authors, displaying considerable variations in both the spoken and written standards. Traditionally, the periods of Persian, especially those of its written variants, are linked to the alternation of the ruling dynasties (cf. Old Persian as the official language of the Achaemenids in the 6th-7th centuries B.C., or Middle Persian, the language of the Sāsānids in the 3rd-7th centuries, and further used by the Zoroastrian clergy in religious writings in the 8th-10th
centuries; see J. de Menasce, *Zoroastrian literature after the Muslim conquest*, in *CHR*, iv, 543-65). Similarly, the emergence of New Persian is connected with the fall of the Sasanid empire and the Arab conquest. The transition periods, however, appear to be the most tangible if they are accompanied by a change in the writing system, or in close connection with a W. Change in faith. Nevertheless, neither Middle Persian and New Persian nor the various stages of the last thousand years’ history of New Persian in the Islamic era can easily be separated. It is well known from the more recent periods of Persian how much written and spoken varieties can differ from each other. Certain spoken forms were used in Persian for centuries without being incorporated in the literary language, or else they were taken over with a certain delay, sometimes centuries later, under social pressure, as a result of literary and political movements. As a consequence, the various linguistic stages can only be set up post hoc and always with a certain degree of idealisation and oversimplification. This is the more so since the transmission of all ancient texts was very uncertain because the copyists often “normalised” them by introducing or abolishing archaisms and dialecticisms. Consequently, the actual use of the language, which must have been marked by individual features and periods and changes that cannot be accounted for.

According to generally accepted views, after its emergence in the spoken registers (ca. 7th-9th centuries) New Persian is divided into Early Classical (9th-12th centuries), Classical Persian (from the 13th century on), and Modern Persian (from the 19th century on), which is supposed to be based on the local dialect of Tehran. Windfuhr provides a classification into five periods such as “formative” (7th-10th centuries), “heroic” (10th-12th centuries), “classical” (13th-15th centuries), “post-classical” (15th-19th centuries) and finally “contemporary” Persian, following a predominantly literary periodisation (Persian grammar. History and state of its study, *The Hague* 1979, 166).

Other views, found especially in former Soviet studies written in Russian, ascribe the splitting of Classical Persian into three new, closely related literary languages such as the Modern Persian of Iran (Farsi) and Afghan (or Kabuli) Dari and Tadžik to the beginning of the 16th century when the disintegration of the earlier common classical heritage and the first steps towards developing new local standards might have begun (see L.S. Peyskov, *Problema yazika daru v trudakh sovremenikh iranskikh visselkh*, in *Voprosy yazykозnania* 1960, 120-5; V.A. Yefimov, V. V. Rastorguev and Y.N. Sharova, *Persiyskiy, tadzhikski, dari v Osnov iranskogo yazykозnania (= OII)*; *Novoiranskije yazichi, zapadnaye grupp*, eds. V.A. Aabe, M.N. Bogulyubov, V.S. Rastorguev, 1982, 2 Tadžik, by I. Steblin-Kamensky; Zs. Telege, *Beitrage zur historischen Grammatik des Neupersischen. I. Ueber die Partikelkomposition im Neupersischen*, in *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, v [1955], 68 n. 1). In earlier Soviet publications the denomination “classicalny persidsko-(dari)-tadzhikskiy” (OII 1982, 20) or simply “Tadžik” (Rastorguev, *A short sketch of Tadjik grammar*, Bloomington, Ind. 1963, 1) was used to refer to the common origin, claiming an unbroken continuity with the Classical Persian language and literature (OII, 1982, 9, 15). Another periodisation marks off the last (19th-20th centuries) when the emergence of the three modern languages was supposed to have begun (A. Pisozwicz, *Origins of the Neo and Middle Persian phonological systems*, Cracow 1985, 9 n. 1; Lazard 1989, 289). The divergent opinions on the periodisation can be attributed to the different ways of evaluating spoken and written forms. The new written varieties, Dari and Tadjik, are obviously based on ancient local spoken dialects (Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 15), but the characteristic features of these dialects were first observed in written media only in the last century (W. Windfuhr, *Das Tadjischt*, in *Grundris der iranischen Philologie (= GiP)*, ed. W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, Strassburg 1895-1904, i, 2, 407-8; I.M. Oranskij, *Die neusprachlichen Sprachen des Osten*, The Hague 1975, i, 22; A. Farhádě, *Le persan parlé en Afghanistan: grammaire du Kaboli*, Paris 1955, 2; L.N. Dorofeeva, *Taqz̤ farsi-kabuli*, Moscow 1960, 9-10). Meanwhile, the overall cultural dominance of Persian, both as a common *Hofsprache* and as a spoken language continued also to prevail in the former Persian-speaking area.

### 4. Denominations

As the periodisation indicates, the division between the classical language and its modern continuations presents peculiar difficulties, reflected in the denominations of Persian in Western scholarship and in the native tradition. The two main varieties of New Persian are generally called Classical and Modern Persian in the West with further subdivisions into diachronic, local and style or register variants. In linguistic literature, both scientific and popular, New Persian is sometimes called Modern Persian (e.g. J. Darmesteter, *Etudes iraniennes, 2 vols.*, Paris 1883; H. Paper, in *Current Trends in Linguistics (= CTL)*, vi [1970], Introduction, or Windfuhr 1979, 7) vs. contemporary Persian or contemporary colloquial or Neo-Persian (see F. de Blois in *Persian literature. A bio-bibliographical survey begun by the late C.A. Storey (= PL)*, v, part 1, London 1992, part 2, 1994 or in French, neopersan (Lazard 1989, 260). Native speakers use the name Parsi or its Arabised form, Farsi, or both, without distinction (see M.T. Bahār, *Sakht-šinhā-yi tatawwur-i naafar-i Farsi, Tehran 1337/1958, i, 2), denoting all varieties of New Persian. In scholarly publications, the denomination farsi-i bâstani vs. farsi-i nowe distinguishes an “old archive” and a “new” variety of [New Persian, can also be found in Iran (see *Lughat-nāma (= LN)* by Dihlghādāt). Farsi is the name of the official language of today’s Iran, which has come to be used as an equivalent of Modern Persian, or simply Persian in modern text and grammar books outside Iran as well (A.K.S. Lambton, *Persian grammar*, Cambridge 1967, p. xi n. 1; D. Crystal, *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language*, Cambridge 1987, 301; similarly Lazard, *Le persan*, 1989, 263). In native sources the name Dari [q.v.] or Farsi-i dāri is also used, referring to the oldest and most respected variety of [Classical] literary Persian or, simply as an equivalent of Farsi or Farsi. The speakers of Tadžik, who are very closely connected to Persian, use also Farsi to designate their mother tongue (Fārsīzān, Fārsīzān, or Farsi-gū[y] Tadžik.

#### ii. History of the language

### I. The emergence of New Persian: Pahlavi, Farsi, Dari

#### 1. The native tradition

The complexity of the linguistic situation in Iran is clearly indicated by the wide range of names used for Persian since the time of its emergence, either as common names, synonyms or denominations, or without clear distinctions being made. Therefore the history of the language starts here with investigations into the early native tradition as a source of language history. The early history of the names applied to the various forms of Persian and the alleged change of
their references may elucidate the eclectic use of these denominations in more recent periods and the difficulties of the periodisation of the language history as well. It must be emphasised, though, that the authors of these early Islamic sources who spoke about the varieties of Persian or the dialects of the ancient texts as well as Persian and non-Persian dialects (see the summary in La formation de la langue persane, Paris 1995). One of the earliest sources mentioning the names Pahlavī, Pārsi and Dari, which denoted the languages used in Iran at the end of the Sāsānīd period, was attributed to Ibn al-Mukaffa (d. 757 [q.v.] by Ibn al-Nadim (p. 987) in his Fihrist and repeated by Khārazmī (d. 985), and by Yaḥyā (d. 1229) through Ḥamzah al-Ḥasānī (d. 970) (see Bahār 1958, i, 19; Lazard, Pahlavī, Pārsi, Dari. Les langues de l'Iran d'après Ibn al-Muqaffā, in Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 261-91; idem, art. Dari in Ehr, vii, 1954, 34-5). These descriptions continued to be repeated by Persian lexicographers until the 19th century, albeit with certain modifications (cf. E.M. Jeremias, Pahlavī, Pārsi and Dari in Persian lexicography, in Acta Ant. Hung., xxxviii [1998], 175-83).

In the following, some shifts in the meanings of these terms will be shown through some characteristic passages quoted from this native tradition. After talking about Pahlavī as the language of Fāhā (i.e. the ancient Media) the earliest informant, Ibn al-Mukaffa, says that Dari is "the language of the cities of Madā'm; it is spoken by those who are at the king's court. [Its name] is connected with presence at court. Among the languages of the people of Khorasan and the east, the language of the people of Bahā is predominant." He continues on to say that Pārsī is "the language spoken by the mowbeds (priests), scholars and the like; it is the language of the people of Fāhā" (translated by Lazard in his art. Dari, 34). This rather incoherent description can be better elucidated by Arabic and Persian sources originating from the subsequent (10th-11th) centuries, e.g. al-Mas'ūdī and al-Ṭūsī (Firdawsi, Šah-nāma, Hakīm Maysarf, Kaykāwīsī b. Iskandar, etc. As evidenced by these texts, the denominations Pahlavī, Pārsī and Dari may have changed their references to varying degrees during the first centuries of the Islamic era, denoting various written and spoken varieties depending on the text where they appeared. Accordingly, Pahlavī or Pahlavīti (literally meaning "Parthian" originating from Pahlāw). Pārsī and Dari may have changed their references to varying degrees during the first centuries of the Islamic era, denoting various written and spoken varieties depending on the text where they appeared. Accordingly, Pahlavī or Pahlavīti (literally meaning "Parthian") appears to have referred at one time to Parthian and Middle Persian but also to the local dialect of the northern region called Fāhā in an Arabised form (see the poems written in this dialect and called Fahlavīyya, cf. Ehr, ix, 158 and the most recent publications on this topic in Magalla-i zabāngānī, sv [1379/2000, no. 1], Pārsī, "the ancient language" first denoted Middle Persian (Pārsī as described by Ibn al-Mukaffa, but with a shift of meaning it came to mean New Persian and has continued to denote New Persian of whatever kind until today (see LN, art. Pārsī/Pārsī). Dari (etymologically, "belonging to the royal court") also denoted the Persian language which was supposed to be spoken both in the capital of the Sāsānīd empire (Ĉesiphon) and in the East. It was the name of the language of literature which appeared in the eastern part of Iran, sc. Khorāsān, and has been used in Persian texts since the 10th century. In his earlier studies, G. Lazard explained the linguistic situation of the post-Sāsānīd period by contrasting Pārsī and Dari as the written and spoken form of the same language. According to his interpretation, it was the spoken language that spread to the eastern region, as Ibn al-Mukāfā's report suggested after having gradually supplanted the local dialects (e.g. Partamian). As a spoken variety, it was supposed to have been used in the whole empire, but it was in Khorāsān that it was first used for literary purposes and became the new literary language of the subsequent centuries.

5. Early dialectal sources (8th-11th centuries): the evidence of Judaeo-Persian texts

Recently published sources on local dialects and on the Judaeo-Persian texts, however, have helped throw new light on the linguistic situation and the rise of the new literary language in the first centuries of the Islamic era, as described earlier (Lazard, Lumieres nouvelles sur la formation de la langue persane: une traduction du Coran en persan dialectal et ses affinités avec le judéo-persan, in Iran-Judaica, ii, ed. Sh. Shaked and A. Netzer, Jerusalem 1990, 184-98 = 1995, 107-21). A manuscript discovered in Mahzázd which contained an anonymous and undated Kurān translation (Kurān-i Kud, kuburariin baghārān-i Kurān bā farsi, ed. 'A. Rawākī, Tehran 1362/1984) was written in a local dialect of Sistān in the 11th century, as supposed by Lazard. This text shares a series of dialectal features with Judaeo-Persian texts (mainly Bible translations and paraphrases), and both show common peculiari-
which had spread throughout the north, but evinced the influence of the dialects that it had supplanted there, particularly Parthian. It thus diverged noticeably from the original form. Both were called Parsi (Persian), but it is very likely that the language of the north, that is, the Persian used on former Parthian territory and also in the Sasanian capital, was distinguished from its congener by a new name, Dorb (language of the court). It was only natural that several centuries later, literary Persian, based on the speech of the Northeast, bore the same name" (1994, 35; see also 1989, 263 n. 1).

This hypothetical reconstruction might be extended in the future by investigating other Persian sources as well, the text editions of which are far from being completed, and these may help clarify some more details. True, there are other interpretations also. For instance, Khānlarī has developed the (unlikely) hypothesis, relying on al-Mukaddasī’s report (10th century), that Dorb, the chancery language of Bukhārā, had been transported there from the royal court of the Sāsānids by the state officials (1986, i, 280-1).

4. More recent native sources on the languages of Iran: lexicography and grammar from the 17th-19th centuries

Extensive descriptions of the languages used in Iran, like those of Ibn al-Mukaffa’ and his contemporaries, can only be found much later, in the huge Hinduastānī lexicographic compilations written in and after the 17th century. These works, of which the most famous are the Farangī-i Dākhānīī (=FD), 1609-8, ed. R. Affifi, Mashhad 1351/1972; Burhān-i kātī (=BK), 1652, ed. M. Mu’in, Tehran 1341/1962; and Farangī-i Rāghādī (=FR), 1654, ed. M. Aβbāf, Tehran 1337/1958 (see KĀM. 2. Persian lexicography), partly preserved the old heritage and partly added some new information on language varieties, grammar, style of letter writing, etc. These accounts about the grammar, dialects, history and vocabulary of Persian, which occasionally bear witness to fantasy at work, were collected in chapters and placed as an introductory part to the farangī, serving as a kind of grammatical introduction. The very first chapters usually dealt with the varieties of Persian (Pārsī) which were supposed to be of seven gūnā “species”: four of them (haraṣ, sagz, ʒaŋd̪ut and raŋg) were regarded as obsolete (matrād), in which “letter, book and verse cannot be written” (FD 15; FR 46) and three others as currently used (matadād), these being Dorb, Paḫvāst and Pārsī. Apart from the suprising fact that these languages were treated as the variations of Pārsī still in living use in Iran in the 17th century (e.g. Pārsī was described as the common language of Iran, with InstanceState as its capital), they covered slightly or markedly different notions as compared to earlier sources, but also contained ideas similar to those found in the first grammatical compilations that relied heavily on lexicography, e.g. ‘Aḥad al-Wāsī Hāfṣī’s Rūsāl from 18th-century India (lith. Kānpūr 1872) or Irawānī’s Kāvādī (lith. Tabriz) 1262/1846; see Jeremias, Tradition and innovation in the native grammatical literature of Persian, in Histoire, Épistémologie, langage (Paris), xv [1993], 51-68). In these denominations were treated fairly consistently in these sources, differences existing only in detail, emphasis and arrangement. In comparison with older sources, however, the authors of these compilations did not bother to reconcile the most contradictory and fabulous accounts in the description of the single languages; they simply quoted them as differing opinions on the same subject (e.g. on Dorb: “some said that it was spoken in Balkh, Marw, Bukhārā, Badakshān . . ., but according to others it was spoken in the Kayânī court, and then there were those who regarded it as the purest, unmixed language” (see FR 47; FD 16; BK 20, 500). Entirely new motives also appeared in these descriptions: one was something like “ideological”, and another might be called “linguistic argument”. Both concerned the repuation of Persian and the languages spoken by different peoples. The eminence of Persian as the second language after Arabic was illustrated by various stories and supported by a tāfṣīr [q.v.] called Daylamī with the intention of symbolising the role of Pārsī as a common language in the whole empire (BK 500; Irawānī, fol. 4b, see Jeremias 1998, 181). The superiortiy or dignity of the Islamic languages like Arabic, Persian or Ottoman Turkish appears to have been a matter of debate since the 15th century, enthusiastically treated by Mir ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī and Kemal Paşa-zāda [q.v.].” (see R. Brunschvig, Kemal Pāḥāzādah le persan, in Mélanges d’orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé, Tehran 1963, 48-64 (=Études d’islamologie, Paris 1976, i, 379-95); B.G. Fragner, Mir ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī: the “Jugendm” reconsidered, in Iran-Τurkic cultural contacts in the 11th-17th centuries, ed. E. Jeremias, Budapest 2002; idem, Die “Persophonie”. Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens, in Anor, v, Halle-Berlin 1999).

This linguistic argument was even more clearly spelled out in the 17th-century lexicography where Dorb was treated. The compilers declared that “Dorb is the language in which there is no deficiency (m ukānī)” (see FD 16; FR 47; BK 20). The idea of m ukānī seemed to denote something missing from the “authorised” (suḥḥ) form. In fact, this assumption is corroborated by various stories, the authors quoted two lists of doublets: nouns with the same meaning, but written with or without the initial aṯf, which represented the vocalic core, e.g. aṯr aθr-hututm “silk”, aṯr aθr-qalut ‘white’, aṯr aθr-dhakum “belly”, aṯr aθr “camel” etc. and imperative verbal forms with or without the verbal prefix bī-, e.g. bī- rās rū “go”, bī- bās bāw “listen”, etc. According to the commentary, the “defective” words are not correct Darī forms. The sources say almost unanimously that Persian is regarded as “correct, uncorrupted” (fasih) only if there is no m ukānī in it.

This very peculiar interpretation of Darī goes back to the traditional treatment of lexical and grammatical doublets based on a peculiar analysis of the (morphological) structure of the word. Ancient lexicographers and prosodists listed all the so-called “meaningful letters” (hu ruf-i ma’dnāt) occurring in different positions in the word, first at the end where rhymes denoted the base which marked any additional element, mainly inflectional and derivational morphemes attached to this base form. Later, the term ma’dnāt came to be used in a somewhat different meaning in lexicography denoting any letter which was added to or removed from the base form without changing its meaning (cf. Jeremias, ma’dnāt and aṯf in early Persian prosody, in JSAL, xxi [1997], 167-86). All the sources from the 17th century seemed to agree that these doublets were used only in poetry as required by prosody but never in common speech. However,
talking about Dari, the author of FR (47) added that the "defective" forms were also used in towns, by which he probably meant that these forms were used both in poetry and the spoken idiom. The problem with the past forms was in a way that it was sometimes quite confusing. Imperative forms may appear with or without the verbal prefix bi- in literary texts. But it was obligatory for the imperative in genuine sabtā darāi forms, as Shams-i Kays remarked (232). Prestigious authors such as Ni'mat Allah (ca. 1540, cf. A.M. Piemontese, Catalogo dei manoscritti persiani conservati nelle bibliothèque d'Italia, Rome 1898, no. 403, fol. 296) or even earlier, Muhammad b. Hindishā Shāh-či (sp.), the author of Shāh-i Farsī (1392), seems to share this opinion (cf. Æ "come" imperative) bo-mōšē dar-ā wa bi-yē'd, ed. A. Ta'ṣāt, Tehran 1941/1962, 19). Moreover, BK and FL distinguish between the different functions of the verbal prefix bi-; it was regarded as obligatory in the imperative but obsolete in past forms, where it was used as embellishment. This usage may have indicated a change in the language (see below, on grammar). In more recent native sources, however, this distinction seems to have become dimmed and the verbal prefix bi- in both present and past forms was called "bi" in most cases. This is an element which only has an aesthetic function (cf. FR, 15; Hansāwī, 3; Irawānī, fol. 22b). This topic was also dealt with by Irawānī (1846), who used a strange "linguistic" argument proving the eminence of Persian against other Islamic languages; this argument rests on its [grammatical] simplicity: there is no trāb, no dual and no feminine gender which would make the language difficult for beginners, says Irawānī (fol. 30r).

The scattered references on language and its different variations may help one to draw the following conclusions. It seems to be a communis opinio that from the very beginnings the most highly respected literary variety of Persian was called Darāi in indigenous sources, sometimes as an extension, and sometimes as an equivalent of Parsī or Farsī, and this view continued to prevail in subsequent centuries. More recent sources, however, tend to talk about the "rules of Farsī" or Farsi (see Ni'mat Allah, 'Abd al-Wāsī Hansāwī, Khowān 'Ali Dāmānī, Irawānī, Taḥākānī, Habīb Iṣlāhmānī, to mention only a few, cf. the references in PL, iii/1, 1984, 125ff.). But despite this preference for the name Darāi in older sources, the denominations Parsī, Farsi or Farsī-i Darāi or Darāi seem to have been used almost interchangeably. One must not forget that these eclectic sources did not use well-defined terms when they talked about language. On the contrary, literary persons (akh-ī zabān) usually thought of the language in terms of "ancient" or "modern" and "common (spoken) or "dialectal" forms. The reason for that was quite obvious: there was no grammatical tradition in Persian, "no exact norm (mikyās) of the rules (kawdmān) of Persian (Darāi) on the basis of which the correct (sabtā) and corrupt (fīsād) usage could be defined and on which one could rely when defining what was right (sawād) and wrong (khatā) in Persian speech (kalam-i Parsī), to which one could turn in case of need," thus noted by Shams-i Kays in the 13th century (ep. cit., 205) and repeated almost word for word by Shams-i Fakhrā in the 14th century (Lexicon persicum et est liber Mīyāw i' Gāmālī pars quarta, ed. C. Salesmann, Kazan 1887, 3), and the author of FL in the 17th century (4). But even if writers were unaware of the fine grammatical distinctions of social or historical dimensions, they must have had some knowledge of the differences between

the usage of the "ancient" (mutakaddāmin) and "modern" (muta'ākārīn) poets (see Shams-i Kays, 208-9) or of the language of literary or common speech (mukhāsaranā pārsī, in FL, 42; BK, 26; Habīb Iṣlāhmānī, Darātāri sadīq-i Farsi [Farsi] sudān-i haftād, 1991, 7) or poetry and prose (see 'Abd al-Wāsī Hansāwī, 41; Habīb Iṣlāhmānī, 15). Scattered hints at some "virtual" norm in Shams's poetic manual, which never came to be institutionalised, or the lists of doublets and denominations such as Farsi-i kadīm (FL, 8; FR, 47), Farsi-i bāstānī (FL, 4; BK 500) in lexicography might serve as proofs (cf. Jereumāj, Grammar and linguistic consciousness in Persian, in Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies, ii, ed. C. Melville, Wiesbaden 1989, 19-31). The literary model was but the poets' use of the language, which was far from being uniform. This discrepancy between linguistic and literary norms may be the very reason for the lack of clarity and the contradictions in the sources (see the definition of Darāi in LN: zabān-i pārsī-i rasmi-mā hadīmī: imāra "the official Persian language used today"), which makes the separation of Farsi and Darāi almost impossible. Paradoxically, however, the lack of a strictly regulated norm preserved more of the linguistic reality of the previous periods. As the Pahlāwī writings from the 9th-10th centuries attest, the knowledge of the "old" language, that is, Middle Persian, and its inscrutable script was a privilege of a few. However, Persian was never abandoned but was allowed to thrive in the spoken idiom and from the mid-9th century in the East, and from the end of the 10th century in the West, it began to regain its position in culture and literature (cf. IRAN, v. History [a]). Moreover, Persian not only survived as a spoken idiom, and began to appear in the written documents, but was also imported by Muslim conquerors into further eastern areas, unlike the other territories of the caliphate, and a considerable proportion of the Arab population which had settled in the towns of Iran were assimilated rapidly. In the subsequent centuries, in Transoxania, Afghanistan, North India (and later also westwards to Anatolia), Persian became the main literary language. But this new literary language, which is called New Persian and was based on the spoken variety of the East, showed essentially new characteristics due to the impact of Arabic and the culture imported by this language. Despite the Persians' increasing national identity, Arabic as the language of science became gradually adopted and cultivated by a growing number of significant scholars of Iranian origin (cf. C.E. Bosworth, The political and dynastic history of the Iranian
world (A.D. 1000-1217), in CHIR, v. 4). Contemporaneously, models of Arabic scientific thinking began to be adapted to Persian. The sphere of literature adduces a good example of this development: although Iranians retained and cherished the ancient tradition in mind and memory, as Firdausi’s Siyāh-nāma shows, Persian poets tried to follow the rules of the Arabic prosody from the other hand, the general respect and poetry, in sharp contrast to the previous literary canons. As a consequence, the following centuries saw the infiltration of a large number of Arabic loan words into New Persian (ca. 30% in the 10th century and 50% in the 12th century: cf. Lazard, Les emprunts arabes dans la prose persane du Xe au XIIe siècle: apéru statistique, in Revue de l’École nationale des langues orientales, ii [1965], 53–67; ‘A.A. Sadiki, The Arabic element in Persian, in EL, ii, 229–31). As a result, Persian, as a new literary language “appears to have from the start a mixed language, based on the Persian dialect but bearing marked traces of other Iranian dialects and infiltrated with Arabic words” (Lazard 1975, 597). This mixed nature of Persian, and the fact that their language is essentially different from those of their neighbours, was well known to the Iranians themselves from the start, as evidenced by the first works in literary sciences (prosody and lexicography), which mixed Persian letters, words and word formation in most cases. Moreover, this knowledge subsisted until quite recently in the native tradition (see “the [farsi] language is a mixture of two languages” (mawṣak aṣ du zabān), written by Habib Iṣfahāni, op. cit., preface, 4, in the 19th century).

III. Classical Persian and its variants

The script, religion and literary models (e.g. the new system of versification) are the most decisive characteristics which distinguish the period of New Persian from the previous ones (see, also W.B. Henning, Die Schrift als Symbol der Einheit des Mitteliranischen, in Mitteliranisch, Hdb. d. Or., I, iv, Iranistik, Linguistik, Leiden-Köln 1958, 21). Despite its bewildering variety at the outset—Khūrašān and Sīrān especially displayed markedly distinctive features—New Persian appears to have become a surprisingly “unified” literary language after the 13th century (Lazard 1963, 23–4) and continued to be regarded as such during the subsequent centuries. This is a process which the common name Farsi indicates. But this was an apparent homogeneity which might be attributed to at least two main factors: the highly conservative script, which remained practically unchanged over the last thousand years, and the prestige of Classical Persian literature. Due to its Semitic character, the Arabic script by its very nature disguised changes in the pronunciation of words or in the meaning in most cases of the grammatical morphemes, giving the impression of a static language situation. One of the reasons for the admiration surrounding the classical literature, especially poetry, helped keep the language of the classical authors alive for centuries until fairly recently.

It does not mean, however, that men of letters and scholars were or are not aware how significantly speech and writing differ in Persian (see, for instance, P.N. Khānārī, Zabān u leḥāja, in Dar bān-i zabān-i farsi, Tehran 1340/1961, 75–85; M.R. Bātinī, Tawṣif-i sīhāmān-i dastār-i zabān-i farsi, Tehran 1348/1969, 11; ‘A.A. Sadiki, Zabān-i farsi wa ganuhi-i madhāfat-i din, in Ferang u zāndegī, ii [1349/1970], 61–6; T. Waḥhāyīn, Dastār-i zabān-i ʿemīnāna-i farsi, Tehran 1343/1964). However, the first attempts to include linguistic expressions closer to the colloquial style in text and grammar books (e.g. Sadiki, and Gh. Arzhang, Dastār, Sāvī i shanawm, Tehran 2535/1976) were received with sharp criticism at first (see M.S. Mawliʿī, in Tagmān, xxx [2536/1977], 245–51), though it was common experience that the characteristic features of classical and modern standards, even the least formal or vulgar forms, could appear in literature either intermingled in the same text, or else clearly distinguished. This might also explain why the language is simply called Farsi, that is, “Persian” implying all the variants. The differences between the diachronic (“les formes anciennes” Lazard 1989, 288) and synchronic variants (formal and colloquial standards, local usage or the new literary standards like Tādīkī and Afghan Dari) in phonology, grammar and vocabulary came to be described by linguists, although much remains to be done. It must be emphasised, however, that the apparent variations in the grammar of Persian do not always reflect ongoing changes in the language but rather the standardisation process of the literary language. As the formation of the Classical Persian literary language clearly testifies, dialectal or colloquial forms may have disappeared or become incorporated in the written language, occasionally or else in varying degrees, depending on the literary genre. Poetry, for instance, preserved more of the earlier archaic forms, supposedly due to the requirements of prosody, while prose displayed considerable variation in the same genre (see, for instance, the early tasfīr, in Jeremias, Some grammatical problems of early New Persian syntax, in Proceedings of the second European conference of Iranian studies, Rome 1995, 325–34). This linguistic diversity was occasionally associated with divergent stylistic values. For instance, some recurrent patterns could be classified either as archaic, dialectal or colloquial or as social variants. This was mainly due to the lack of a firmly established linguistic norm based on a highly respected canon such as the Kūrān in Arabic, on the basis of which the grammar of the language might have been worked out. Paradoxically, this diversity inside Classical Persian or between classical and modern usage, and the maintenance of the classical literary norm, causes difficulties in defining stages in the linguistic history of Persian (see A.V. Rossi, Sprachwandel und historische Übergänge in der münzischen Literatur, in Transition periods in Iranian history, Studia Iranica, Galil 5, 1987).

IV. Modern Persian: spoken and written variants

This phenomenon gives a special status to Persian: the fact that even today, native speakers can understand (though not always in the strictly linguistic sense of the word) ancient texts, and by reading and memorising them they become acquainted with some grammatical characteristics of the ancient language, sometimes dating from a thousand years back. The message of verse or prose written occasionally (not typically) by modern authors in the style of the ancient language seems to be fully understood (see, for instance, Partizād u Perimān by Sādik Čubak in the collection of short stories, Ćarāgāh-i ʿakhrī, Tehran 1948). In these literary works, the ancient language is imitated by using “classicsising” grammatical archaisms like obsolete prepositions or verbal forms. The maintenance of this very formal style as a literary norm has been backed by social institutions: this language was taught in school as the norm of Persian. The same divergence between the newly-arising spoken variant and its acceptance as a literary (written) standard is likely to have existed throughout the modern period, which makes it almost impossible to tell the
exact point in time of the beginnings. But Modern Persian, as it appears today, is distinctly different from the classical language, displaying also a wide range of social, dialectal, diachronic and stylistic variations, which are consciously used by authors in most cases. Style, therefore, remains one of the most essential factors in the definition of Modern Persian (see C.T. Hodge, *Some aspects of Persian style*, in *Language*, xxxii [1957], 355-69).

The crucial question is, therefore, in what sense the term Modern Persian is used. It is generally linked with the spoken dialect of Tehran (see IRAN, vii, Literature; J. Trowihi, *Studies in the phonetics and phonology of Modern Persian*, Hamburg 1974; Pevskiy 1960; Wajdiyin 1964; etc.). This view is a consequence of the periodisation which marks the beginning of the modern period with the rule of the Kadjar dynasty, with the capital Tehran as a centre from the 19th century onwards. It must be emphasised, however, that, on the one hand, certain typical characteristics of Modern Persian's formal and informal standards can be traced back in other local dialects as well. That is, not all the typical features of Modern Persian can be restricted topographically to Tehran and chronologically to the 19th century, though there are many belonging to them. For instance, from the 15th century on, a set of "archaisms" (e.g. the verbal prefixes hami- instead of mii- or bi- with past forms such as bi-gift and certain preposition like far, far? or the combination of the pre- and postposition mar . . . ra, etc.) were gathered in a separate chapter and labelled as *embellishments* (*zanat, typah*) by native lexicographers (*Laghat-i Nma* Aliah; FD: BK: TF), clearly indicating their archaic character. Similar lists were repeated from time to again until recent times in native lexicography and grammar (see 'Abd al-W?si H?ns?wi; Iraw?n). As well, this shows that native scholars came to realise that grammatical forms such as certain prepositions or verbal forms, abundantly used in ancient texts, had ceased to belong to living usage. They became obsolete and served only as a "decoration" of style for their age (see Teleld 1955, 134 ff.; M. Bakr, *Bi-zmat bar sar-i farsi*, (*The ornamental verbal prefix bi-*), in *MDA Teb*, viii [1961], 1-10; Jeremias 1993, 63, 1997, 183). Similarly, in some of the earliest descriptions of Persian in the West—though not in all of them—the verbal morpheme bi- prefixed to simple past forms was characterised as redundant or pleonastic (W. Jones, *A grammar of the Persian language*, London 1828, 49; J. Platts, *A grammar of the Persian language*, London 1894, 174; C. Salemann and V. Shukovski [Zukovskiy], *Studien zur persischen Grammatik*, Berlin 1899, 60). Beyond doubt, these grammars were intended to describe the language of the Classical texts, but occasionally hints were made at the living usage, which might have differed from the classical forms in many ways. Early evidence for this may be the first collections of Persian and non-Persian spoken local dialects from the last century. Z?kovskiy, one of the first dialectologists of Persian patois, immediately recognised the richness of the non-standard Persian local varieties during his first field trip (1893-96) along the Tehrana-Shahrud-Kaf?n route. In his materials of Persian and non-Persian dialects, and in those of his later followers such as O. Mann (1901-3, 1906-7), K. Hadank and A. Christensen, a set of characteristic features which are the same or similar to those of the spoken (colloquial) language of Tehran appears. See some examples from the phonology and morphology: (a) *dN > u* or *Zukovskiy, Materializya izuchenii persidskikh narov*, i, St. Petersburg, 1888, 212; V.W. Geiger, *Kleine Dilatikale und Dialektgruppen*, in *GPH*, i, 2, 357, 422; K. Hadank, *Die Mundarten von Khuras?, in *Kurdist-Persische Forschungen*, 1926, iii, 1, XXXIX; A. Christensen, *Iranische Dialektforschungen, Nachlass von F.C. Andreas*, zusammen mit Kaj Barr und W.B. Henning, in *Abhandl. Gittingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Dritte Folge, Nr. 11, 1939, 15; Lambton, *Three Persian dialects*, London 1938, 44; O.I. Smirnova, *Izuchenii geograf ilirishia*, Moskow 1978, 13; (b) the colloquial variations of the verbal personal affixes in Singh, *ad > ε* (ε, ι, ε, etc.) (Geiger in *GPH*, 411; Mann, *Die Mundart der Mekri Karden*, in *Kurdist-Persische Forschungen*, iv, III, 1, 1906, LXXV; idem, *Die T?f- und denvers der Persischen Farsi*, in *KFE*, i, 1909, 24; Christensen, op. cit., 267), in Pl. 2, *ad > an, -i(t)* and in Pl. 3, *and > an, -i* (Mann, op. cit., 1909, 25); (c) the progressive verbal forms constructed with the auxiliary *d?st* collected in Isfah?n in 1885 (see Zukovskiy, *Osobennoe izuchenii glagola *d?st* v persidskom razgovornom yazike*, in *ZVARO* in [1888], 376-77; A.Z. Rozsenfeld, *Vospomagatel'nyaya funktsiya glagola *d?st* v sovremennom persidskom yazike*, in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedemye*, v [1948], 305-310) and also used in the Central dialects and Mazandaran (see the bibl. in Jeremias, *On the genesis of the periphrastic progressives in Iranian languages*, in *Mehroonima* [1993], 104 n. 10), (d) colloquialisms in the nominal morphology: the omission of the *id?fa* vowel (*Zukovskiy, 1888, 214) or the determinative morpheme, the stressed suffix *-ad > -i, (ε* (Hadank, op. cit., 10-13, Christensen, op. cit., 42), etc. This collection of the relevant features seem to support the opinion that some essential characteristics of Modern Persian, both its literary written form (*farsi-i muhdwara'i*) and its oral variants (*farsi-i dikho?l*), its oral variants (*farsi-i muhdwara'i*), must have existed centuries earlier. Its modern descriptions, however, are primarily based on the usage as it is written and spoken in Tehran (*farsi-i *d?m?y?ne*), the present capital of Iran, which is becoming the common spoken standard all over Iran through the modern mass media (cf. Lavard 1989, 299; F?wiczoc; 9). V. Scripts 1. Perso-Arabic script a. New Persian, including its chronological and dialectal variants used in Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia (except Tadjik [q.v.] in the 20th century), since the Islamic conquest has been written predominantly with the Arabic script augmented with four modified letters for denoting peculiar Persian phonemes (p, ϕ, χ, ψ, ž, ẑ, ẑ, etc.) which do not exist in Arabic. These "Persian letters" were created from their nearest equivalent letters (b, w, j, x, ẑ, ẑ, etc.), and both series continued to be used in the manuscript tradition until the 12th century and beyond (for the details of adaptation from the time of Sibawayhi [8th century a.c.] see P. Horn, *Neupersische Schriftprache*, in *GPH*, i/2, 12; Lazard 1963, passim; F. Meier, *Ausprechfragen des alters neupersich*, in *Orins*, xxvii-xxviii [1981], 71; Kh?nlar?, *Wz?i *g?r*-i *farsi*, Tehran 1354/1975, 117, etc.). The Arabic writing being a Semitic, consonantal alphabet, it was not designed for an Indo-European language like Persian, consisting as it did only of consonantal signs (baf) representing the semantic load whereas, in Central Iranian consonants and vowels are of equal value. In this system vowels are represented only partially and in various ways: by consonantal letters, orthographic devices and superscript signs. In the script, therefore, there is no one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes (e.g. the geminated consonants are written with one baf with
the superscript sign called tashdid as hism = hamzah ([“bath” in most cases], although there is a regularity in denoting or omitting certain phonemes. The Persians, while having for most part the fixed letters and the principles of the Arabic writing, developed innovations in order to denote the peculiarities of the Persian language. In the Semitic system, three letters (kaf, ayn, and waw) are used to mark long vowels ā, ē, ī and the sequences āy, āw (traditionally called diphthongs), whereas short vowels remain normally unwritten. Exceptions are the word initial and word final positions: word initial short vowels (a, i, u) are represented graphically by the letter alef and their long equivalents with alif and the corresponding kaf (ka‘a or wa‘a). Furthermore, the letter alif is the sign of the glottal stop which is practically used as an orthographic device following the principles of the Arabic (Semitic) orthography which do not allow a syllable to start with vowels, and do not allow a sequence of two vowels (cf. G. Endress, Die arabischen Schrift, in Grundriss der arabischen Philologie, i, ed. W. Fischer, Wiesbaden 1982, 163-97, e.g. ‘kran = aktun “now”, ‘fīdam = ‘ifdad “to fall” and ‘īn = ‘ifdān “Isfahan”, ‘ū = ‘u “be/she” and ‘īn = ‘ān “Iran”.

Initial long ā and ē are rendered with alif surmounted by the superscript sign maddi.

The Perso-Arabic script gradually developed a special system of denoting word final short vowels (a, i, u) in the Classical Persian transcription system and ē, in the Modern system) by the “silent” letters (hayn-i haraka), e.g. kād: s‘īmah = Shah-nāma, kh = k (in ancient texts also written as š, k and wa‘ā, e.g. dī = “two” and tī = “you”, but tr = tī = “you (acc.)”). Historically short vowels (a, i, u) can be denoted orthographically in all positions by superscript signs (zām or zahr in Modern Persian) = Ar. fathā, zār = Ar. kāra and pāsh = Ar. domāmā. In ancient manuscripts, the early calligraphic word long vowels (mājīhāt ā and ē were distinguished occasionally by special superscript signs on the letters yā and waw (e.g. Codex Vindobonensis, ed. F.R. Seligmann, Vienna 1859, and Bukhārā Persian texts, cf. Horn, in GIPh, 1/2, 33; the Lahore Tafsīr (majhīl ē), cf. MacKenzie. The evolut-

The orthography of alif and hamza representing phonemes or serving as orthographical devices display intricate problems both in Arabic and Persian. The complexity or sometimes confusion in their description can be ascribed to the double adaptation (first of the Nabatean Aramaic writing to Arabic in the late 7th century, then the Arabic script to Persian) and to its relatively late standardisation. Its orthography was not yet fixed in the 9th century (see Endress, 189). A Persian characteristic of the orthography is that hamza, the sign of the glottal stop in Arabic, does not necess-

The Perso-Arabic script, which is written from right to left, contains 32 letters: 28 letters are taken over from Arabic plus four special Persian letters supplied with three dots. But not all the letters distinguish phonemes in Persian (see below, iii. Phonology). These letters (allographs) came mainly, but not exclusively through Arabic loan words, e.g. ẓ, ẓī = /zd/, ẓī = /zd/, ẓāf = /għ/, ẓāf = /għ/, ẓāf = /g/, ẓāf = /g/ (or zero). Some of these letters (ẓ) do occur in words of Persian origin due to various reasons, e.g. as reflexes of earlier linguistic periods or the unified and wavering orthography (see, for instance, pārdī-tar, in Modern Persian pronunciation pāzdī-tar, and pārdītgāh) = TURNER (see Horn, in GIPh, 1977; Meier 1981, 105). The digraph khī/khī = ⟨kh⟩ is a remnant of the aramaic spelling of a labialised fricative (Pisowicz, 201). Ancient manuscripts show sporadically the spellings of the early Persian period. E.g. the triple-dotted letter fī (J) denoted the postvocalic sibilant labiodental /ʃ/ (see also some sparse examples in word-initial position in Lazard 1963, 137-8; idem, 1989, 264; Meier 1981, 72; Pisowicz, 119), and the dotted dīl (J) denoted the spi-

The first attempts to put Persian texts into Arabic script originate from the 9th century. After some fluctua-

For the various styles of handwriting, see Cyriath., ii.

2. Non-Arabic scripts used for New Persian texts (for a summary, see Meier, 188-9; Lazard 1989, 264-5)

(a) Hebrew characters have been used from the 8th century onwards by Jewish communities to denote their own dialect called Judaeo-Persian (j.b.), related very closely to the southern dialect of early New Persian.

(b) an undated bilingual Poem-fragment written by Christians in New Persian with Syriac characters has been preserved in the materials found in Chinese Turkestan (see F.W.K. Müller, Ein syrisch-neupersisches Poemelbruchstück aus Chinesisch-Turkestan, in Festschrift Eduard Suchan, ed. G. Weil, Berlin 1915, 215-22; W. Sundermann, Einige Bemerkungen zum syrisch-neup-

(c) Among the fragments written in Manichean script there are also some New Persian texts (see M. Boyle, A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichean script in the German Turfan collection, Berlin 1960, 150; W.B. Henning, Persian poetical manuscripts

(d) Religious writings and a fragmentary dictionary were written by Armenian Christians in their own script in the 9th century (see Pisowicz, 70).

(e) The Latin script was used by travellers and missionaries to describe Persian texts for centuries, the supposedly oldest one in the Codex Cumanicus written in the 13th century (see D. Monchi-zadeh, 1962). Early glossaries were compiled in the 13th century (see D. Monchi-zadeh, 1962). Early glossaries were compiled in the 13th century (see D. Monchi-zadeh, 1962). Early glossaries were compiled in the 13th century (see D. Monchi-zadeh, 1962). Early glossaries were compiled in the 13th century (see D. Monchi-zadeh, 1962). Early glossaries were compiled in the 13th century (see D. Monchi-zadeh, 1962).


The most significant characteristics of the phonological development in New Persian are the loss of contrast between long and short vowels and the lowering of the historically short high vowels /i/ > /e/; and /a/ > /o/. Early Classical Persian contained two more long vowels /e/ and /o/ which merged with /i/ and /a/ by the Classical period (see F. Meier, Aussprachfragen des älteren Neupersisch, in Ortes, xxvii-xviii [1981], 70-176). The vowels /y/ and /w/ as well as the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ (or, according to others, with high, mid-high and low (d) Religious writings and a fragmentary dictionary were written by Armenian Christians in their own script in the 9th century (see Pisowicz, 70).

II. Phonology

phoneme is restricted to certain medial and final positions before and after consonants in careful speech represented with the letter 'ɣn and the signs hamza or alef, such as ma'lmum/malum "known", al-áin/alain "now" or ròb/robii "quarter". It can also occur in intervocalic position in words of Arabic origin in place of the genuine /a/ (cf. Kramsky, 1979, 143-4; Lazard 1989, 266). The syllable structure is V, CV, VC, CVC, VCC, and CVCC, if initial glottal stop is disregarded. But their types are CV, CVG and CVCC if it is regarded as a separate phoneme. There are no genuine clusters in initial position in New Persian. Old and Middle Persian initial clusters were replaced by syllables containing prothetic or anaphoric vowels (Middle Persian sîd > Classical Persian sîd or sîd / sîd / Modern Persian sîd "white"). For details, see J. Kramsky, A study in the phonology of Modern Persian, in J.O. lit [1939], 66-83; C.T. Scott, Syllable structure in Tehran Persian, in Anthropological Linguistics, V [1964], 27-30; Windfuhr 1979, 143-4; Lazard 1989, 266.

Stress in Modern Persian is expository and non-phonemic. In general it falls on the final syllable of non-verbal forms (nouns, adjectives, adverbs). Certain conjunctions, adverbs and particles have initial stress, such as wâlī "but", dîr "yes", ãdâ "whether", etc. Nouns (incl. infinitives, participles or verbal nouns) retain their final stress if the following suffices are attached to them: final particle (hârâ), definite article (al-), the connecting vowel of the idafa -e, the conjunction -e and, ham "also" or one of the pronominal clitics -am, -at, -ast, -mân, -tân, -gân or, one of the clitical forms of the verb "to be" -am, -i, ast, -im, -i, -and. By contrast, the plural markers -hâ and -an carry the stress (kedâb-hâ "books", zân-ân "women") and forms in apostrophe (vocative) preserve an archaic initial stress (pedâr (voc) vs. pedâr (nom) "father"). On the other hand, all verbal forms have non-final stress (except for the form of the 3rd person singular in the simple past, which carries the stress on the final syllable, e.g. kharid "bought"). It may fall on the stem (kharâd-am "I bought"), on the verbal prefixes (mi-khar- "I am buying/I buy", bi-khar-am "[that] I buy"), on the preverbs (bî mi-andâz- "he abolishes") or on the nominal part of the verbal phrase (hâfî mi-zan- "I am speaking/I speak"). The verbal prefixes of negation or prohibition (ma-, ne-, ma-) are always stressed (nem-khar-am "I am not buying/I do not buy", ni-khar- "I did not buy", ma-khar "don't buy"). In true compounds or in compound nominal phrases, a secondary (weaker) stress may occur on the first nominal element in addition to the main or primary stress, e.g. ates-pardst "fire-worshipper", kedâb-e pedâr "the father's book".

As the examples attest, stress is relatively fixed in words and phrases. However, it may be weakened, shifted or completely disappear according to the speaker's purport, if there is emphasis upon the sentence, e.g. hâtî mi-zan- vs. hâtî mi-zan- am. In a typical sentence, the primary stress falls on the last syntagm, which is normally a verb or verbal phrase. At the beginning, a conjunction, an adverb or a vocative may appear with initial accent followed by nominal phrases with final or nearly final accent. Affirmative sentences have a falling intonation, but in interrogative sentences the pitch rises.

Although stress is non-phonemic, certain phonemic sequences may appear as contrasting minimal pairs, such as màdî - màdî, ãdâ - ãdâ, kharî - kharî. In colloquial Persian there are several such minimal pairs originated from contracted
forms, e.g. kharidan (< kharīd-ām) "I have bought" vs. kharid-am "I bought".


The transcription of Classical Persian phonemes, e.g. "I have bought" kharid-am (< kharide am) is based on two stems, i.e. present (I) or past (II). Past stems always end in dental plosives (after vowels, n, r in -d, otherwise in -t) and are derived from infinitives by dropping the ending -an. Present stems can be either regular or irregular. The first group can be obtained from past stems by cutting -t, e.g. kharidan "to buy" → kharit- (II) → khar (I). Present stems of irregular verbs are to be found in vocabulary, e.g. karden "to do" → kard- (II), kon- (I) or didan "to see" → did- (II), bin- (I). Certain groups of irregular verbs share certain common features in deriving their present stems from past stems, e.g. sikhātan "to make" → sikhāt (II), sīzā (II), gorkhtān "to fire" → gorkhāt- (II), gorg- (I) or formudān "to order" → formudāt (II), farnāyī (I), sourudān "to sing" → sourūd- (II), saravy- (I), etc. (see more details in Lazard 1992, 131-5).

Verbal stems can combine with two sets of personal suffixes: the first set is attached to the forms based on stem (I): 1.-am, 2.-i, 3.-ad in singular and 1.-im, 2.-id, 3.-and in plural; the second set attached to the forms constructed with the stem (II) is the same except sing. 3rd person (a zero morpheme). Complex (called also "compound" or "analytic" vs. "synthetic") verb forms consisting of more than one constituent are constructed on certain nominal forms of the main verb, i.e. the past participle (past stem + -e, e.g. khārd-e, sikhāt-e) or the so-called short infinitive (which is formally equivalent with the past stem, e.g. kharid) plus auxiliary verbs like the various types of the verb "to be" (i.e. the full verb budan, bāsī or its clitic forms like -am, -ni, est, -ni, -d, -and), kāst, kārd-e, mhāčad-e, etc. The so-called progressive form has a special structure: both the main verb and the auxiliary (dāstān, dār "to have") are conjugated forms (dārt-ad mi-kon-ad, dārt-ad mi-karad-ad, etc.) and can be separated from each other by other words.

The use of this periphrastic progressive is restricted in several ways, e.g. it can be used only in indicative mood and in affirmative sentences (see for more details, below).

The future tense is expressed with a special morphology of the auxiliary kāst, kārd-e "to wish" the present form of the auxiliary without the verbal prefix plus the short infinitive of the main verb, e.g. kārd-ad kārd "he will do" cf. also the use of kāst in a modal auxiliary, e.g. mi-kārd-ad bi-kan-ad "he wants (would like, etc.) to do"). The majority of finite verb forms have one or two verbal prefix (mi-, be-, na-, mi-), which may express various meanings like mood, aspect, negation or prohibition. Their use is partly, but not wholly, exposed to the stylistic levels of their context. The verbal prefixes mi- (< Classical Pers. hamāt < Early Classical and Middle Persian hamā) occur with both simple and complex forms constructed on present and past stems or on past participles: mi-kon-ad, mi-kārd-e, mi-kard-ad, dāst-e mi-karad-ad. The prefix be- (< Classical < Middle Persian be-) or its allomorph variations bi- or be- are used only with non-indicative forms in Modern Persian, based on the present stem such as subjunctive present (be-kon-ad) and imperative (br-kon).

All simple and complex verb forms in the indicative are negated with na-. It is prefixed to the finite forms of simple main verbs (na-kard-ad) or to the participles of complex verbs (na-karad ast, na-karde bude ast, etc.), except for the future and passive forms where it is prefixed to the auxiliary (na-kārd-ad kard, karde na-šud-ad). In the prohibitive, the prefix na- (na-kon, na-kon-ad) is used generally, except for very formal (literary) style where ma- (ma-karad, ma-kon-ad) appear instead. Colloquial language does not use ma- at all. The prefixes na- and mi- may be used simultaneously (with the allomorph na- of the morphology na-) if it is followed by e.g. mi-ne-kard-ad, be- to mi-ne-kar-d-ad: ma- and mi- may not in Modern Persian (see the different usage in Classical Persian).

The paradigm of the verb kardan, kon- "to do": indicative mood present mi-kon-ām "I do, I am doing", preterite (simple or "aoristic" past) kard-ām "I did", imperfect mi-kard-ām "I was doing, I did", etc.,
progressive forms in the present and the past: dīr-am mi-kār-dām "I am (in the act of) doing", dāšt-am mi-kār-dām "I was (in the act of) doing", (present) perfect karde-am "I have done", etc., past perfect (or pluperfect) kārde budam "I had done", etc.; there are three more ("double") complex forms based on the perfect, mi-kārde-am "I have been doing (indefinitival)", kārde budam-ām "I had done" (indefinitival) and dīštāši mī-kārde-am "I have been doing (indefinitival)"; periphrastic future kār de- dh-un "I will/shall do"; subjunctive mood: present be-kon-dām "I may do", "that I do", subjunctive mood: past mi-kār de-dām kard "I had done" (inferential) and (gerondifm) "writing", etc.) are based on two stems: nevis-ānde- (present stem plus -(a) -and- "writing (adj.), writer" (see nevis-ānde- in "writers"), nev-āl-e (past stem plus -(a) "written, writing") (see nevēl-e, nevēl-e-ād "writings"). Nominal forms derived from verbs are the full (or long) indefinite kār dam which can be used in all functions where a noun can appear, but the occurrence of the short indefinite is strictly limited: apart from future forms it appears after impersonal expressions only (būyād raft "one must go"). The two participles, nevis-ānde- "writing" or "written" can be used as verbal adjective, e.g. sīl-e āyande "the next (coming) year", or as noun, e.g. nevis-hā- ye Bahār "B.'s writings." The participles nevēl-e, kārde- etc., are suggested to have active meaning in modern Persian (see Telegdi, 1961, 186; Hūmāyūnfarī, 1964, 79-9; see also LN nevest-e = neveste sode) in contrast to ancient usage in which it was regarded as having passive meaning. A homophone form of the past participle of certain transitive verbs (actually nonfinite verb forms) has been distinguished by Lazard (gūmānī) expressing co-ordinated "circumstantial constituent" on the basis of their differing syntax (see bāste "closed" used as "gerundive" in bāste ast "it is closed" or bāste nist "it is not closed" vs. the verbal form "perfect" like bāste ast "he has closed" and nābaste ast "he has not closed") (cf. Lazard 1989, 273, 281; 1992, 687-94; S. Obolensky, "Miscellaneous notes on the Persian passive", in L. Hutyra, The persian Passive, 1963, 8, 253; M.R. Bātīnī, Sākhītān-i dastūr-i zabān-i farsī, Tehran 1340/1961 (passim); Bātīnī, Masūlītā zabānīgūr-nāsī-nī nāvēn, Tehran 1354/1975, 191.

This rather poor inventory of verbal morphology does not reveal all the underlying semantic distinctions which verb forms can cover. The overlap of tense and aspect or mood and aspect cause considerable difficulties whose details have not been wholly explored. In addition, the syntactic realisation of aspect can be limited by further facts, e.g. by social context or lexical choice. Therefore, the main oppositions may differ to some extent in formal and informal standards: the use of the so-called progressive forms, for instance, can alter aspectual oppositions (on this novelty in colloquial Persian see Salamann and Shokouvi, 1968; Rozenfeld 1948; Lazard 1957, 151 = 1992, 160; K. Feithāvarī, Mahdī wa mādī-i malmūs, in Rahnamā-yi kārbā, v (1962), 687-94; S. Obolensky, Persian passive construction, Washington 1963, 8, 253; M.R. Bātīnī, Sākhītān-i dastūr-i zabān-i farsī, Tehran 1348/1969, 15; Jereimias, Dialectologia in Persian, in Acta Linguistica Acad. Scient. Hung., xxxiv (1983), 280-3. The most essential points of the semantics of verbal forms are as follows: the present forms mi-kār-ān "I do" and be-kār-ān "that I do" (meaning obligation, possibility, etc.) express a clear opposition of moods between indicative and subjunctive expressed by verbal prefixes (mi-, be-). On the other hand, mi-kār-ān "I do" and dār-ān mi-kār-ān "I am (in act of) doing" are contrasted with reference to the first: the form is unmarked for aspect and mi- simply indicates indicative, but the periphrastic construction expresses a progressive ongoing action. This latter construction is stylistically marked: it occurs in the written and spoken informal standard only. In addition, its use is morphologically and also lexically limited: verb forms two disjoint sets according to their inherent aspectual properties: those which can appear in the progressive and those which cannot. The latter group called "stative" or "non-progressive" verbs, e.g. istādān "to stand", mordān "to die", etc. expresses the present progressive by means of perfect (nīast-e am "I am sitting") and the past progressive by means...
of pluperfect (nelāsē budam "I was sitting"). These "stative" verbs have also progressive forms conveying another modal implication, the so-called "ingressive": dār-am mi-nēn-am "I am going to sit down" (cf. Sa'dkhāri Arzang 2535/1976, 40; Wahidyān, 68). Because of this restricted use of progressive forms, the progressive indicative mik-ond-am can also convey various imperfective (continuous, durative, iterative, progressive, etc.) values, but in formal Persian only ("I do" or "I am doing"); in Modern spoken Persian this "aoristic" form means "I do" only.

The past tense offers a larger scale for expressing aspectual nuances than the present. The past forms kard-am "I did" and mi-kard-am "I was doing" convey distinctions between perfective (traditionally called sim-"kard-am "I was doing" in the past. mi-kard-am
formal Persian. Similarly to the present forms, informal Persian has an additional form with progressive value dāl-am mi-kard-am "I was doing" in the past. This latter verb contrasts with continuous but non-perfective inner perfective (mi-kard-am) as well as with non-perfective past forms (kard-am). It means that both mi-kard-am and mi-kard-am can convey more aspectual values in the formal language than the same form in the informal register. On the other hand, mi-kon-am "I do" (and also "I am doing") in formal Persian and kard-am "I did" can be in opposition with the perfect karda-am "I have done" which indicates the present relevance of a past situation (e.g. nām-e rā neveste-am "I have written the letter"). Note that this phonological form of the perfect belongs to the formal language. In the spoken variety, contracted forms are used like kande-am > ḫanidam with a unique stress vs. kard-am in the simple past which has stress on the stem (cf. stress in (iii) Phonology, above). The past perfect (called also pluperfect) kande bud-am "I had done" indicates an anterior event completed before another action was taking place (vaqti ke ḡasan vārese šod Piruz rafte bud "When H. arrived, P. had (already) gone"). In fact, these perfect forms belong to a semantically complex category of fairly wide applicability expressing various aspectual features of resultative character. It also includes an aspectual nuance called "inferential", "distanced past" or "aditive", a well-known aspectual category in Tādžik and Turki languages ("non-evident" verb forms). These terms indicate that the speaker is reporting an event which he has not witnessed himself and his knowledge is from second hand ("reported speech"). A series consisting of four such verbal forms (karte-ast, mi-karte ast, dāste mi-karte ast, kande bude ast) began to be interpreted as "inferential" in the Modern Persian paradigm only recently (see Windfuhr, The verbal category of inference in Persian, in Acta Iranica, xxii (1982), 263-87; Lazard, L'inferentiel ou passé distancé en persan, in Stud. Ir., xiv (1985), 27-42; idem, 1989, 273). It should be noted, however, that in earlier descriptions of Persian grammar (Horn, in GIP, 154; Jenson 1931, 158; Rastorgueva 1964, 38; Lazard 1957 = 1992, idem, 63, 295) the "double" compound verb forms (sometimes mentioned only cursorily) were interpreted on the basis of their morphology as extended forms of the perfect, the imperfect or the past progressive (sorne such forms as "the compound imperfect" in Lazard, 1992, 154 or "perfect durative" in Rastorgueva 1964, 43, rafte bude ast "the double compound past" or "the completed past of the perfect" in Lazard 1992, 156, dāste... mi-karte ast "the completed past" of the progressive in Lazard, 1992, 160) and accordingly, they were regarded as forms which combined certain nuances of the perfect ("completed time") with the durative meaning of the imperfect, etc. Their relationship with equivalent Tādžik forms was expressly denied (cf. Lazard, Caractères distinctifs de la langue tadjik, in Bulletin de la Société Linguistique, bb (1963), 131; idem 1963, 295). On the other hand, in one of the earliest descriptions of the informal standard of Modern Persian, Wahidyān (1964, 62-6) described these forms as nəblī "narrative" verb forms by giving the following examples: [be-tooni ke mi-guy-and] Vohād az safar bar gošte [asf] "[it is said that] V. has returned from journey" in contrast to Vohād az safar bar gošt "V. returned from journey", goft-ze-hā mi-khīd mokhārī "He said [that] you used to sleep at noon" and [mi-guy-and] dāste mi-kard-arde "[it is told] he was eating (had been eating)" (cf. also Sa'dhānji 2535, 60-6). It is emphasised that if there are expressions like zāhorna, gāyī "apparently", mi-guy-and "it is told" and šand-e-ast "it is heard (reported)", etc. the use of the inferential is obligatory, otherwise it is the language users' choice.

For compound or periphrastic verbs, see below, V. Word formation and vocabulary.

The characteristics of the verbal system in the early classical periods should not be applied to the whole of Persian. The verbal forms (prefix + stem + verbal suffix) is the same in the earlier periods of Persian as in Modern Persian. There are, however, essential differences both in the behaviour of certain constituents of the verbal form and also in the set of grammatical devices, the use of which was abandoned in the subsequent periods or preserved only for conveying highly formalised archaic or "neo-classical" style. Such a difference between Modern and Classical Persian appears in the use of verbal prefixes: the meaning and rules of their order and combination with each other and the two stems (past and present) varied widely: e.g. the classical prefixes (hāmī- and bi-) expressed mainly aspectual differences and could combine with both stems, e.g. bi-nuji, bi-šād "he went away, passed away" with perfect, resultative nuance vs. (hāmī-)sāvād "he is going" with continuous, progressive, iterative, etc., aspectual meaning (note that hāmī was still used as an adverb in early classical sources written separately).

These verbal prefixes were precisely defined for their origin in ancient texts: bi < Middle Persian be- was a preverb attached inseparable to the verb, while hāmī < early Classical and Middle Persian hamī "always", being an adverb, moved freely, and its place became fixed only in later periods.

On the other hand, the minimal verbal form consisting of the present stem joined by personal suffixes (na-o) was used widely as an "aoristic" unmarked neutral form. Thus, with some oversimplification, the set of prefixes and suffixes attached to verbal stems remained unchanged almost totally in the past millennium, but the meaning and ordering of morphemes, that is, the internal composition of verbal forms varied significantly throughout history. For the details of the combinations of the verbal prefixes (hāmī- and bi- or br- and the negation na- or (hāmī) prefixed to imperative and nominal forms, or bi- prefixed to forms in the simple past, complex verbal forms or nominal forms, etc. see Lazard 1963, 274-326; Ahmadzī Givī, Dastīr-i tādžīki-fīlī, passim; on the pre-classical use of the preverb bi- see I. Josephson, The preverb bi- and the verb kardan in Book Pahlavi Texts, in Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies, ed. B.G. Fragner et al., Rome 1995, 335-46.

Early Classical Persian texts have preserved a group of archaic elements of verbal morphology (see the
ancient forms of personal suffixes or verb forms without any suffix, etc.). The most characteristic features of this early period are: the morpheme *-i < *-i (attached to conjugated forms (incl. the clitic forms of the verb "to be" or rarely, stem forms) was used in differing functions in present and past forms expressing various values of mood (optative, conditional or irre ale modality), but in the past it could also convey the habitual, durative, etc., nuances of aspect (similarly to *hmn). In old prose it appears to have been a productive morpheme and was used simultaneously with the verbal prefixes *b- and *mrd-; but subsequently it fell into disuse and its function was taken over gradually by the verbal prefix *m- even though not completely—the morphology and semantic values of these forms or the differing use of *i and *-i have not been fully explored, see the examples in Ahmadī Gīwī, 337-42, and Lazar 1963, 327-38, e.g. *gar ma anjā na-budam-ż... "If I had not been there..." (irreal), or *ćun pāt-e payghdmbar amad-ż gyft-ż "when he used to come to the Prophet he used to say..." (habitant). For other archaic elements occurring in ancient texts such as the old precative or optative (*dār-ād, rasān-ād, kun-ād), the imperative formed by *-e (dih-e, bi-Jirist-e), or the old precative or optative (*hmn "the upper part of the street"); or *bād-hd "afterwards", cf. *bād-ye khiydbdn (otdq-e bald "the upper country" vs. standard *mamdlek-e khmor) or postponed (*harej-e made bakun-hd "somewhere outside", *ba^d-hd "afterwards") or postponed (the latter, which is more colloquial, is constructed with *uʃaʃa, such as *mād-e to *ahr-r-e *hmn "loiness" and *war-r-ı *šir-e *nār "(male) lion"). The feminine ending of the Arabic loans -at > Class. Pers. -a > Mod. Per. -e (male) "king", *maleku "queen", but also *at as in *̄a-t "mouth", *war-r-ı *nār "(male) lion").

Gender, number and other categories (the morphemes *-i, *-e, *-a): Gender is not marked morphologically in Persian. Female and male can be expressed lexically by the words māde "female" and nar(ê) "male"; or postponed (the latter, which is more colloquial, is constructed with *uʃaʃa, such as *mād-e to *ahr-r-e *hmn "loiness" and *war-r-ı *šir-e *nār "(male) lion"). The feminine ending of the Arabic loans -at > Class. Pers. -a > Mod. Per. -e (male) "king", *maleku "queen", but also *at as in *̄a-t "mouth", *war-r-ı *nār "(male) lion").

Plural is expressed by two alternating stressed morphemes: *-a with inanimates and *-ān (variants: gān or *gān according to the word's final vowel) with human beings, such as kād-hb-ba "books", zār-ān "women" or bād-šar "servants" (exceptions are numerous, e.g. der-akht-ān "trees", akhtlar-ān "stars", etc.). The stressed plural marker has a firmly fixed position immediately following the noun. Sometimes it may also be added to constructions consisting of two nouns in juxtaposition or adjectival phrase, such as *kot-ā salvar-hd "coat-and-trousers = suits".

In Modern Persian, except in very formal styles, *-i is widely used in place of *-ān. In addition, certain Arabic loans have preserved their original plural formation, both regular (*-i, *-i, *-i, *-i, *-i, *-i, *-i, *-i, *-i, *-i) or irregular (*-i "vessels", *-i "words" or zār "minister" and vazār "ministers"). In the formal language, the plural marker *-at or *-i occurs with non-Arabic words as well, e.g. farmāyš-āt "instructions" or mowj-ijt "fruits". Arabic broken plurals were widely used in Classical Persian and continue to be retained in modern formal style. Sometimes Persian plural markers are also added to Arabic broken plurals cumulating the two types of plural formation, such as *zaf "vessels", zara or zara-hb- "vessels". In the classical period, certain Persian words were re-borrowed from Arabic with their broken plurals modelled on patterns of Arabic morphology (where they are in use to this day), such as famān "order" and zāmīn "orders", bostān "garden" and bašān "gardens", etc. Certain nouns have double plurals, each with its separate meaning, such as sar-ān "chiefs" and sar-hb- "heads" or harr-hb- "letters" and harr-hb- "speeches". Selection from among the alternative plural forms is mainly governed by stylistic factors.

There is a special use of the plural marker *-ha occurring in adverbial expressions conveying a shade of meaning "approximation" (cf. bād-hb- "afterwards") in Lazar 1992, 93; bīn-ähl- "somewhere outside",

Historically, both -an (< Old Iranian pl. gen. *-anān) and -hā (< Book Pahlavi -hā) had their roots in Middle Persian. The former was older and more widely used in Sogdian; the latter took its place gradually (see W. Sundermann, Mittelpersisch, in CIL, 155). For further details cf. Jensen, 1963, 195-9; idem 1992, 57-66; R. Hūmāynfarrūkh, Dāstār-i ālam-e zabān-i fārsī, Tehran n.d. (1337/1958), 253-74; M. Muñoz, Muñoz wa ālam, Tehran 1369/1991; Hincha 1961, 141-60.

Idāfa (possessive and attributive constructions): The modification of a noun with a following modifier is expressed by a clitic vowel -e or after vowels -y (Class. Pers. -i or -y) attached to the head noun(s). The construction is called idāfa (Class. Pers. īzāfa, Mod. Pers. īzāfī) “annexation” (cf. the similar but not wholly equivalent construction in Arabic). The head noun(s) in singular or plural is (are) followed by one or more modifiers, which can be an adjective (as in most cases) or a noun, a pronoun, or more complex spatial and temporal expressions consisting of nouns, adjectives, prepositions, etc. Two main types can be distinguished according to their inner structures: (1) idāfa (the genitive case), or (2) idāfa (the dative case).

The same clitic morpheme -i with a restricting function can be attached to the antecedent of a restrictive relative clause (mard-i ke tu-ye otdq ast “that man whom . . .”) and the stressed morpheme -i “a brave man”, inanimate style, remain unresolved (see L.S. Peysikov, taksisa persidskogo yazika, Moscow 1959, 41-108 (the most detailed description); M.R. Bātini, Tazqifī dastār-i zabān-i fārsī, Tehran 1348/1969, 137-52; Lazard 1992, 66-71; idem 1989, 275).

Definition—Innennens: The unstroked clitic -i (< Class. Pers. -ī, < early Class. Pers. -ē < Old Persian aha- “one”) traditionally called “indefinite article” or “article of unity” is joined to a noun in singular or plural or to a noun phrase, e.g. ketdb-i “a book” or ketdb-hā-i “some, certain books” (vs. ketdb-hā “books”) or ketdb-e bozorg-i “a big book”. In the colloquial language indefiniteness is often expressed by the numeral yek “one” which precedes the noun (yek ketdb “a book”) and may be used simultaneously with the clitic -i (yek ketdb-i). Although the expression yek ketdb-i appears to be equivalent in certain contexts, they may also have different stylistic values. There are, for instance, cases, where -i and yek are not interchangeable; see the terms “Kennzeichnung der Individualisiertheit” (“the sign of individualisation”) for yek and “Restriktion” (“restriction”) for -i by Hincha, 169-70, e.g. yek nazar “(one of the) Tages” (“a particular day”) vs. nazar-i “pro Tag, ein einzelner Tag” (“daily, every day”). Although the fine points of the use of the clitic -i have not been wholly explored, there can be a restricting function, which appears to make the reference of the noun phrase more precise. In addition, its relatively independent character are manifested in phrases like in the following examples by Hidżāzī (quoted from ‘Etedglī, 1961, 192); jāmīv-e ṣekastā va nābīm-i “a tired (lit. broken) and sick young man” (Hidżāzī) or hū jāhēl-e ez, dānya bikhābār-i “each ignoramus who does not understand the world”, or hū dānya-i digā “einer anderen Welt” “in a different world” (Čukkā). This is especially common in Classical Persian, where the clitic -i tended to be joined to the first head noun.

The same clitic morpheme -e with a restricting function can be attached to the antecedent of a restrictive relative clause (mard-i ke tu-ye otdq ast “the man who is in the room”). This morpheme is called yi-ye-e šāye by native grammarians. The antecedent noun may be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun and is compatible with the stressed object suffix -ā (in mard-i ro ki . . . “that man whom . . .”), and the stressed morpheme -e which is used only in colloquial style (in mard-ī ke . . . “that man who . . .”). According to Hincha, the clitic -i is in complementary distribution with Ez. II and the pronominal possessive suffix -āi in each position (171). There is considerable disagreement, however, on whether these two functions of the clitic -i with different distributions are to be regarded as one or two morphemes. Native speakers seem to distinguish the two functions (cf. Lazard, L’inclitique nominal -i en persan: un ou deux morphèmes, in BSL, li (1966), 249-64; idem, 1989, 275-6). For more details see Meier, 139-44; Windfuhr, 3-40; Ch. Lehmann, Yī ye-e šāye. Zur Grammatik des persischen Relativsatzes, in IndoGermanische Forschungen, lxxiii (1977), 97-106.

A stressed morpheme -e is used after nouns in
singular (تستی‌ت "the hotel [in question]") as if it was a definite article (Hincha’s term is “Punktualisierung”, 176), but its use is restricted to the colloquial style in Modern Persian only. In formal language there is no direct way of expressing “definiteness”, but it is possible to indicate the definite or indefinite nature of the noun acting as an object in the sentence (see the object suffix -rā). The morpheme -rā has a limited distribution as it may occur with demonstrative pronouns (این pesar-ā), but never with the so-called indefinite “article” -i (for a different view, see Hincha, 176). If the -i is joined to a noun phrase (Ez. I) the eįče vowel -e is dropped, e.g. کتاب‌بوزرگ -ihet (cf. A.A. Sāddīkī, Dastīr. Sīl-i dawzawm, Tehran 2535/1976, 131). Apparently its occurrence is widespread in both Persian and non-Persian dialects (see Christensen 1939, 42, and also Windfuhr, 41).

The object marker -rā: The unstressed morpheme -rā (also called particle or postposition, which indicates its relatively independent or word-like character) is attached to a noun in singular or plural, or to a noun phrase of whatever length, indicating direct object under certain conditions. These “conditions” are a matter of debate and are impossible to grasp by hard and fast rules: its place, functions, appearance or disappearance seem to be dependent on grammatical, semantic and stylistic factors. In the sequence of the postponed morphemes which can follow a noun or a noun phrase, -rā is always the last in the sequence in Modern Persian (e.g. کتاب‌بوزرگ -ihet). It is said to mark the direct object in the sentence if it is made “definite” by pre- and postponed determiners, modifiers or by context, e.g. کتاب‌بوزرگ -ihet "that book (ace.)", کتاب‌بوزرگ -ihet "his book (ace.)", کتاب‌بوزرگ -ihet "I read the book". There are cases, however, where the direct object can also be followed both by the morpheme -i and by -rā. In these cases the morpheme -i appears to make the object not indefinite, but rather restrictive or “individualised”, e.g. کتاب‌بوزرگ -ihet "a certain book (ace.)". On the other hand, the object marker is not used if the object is generic, e.g. یک -ieb کتاب -ihet "the book" (in the evenings I read book(s)" (cf. Lazard 1989, 280). The rationale for its occurrence is far from clear. It may be connected with the semantic nature of the noun acting as object or with the relationship between object and predicate (“caractère humain de l’objet” or “absence d’affinité sémantique entre le verbe et l’objet”) or, with the complexity of the expression (cf. Lazard 1989, 280; idem 1992, 74-6, 183-90). Its use in the colloquial language is very unstable: it is often missing where formal language would use it.

In Modern Persian -rā sometimes appears where a direct object marker is not expected to occur. Some of the instances of these “unmarked” uses of the morpheme -rā do occur in both formal and informal Modern Persian, while others may be seen only in the very formal (literary) style. The first group includes elliptic exclamative phrases, such as کودتی‌ر -išb "thanks to God", -rā "I swear you by God" or کودتی‌ر "for God’s sake!" or عکس‌کر -ieb "(as an عکس)" "by chance". An emphatic use of the morpheme -rā introducing a topic at the beginning of the sentence occurs in the less formal style, such as -rā "can you name?". What am I to do with you?" (lit. "As for you, what shall I do?"). Sometimes it is used with adverbial expressions denoting time (ژوهرتی "at noon" quoted by Lazard from Sāddīkī Hidīkatī). The second group whose construction is characteristic of the very formal (literary) style in Modern Persian consists of expressions where the noun followed by -rā features as indirect object, like -rā -istfam (= به -istfam) "I told you" or سمتی‌ر کر -daram (= به سمتی‌ر کر -daram) "I have to speak to you". In these examples -rā is substituted by prepositions in the equivalent expressions which are equivalent grammatically but not stylistically. Another archaic and very informal use of this morpheme is the construction where -rā is attached to the complement of the existential verb “to be” expressing possession (that is, to the possessor noun), such as -rā pesar-i bud "he had a son", an equivalent of the sentence a pesar-i dāšt (cf. Lazard 1992, 191; Hincha, 186). These latter two functions are obviously remnants of old usage. Not only these two points but the whole domain of its use (place, functions, distribution, etc.) show differences between Modern and Classical Persian displaying also dialectal variability (cf. its use with the proposed particle man). See further details in Telegdi 1961, 194; Lazard 1963, 356-84; idem, Le morpheme rā en persan et les relations actancielles, in BSL, lxviii (1982), 177-207; I.K. Ovtšinnikova, Funktii poslegova rā v suvremennoi litteraturum pereiskom yazyke, in Trush Instituto yazykозnaniy, vi (1956), 356-391; idem, Izpósýzanie poslegova rā v prizvegetnykhjagl expirek in pereiskoj klas- 

Adjectives and adjective phrases

Adjectives are invariable words in Persian showing no distinction of gender, number or case. Comparative adjectives are formed by the suffixes -tar and -tatin (boland-tar “high” boland-tarin “highest”, note that the same suffix can be attached to adverbs as well). There are certain adjectives which have suppletive comparative and superlative forms, see beh, and beh-tar (“better”), beh-tarin (“best”) in relation to کت (good) or بی (more, numerous) in relation to به (much, many), etc. These doublets can be used in different social contexts in Modern Persian. The comparison between two gradable adjectives are made by the preposition از (in pesar az an boland-tarin ast “this boy is taller than that”). Superlative forms usually precede the head noun (قادر-tarin کت (the oldest book)), similarly to certain adjectives with special semantic value (کت pesar-ī (a “good boy”), see Lazard 1989, 277). Adjectives may be preceded by adverbs or adverb phrases. The most commonly used premodifiers of this type are به (very), به (strange) (mas-aule 

Because of their “unmarked” nature, adjectives easily change their word-class membership without any morphological modification—for instance, a large part of them can be used as nouns or adverbs (see above, I. Generalities). The syntactic behaviour of these words, which obtain their new meaning via transposition, is similar to the other members of the same word-class even though their original word-class attributes do not disappear completely. For instance, nominalised adjectives take the same exponents as the noun proper while preserving some features of their own in certain constructions (e.g. in idrīf or in compounds such as دیل "today", see Telegdi, Zur Unterscheidung von Substantiv und Adjektiv im Neoptersischen, in AO Hung., xv (1962), 325-56).

4. Adverbs and adverb phrases

This heterogeneous class overlaps with other word classes such as nouns, adjectives or prepositions, etc. The group of words which are traditionally regarded as adverbs are کون (akon) “now”, emruz “today”, fardā
“tomorrow,” *za* “under,” *ceh* “above,” *nazdik* or *nazd* “near,” *dar* “far,” *agah* “behind,” *pis* “before,” *pas* “after,” *biron* “outside,” *bîlî* “up,” *pâm* “down,” *sabîh* “very,” etc., in addition to the morphologically derived adjectives from adjectives by the still creative suffix of Arabic origin -an, e.g. *etfelâyân* “by chance,” *jîdân* “seriously,” *jînîm* “whole-heartedly,” etc. The syntactic behaviour of certain simple adverbs, however, varies according to the constructions where they occur. For instance, *pis, pas, biron, bîlî, pâm* used in combination with verbs of movement function as adverbs of space (*bîlî* *rafl* or *rafl* *bîlî* “he went up” in modern colloquial); used in noun phrase they appear as attributives (*ofîy-e bîlî* “the upper room, mansard”), *bîr-e pis* “the previous night”; used in adverb phrases, they behave as nouns (called “adverb-substantifs”) by *Lazard 1957, 84 = 1992, 90, for a different view see *Telegdi 1961, 187-9*) displaying nearly all the properties nouns have to things varying degrees. That is, they may occur with or without prepositions, with certain determiners (e.g. demonstrative pronouns) and plural markers indicating “approximation” (cf. *Telegdi 1961, 189; Lazard 1992, 65*). They also occur in *iddfa* constructions, but they never appear with articles (see *bîlî* “the upper part, top, height” in the examples *dor bîlî-ye* “above, over s.th.”, *bîlî-yâ bûh* “at the top of the mountain”, etc. or *hâmîn aknun* “just now,” *bîlî-dâh* “later” or more complex phrases such as *az *emrân* *bêr-fândâ* “from today till tomorrow”, cf. *Telegdi 1961, 187-9*). Actually, a large group of nouns may also occur in such adverb phrases either with or without prepositions (e.g. *dor* *poishte dîvar* “behind the wall”, *be manzjîl* [*rafl* manzjîl “he went home” (colloquial); see *prepositional phrases*). Similarly, most of the adjectives may function as adverbials (of manner in most cases, called “adjectifs-adverbes”) by *Lazard 1957, 59 = 1992, 90, e.g. *tond “quick, quickly”). For various ways of intensifying or concretising the meanings of adverbial expressions, see *tahâ “alone”, hâm “also, even”, ric “also”, hûttâ “even”, hâz-ham “still, yet,” etc. (see *Lazard 1992, 90-5*).

The manifold behaviour of certain adverbs might be explained by their historical development: e.g. *bîlî* and *pâm* were originally nouns, but they became adverbs while preserving some features of their former class-membership. By contrast, some old adverbs (*bar, dar, foru, far*) became fixed in preverbal position used formally as verbal prefixes (and not as adverbs) and formed a single lexical item with the verb while abandoning their independent meaning as adverbs (e.g. *MP* *abar* *âmadan > Class. P.* *bar* *âmadan “to rise [sun]” > Mod. P. *bar* *âmâdun “to cope, rise [dough]”). Not that some of them became obsolete already in the classical language and were substituted by “new” adverbs, e.g. *foru* by *pâm “down” or *dar* by *tu “in”; others merged into one single word (see the modern homophones of various origins, e.g. Class. Persian *andor > dar “in” (adv.) and *dar* “door” (noun) in classical phrases such as *dar* *âmâdun* “to come in” and (ba-)*dar* * mâmadun “to come out” > Mod. Pers. *dar* *âmâdun “to come out” —for substitution, see Class. Persian *bar* *âmâdun > Mod. Pers. *bîlî* *râfl* “to rise, go up”).

In addition, in the course of time certain adverbs had partly or wholly lost their ancient meaning, e.g. *pis* or *pas* were local-temporal adverbs in Classical Persian, but they have only temporal reference in Modern Persian, or *bar* in *bar* *sâfân* = *saflân “flare up, agitate” (see also the modern continuation of the old homophones: *MP* *abar > Cl. Pers. *bar* “up, on” and *MP* *war > Cl. Pers. *bar* “breast” [noun] > Mod. P. (az) *bar-e* “over, upon, on [prep.]”). For more details of these highly heterogeneous, sometimes obscure groups of words called adverbs or sometimes particles, see *Telegdi 1955; idem, 1961.*

5. Prepositions or postpositional phrases

There are only a few true prepositions in Persian such as *be “to, at, in, with”, etc., dar “in, into (litera-).”, bar “on, to”, az “from, since”, bi “with”, bi “without”, tâ “until”, jec “except”, jîmîn “as, like”. They can precede the noun (*dar* *oîy-e* “in the room”), the noun phrase (*dar* *oîy-e* bozorg “in the big room”) or the co-ordinated nouns (*dar* *oîy* va *dâlpazhkhâne “in the room and the kitchen”). These prepositions are never followed by *îdâfâ*.

In addition, there are various types of “compound” prepositions: e.g. adverbs followed by prepositions (*pis az “before [of time]”, gâlaz “before”, pas az “after”), nouns (or substantivised adverbs) with or without prepositions connected to another noun via *îdâfâ* (*dar* *poishte dîvar* “behind the wall”, *az* *tajr-e “from the side of” be-tajr-e “towards”, *be* tawassot-e “by the intervening of”) (dar) *tu-ye “inside”*, az *zî-r “from under” etc., or adjectives followed by prepositions (*nîsê “concerning” etc.).

Both true prepositions and the connecting vowel of *îdâfâ* may be dropped in colloquial style (see *Lazard 1992, 76-9*).

There were some more prepositions in Classical Persian, but they became obsolete in post-classical Persian as early lexicographic sources indicate, e.g. *andar, foru, farî* etc. Another characteristic of Classical Persian was the joint use of certain prepositions (be, bar) and certain postpositions (*bar, (an)dâr, hâm*), e.g. *be Taman dar “in Y.” (cf. *Lazard 1963, 399-123; Kh Kl. Ralbar, Dastâr-i zahân-i farsî). Khîhî bar-kî wîzî* *îdâfâ* *se rahî, *’Tehran 1367/1988, 69-396.*

6. Numerals

The cardinal numerals between 1 and 20 (jek “1”, *do “2”, *se “3”, etc.), all tens (*t* “30”, *cehel “40”, *panjîh “50”, etc.), hundreds (*sad “50”, etc.), thousands (*asd “100”, *cehel “200”, *sisad “300”, etc.) and thousand (*rezîr* are single words. The other numbers consist of either two or three or more words connected by *o “and” (e.g. * bist-e jek “21”, *hezîr-o jek “105”, *hezîr-o bist-e jek “2021”, etc.). Nouns following the cardinal numerals are normally in singular (*do* kâhî “two books”). Characteristic of Persian is the use of so-called “numeratives” words, a certain type of classifiers, between the numerals and the head noun. The most used “numeratives” are *nafar, tan, tô, dast, etc.* (do *nafar dâneñî “two persons students”), do *tâ kâhî “two (pieces) books”)*. Ordinals are derived from the suffixes *om or -om (kâhî-om or cîhrah-om “fourth”). If they consist of more than one member they are attached to the last member, e.g. *jek hezîr-o panjâh-o halî “1058”*. The two series of ordinal numerals (*panj-om or panj-om “fifth”) display different syntactic and semantic characteristics. The first type used as an attributive follows the head noun with *îdâfâ* (kîhî-e panjom “the fifth book”) but the second precedes it (panjom-e kîhî). For their differing semantic values, see *Lazard 1992, 101*. The first cardinal numerals have a variety of forms (*yekom / awal / nolzad / first, dastom / dastem “second”, sasom / sasem “third”). For various numerical expressions, see *Lazard 1992, 102-5.*

7. Pronouns: personal, possessive, reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite

Person and some other pronouns can be expressed in two different ways: by stressed independent words or by clitic morphemes. The members of the two sets can substitute each other in certain, but not in all
positions. The choice of clitic pronouns is heavily dependent on stylistic factors.

Stressed personal pronouns have the distinction of number (singular and plural), person (1st, 2nd and 3rd), and gender with a strictly limited force (animate and inanimate in the 3rd person: man "I", in "you", 
v, 
ve, 
fi) or an (denoting inanimate things in most cases) "he/she/it", 
v, ainda or 
"they". There is a variety of forms and meanings in polite or colloquial usage. For instance, characteristic of modern colloquial is the occurrence of plural forms with a singular value or the forms 
v-hu "us", ainda-hu "you". 
I, 
I, is often used as a polite equivalent of the third person singular pronoun. Similarly, in polite speech, the first or second person pronouns in singular may be substituted by various forms, e.g. 
I, "serving", in 
in this" (lit.), 
Janeh-e 
and 
Janeh "Your Excellency" (see further details, incl. concordance, below, in 8. Syntax).

Personal pronouns, as usual, share the functions of nouns, but not all of them. For instance, they may be preceded by prepositions, e.g. 
I, "with us", or postponed by object markers, e.g. 
I, as (acc.). But see 
man-rd > ma-rd "me" (acc.). Having determining function, a pronoun with an extended determiner like 
v, "my book" (ace.) acting as a qualifying determinative pronoun. But in this function pronouns do not exhibit exactly the same syntax as nouns or adjectives when they act as modifiers. For instance, they do not allow any further extension of the noun phrase, but they terminate the chain of noun(s) and adjective(s) (cf. 
I, bozo-e zard-e ma "our big books", 
I, pedar-e ma "the book of my father" or 
I, pedar-e bozo-e ma "the book of my grandfather".

Clitic pronouns are: 
I, at- et (coll.), 
I, et (coll.) in the singular and 
I, et, 
I, in the plural. As a matter of fact, these clitic morphemes are personal suffixes used in two differing functions: if they are attached to the noun phrase acting as determiner they refer to the possessor as a kind of "determinative possessives" or, if they are used as complements in verbal phrases they refer to the direct or indirect object, rarely (and redundantly) the subject. These clitics, although their phonological shapes and allophones are the same in both functions, differ as for their modification or complementation: clitics used in determinative functions appear to be suffix-morphemes and the word so produced has a complex morpheme structure ( 
I, I, = 
I, 5 his book") which can take the object marker ( 
I, 5 his book (ace.)). In the second case, where clitics are used to denote complements of verbs or verbal phrases, the verb and its complement appear to be rather a syntactic construction that cannot be extended ( 
I, at, 
I, et et 
I, at, 
I, don). This construction itself is rather unique in that it can be expressive of both the predicate and the object or (more rarely) the subject (cf. 
I, 
I, 5 his book (ace.). Interrogative pronouns are: 
I, ki (coll.) "who", 
I, ki (coll.) "what", 
I, (coll.) "which one". The latter two pronouns can be used as adjectives as well. 
I, and 
I, how much/many shares the syntax with cardinals: it precedes the noun in singular ( 
I, rz ru "how many days"), but its other form follows it with 
I, (rz-e 
I, 5 "how much/many") shares the syntax with cardinals: it precedes the noun in singular ( 
I, rz ru "how many days"), but its other form follows it with 
I, (rz-e 
I, 5 "how much/many"). Interrogative pronouns can act as determiners with definite or indefinite references, but their syntax is still to be investigated.

Indefinite pronouns and determiners: There is a relatively small number of simple indefinite pronouns which can be compounded with various nominal morphemes, like kas, sahe (person), 
I, "thing", 
I, place", 
I, "quantity", or the pronoun 
I, which (one) to produce a large set of expressions acting as determiners and fulfilling various syntactic functions. Occasionally they can be followed by the indefinite -i, but the syntax of its use is not wholly explored ( 
I, has or 
I, has-i
"no one", hīt čiz “nothing”, hīt vaqit (determinative functions combined with the definite article -i or -ye). Semantically they appear to belong to various classes (universal, assertive, negative, etc.) like hame “all”, hāčiz “some”, hāčiz (somebody), hāčiz (is not the subject) or hāčiz (is affirmative sentence) “anybody”, similarly čiz “something”, hīt čiz(i) or hār čiz(i) “anything”, hīt ye, hīt kodīm “neither”, etc. For further details, see Lazard 1992, 124-9.

8. Syntax

The simple sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. The predicate, which occurs at the end of the sentence in most cases, can be a (conjugated) verb, a noun, a pronoun, an adjectival or a prepositional phrase acting in predicative function followed by various forms of the verbal copula. The subject, however, can be omitted and in this case the predicate alone constitutes a sentence of minimal size (e.g. rafīndand “[they] went away”). Characteristic of Persian are the various types of sentences constructed with so-called “impersonal” verbs or verb phrases, e.g. monān ki (it is possible), cyb mādārd “it does not matter”, etc. In another common type of simple sentences the logical subject is expressed by the clitic pronoun attached to the predicative adjective, e.g. sard-am ast “I am cold”. The coproagreement between the subject and the predicate is normally simple: a singular subject requires a singular object. But there are exceptions, mainly due to semantic or stylistic factors: if the subject is a collective noun or a noun designating inanimate things, the predicate is in singular; in elevated style, honorific addresses are used with predicate in plural, e.g. somā gīyēd “you (sing.) told”, dpā (sing.) natand (pl.) “the master is not at home” (for more details see above, 2, and Lazard 1992, 178-82; Mu’in, Nog. Singular and plural, Tehran 1369/1991).

The two major constituents of the simple sentence can be further extended by direct or indirect objects and adverbial phrases (for the details of their use, see previous sections). General characteristics of the behaviour of the constituents in the smaller or larger units of the sentence are mobility and optionality even though the constituents show these features in varying degrees. This means that grammatical morphemes like the object suffix -i or the dropping of prepositions in less formal styles in above, 4; cf. also Lazard 1992, 183-212). Interrogative sentences have the same word order as affirmative ones differing only in intonation. Juxtaposed units (phrases or clauses) are coordinated by va (or by the clitic -o in special cases), ham ... (tou) ham “and, also” (-ham also used as a clitic, e.g. somā ham gīyēd “you also told ...”), na ... na “neither ... nor”, yā “or”, kār-dās “either ... or” and so forth. Subordinate clauses of different types (object, subject, causal, temporal, etc.) are connected by the conjunction ke in most cases, esp. in informal styles, e.g. gōt ke peyar-nā amād “he said that his son arrived”. Normally this conjunction simply indicates subordination. The most common conjunctions (consisting of one or more words) that introduce subordinate clauses are: tā, tā ba niya ye in ke “that, until that”, etc. (object, final temporal, etc.), čin, čin, čin ke, zārā (ke) “when, as, because”, etc. (temporal, causal) and the conditional subordinate agor “if” (in negation magār ina “unless”). There is a relatively free freedom or selecting the mood of the verb of subordinate clauses: it can be either in indicative or in subjunctive depending on the speaker’s choice of modality. Tense, mode and aspect features of the predicate in conditional clauses are more (but not wholly) fixed: the selection of the verb form in the main (or “matrix”) clause and in the conditional clause is directly connected with fulfillment of a real condition or a hypothetical one with present or past reference. See some examples by Sādīkī: agor Huṣang kār konad, mōaftqīd mi-lāvad “if H. works, he succeeds”; agor Huṣang bi-yāyad hā u be gardes mi-ravam (or ke) “if H. should come, I (will) go walk with him”; agor dirūz barf nemi-bārd, havā sard nemisod “if yesterday the snow had not fallen (or there had not been snow), the weather would not have become cold”, etc. (see more examples in his Dastār, 105-6). Relative clauses are constructed in a special way: due to the lack of relative pronouns such clauses are introduced by the conjunction ke and the head noun can be (optionally) repeated in the clause by a pronoun: yek mānd vārd ke man u-rā nemānšād “a man entered whom (ke u-rā) I did not know”. In restrictive relative clauses constructed with a definite head noun the antecedent is supplied by the morpheme -i, e.g. mord-i ke ānād “the man who came” (see Lazard 1992, 229-36). Spoken style is developing special syntactic and semantic characteristics of subordinate clauses (see A. Nadjafī, Rāyānd-i “kit” dar šār-i gūfārī, in Nāma-i Fārābī, i [1374/1995], 7-19).

This short enumeration of the semantic and syntactical properties of simple and complex sentences does not cover all the possibilities that occur in Modern Persian (see more details in Lazarda 1992, 218-57, and for earlier usage, idem 1963, 455-92; Bahār, Sakkīnsādi, passim). This field of Persian grammar, however, has remained unexplored.

V. Word formation and vocabulary

1. There are various ways of word formation in Persian such as transposition, derivation, suffusion or preflxation and composition, some cases of which have been already treated in the morphology of the verb, noun and prepositional phrase. Transposition is one of the most common and productive processes which makes new words without adding any morphological marker, e.g. adjectives from nouns or vice versa, or adverbs from adjectives (e.g. kārāb “sleeping” in kārāb-i “are you sleeping?”, sobāq “tumult” → tārmulūtuous”, sond “quick, quickly”, etc. See more examples above, in iii. IV. 2. Nouns and noun phrases. Generalities. Similarly, certain verbal stems or conjugated forms can be used as nouns (e.g. khārd [stem II = simple past tense, 3rd person, sing.] “he purchased, purchase”, ma-gr [prohib., 2nd person, sing.] “do not say, top secret”); see also more complex compound forms like composition made of the stems (II+1) of the same verb (gōt-o gu “conversation”) or the stems (II+II) of different verbs (ābd-ā vaqit “intercourse, familiarity = lit. coming and going”), etc.

Word formation in Persian also displays a large set of suffixes, some of which are still productive, whilst certain others are stylistically coloured (e.g. colloquial, obsolete or archaic). The most common suffixes of nominal derivations are: -i (or -gi after final -e) which creates abstract (rarely concrete) nouns from adjectives and nouns (bozorg “big, great” → bozorg “bigness, greatness”, mard “man” → mard “manliness”, bande
The most common types of derivation by prefixation are: ná- (ná-pák “impure”), ná-márd “[a] coward”, ná-márd (ná-márd “step-mother”), hám- (hám-vátan “compatriot”), and pár- (pár-har “loquacious”). Zaban (Jdrsi “Persian”) is used process of word formation in Persian. The principal types of compound words, according to the syntactic and semantic relations between their two constituents and according to the word class produced by the composition, are: “determinative” (endocentric) compounds made up of two nominal parts (kár “work” + kháné “house” → kárkháné “work-shop, factory”); “possessive” (exocentric) compound (fársi “Persian” + zábán “language” → fárzábán “Persian-speaking, i.e. a person whose language is Persian”); a noun followed by a verbal stem (I), whose relation is equivalent to a verb and an object or a verb and another verbal complement and the compound so produced can have an active (or passive or locative, etc.) meaning, e.g. áтаš “fire” + parasistand/parast “to adore” → átašparast “fireworshipper”, dast “hand” + nevistand/nevistand “to write” → dastnemist “hand-written, manuscript (lit. written by hand)”; a noun followed by a verbal stem (II) forms a compound with passive or intransitive meaning, e.g. kháné “house” + zábán “zabán” → zábánzábán “to be born” (lit. “to be born at home”). These compounds represent only a few of the possible types. In certain cases, however, one cannot judge with certainty whether they represent phonological sequences held together by stress and intonation, or whether they have become lexicalized compositions (see Lazard 1992, 261-91). Their exact nature and status, however, are still to be scrutinised although much has been done in this field (see the discussion of the types delfaft (“heart-tightened”) and tagdel “right-heart(ed)” in Telegdi, Zur Unterscheidung von Substantiv und Adjektive im Neu- persischen, 325-36).

A particular type of verbal expression is represented by two large groups, called “verbs with preverbs” and “verbal phrases” (or “compound verbs”, Fr. “locations verbales”), whose use appears to be one of the main characteristics of Persian vocabulary since earliest times. The two sets present different types of lexical items with regard to their syntactic and semantic properties. The first group also consists of at least two subgroups which are very similar to each other, but only on the surface; they display two different types depending on their inner semantic structure: the first subgroup represents an ancient procedure of verbal composition, where verbs are preceded by more or less “living” adverbs of place (e.g. píš “before”, pas “after”), birun “outside”, bálá “up”, pán (páyín) “down” as in bálá raftan “to go up”, pán ánândan “to come down”, birun bordan “to take out”. The meaning of such a phrase is made up of the meaning of the two constituents.

In the other subgroup, the first member is also an adverb of place, but in this kind of verbal phrase the adverb ceases to behave as an adverb (losing its original adverbial meaning), and the sequence acquires a new, secondary meaning, e.g. forá-regefán “to learn”, forú-raftan “to plunge” (very formal), bar-úsdan “to return” (neg. bar-na-gášt, dar-raftan “perceive, understand” (note that bar and dar are formally identical to the prepositions bar, dar). In Classical Persian, this type of new verb formation was a living procedure, but over the course of time these verbs with preverbs have acquired a secondary meaning, e.g. bar-úsdan (“to overcome, result, rise (dough)”), and their original meaning began to be expressed by a new phrase, e.g. “to come up” > bálá raftan (see details in Telegdi, Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Neupersischen. I. Über die Partikelkomposition im Neupersischen, 67-183).

The most developed system of enlarging verbal vocabulary was, however, the formation of “compound” verbs. This heterogeneous group of words sometimes very peculiar verbal constructions, consisted of two, sometimes more words in addition to the “base” verb. The most common type is formed with verbs of exclusively Persian origin such as kárđán “to do”, zádan “to strike, cut”, dáštan “to give”, kórstan “to eat”, kórhtán “to know (method), kórstan, kór “to eat” kórhtán “knowledge, raftán “to go” raftár “behaviour”, etc. For other sorts of derivations by suffixation which are not productive anymore, see causative forms in verbal morphology (endirán, menár “to recognise” → tendrásín/tendránsín/síld “to make known”, etc.).
also broken plurals or genitive structures, appear as lexical borrowings. That is, these loans, though their Arabic morphological structures are clear, have not usually become integrated into the morphology of Persian except in some rare cases, but have mostly remained part of the vocabulary, signifying a highly elevated style in the majority of cases. This means that, apart from some rare examples, the Arabic grammatical structures, e.g. the Arabic plural or nouns supplied with Arabic feminine ending -e (mellæk-e “queen”, hamîr-e “sister”), or a feminine adjectival form governed by a broken plural, which are present in these loans, do not represent creative morphological categories in Persian. They do not generally function in order to create Persian structures analogously even though they occur sporadically in highly elevated style (see above, IV. 2.). Arabic lexemes, and especially participles used in Persian context, show some modification of various degrees in pronunciation and meaning. See Meier 1981, passim; Dj. Mattiø, Tahawwul-i tahlîf-i kalimît-i farsi, in Madâgal-i dânîgk nud-i adâbiyyât-i Mâghâb (1550/1971), II, 249-83; Ali-Asrafih Sadeghi, L'influenza de l'arabe sur le système phonologique du persan, 145-52; Pruceicz, passim (esp. 67). See more detailed and specific problems of borrowings in Lazar, Le emprunts arabes dans la prose persane du X' au XII' siècle: aperçu statistique, in Revue de l'Ecole nationale des langues orientales, ii (1965), 53-67; Telegdi, Remarques sur les emprunts arabes en persan, in Acta iranica, ii (1974), 337-45; Pysikov, Leksykdypäga sovremennogo perskogo yazika, Moscow 1975; W. Skalmowski, Ein Beitrag zur Statistik der arabischen Lehnwörter im Persischen, in Folia Orientalia, iii (1961), 171-5; Kh. Farjadidard, Arab dar farsi, 1387/1968; M.D. Mostâr, Le vocabulaire arabe dans le livre des alphabets de Firdawsi, Wiesbaden 1970. For borrowings other than Arabic, see G. Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neopersischen, i-iv, Wiesbaden 1963-75, and M.A. Jazârey, Western influence in contemporary Persian: a general view, in BSOAS, xxix (1966), 79-96; Windfuhr (incl. Arabic) 1979, 135-8 (for earlier literature, see Horn, in GIPh, i, 2-29; Jensen, 4-5 and Bahâr, Subh-gînâsi, passim).

Persian, as the cutturally dominant language in the area, has influenced considerably both the narrower and larger surrounding languages. This influence has been exercised both by literature and through everyday communication. There is some information on the influence made upon Ottoman Turkish, but only scanty information concerning such languages as Urdu or Hindi (see Hardev Bahri, Persian influence on Hindi, Allahabad 1960, cf. Windfuhr 1979, 219; and see further the general bibliographies on linguistics and languages).

iv. History of grammar writing: Western-type and indigenous


The first grammatical descriptions of Persian appeared from the 18th century onwards in Europe, although there were scattered references on Persian in the previous centuries as well (the oldest such source is the Persian part of the Codex Cumanicus, see D. Monchi-Zadeh, Das Persische im Codex Cumanicus, Uppsala 1969; A. Bodrogigeti, The Persian vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus, Budapest 1971; P. Orsatti, Poudromi della stori europei sul persiano nel Rinascimento, in Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento, ed. M. Tavoni, Ferrara 1996, ii, 551-67). These first descriptions written by missionaries, theologians, scholars or people of practical orientation (e.g. Lodovicus de Dieu [1628], John Greaves [1649], Ignazio di Gùsì [1661]) were meagre collections of paradigms in most cases. Sometimes they offered some (not always reliable) hints about the spoken variety, but their subject of “linguistic” description was the written (literary or formal) language (cf. P. Orsatti, Grammatica e Lessico nazione persiana nell'opera di P. Ignazio di Gùsi, in RSO, iv (1981), 55-83; Jeremias, Grammatical rule and standard in the first Persian grammars written in Latin (XVIIIth century), in Tavoni (ed.), op. cit., ii, 569-80; G. Doerfer, The impact of Semitic linguistics on the first Persian grammars written in Europe, in Iran, Studia, and Ammon Netzer, Jerusalem 1990, 159-71). However, the latest grammar of this century by J.B. Podesta (1991) stands pre-eminent in terms of quality and quantity (cf. Jeremias, The knowledge of Persian and a scholarly approach to the language; a Persian grammar by J.B. Podesta, 1969, Wien, in AO, xviii [1995], 71-86. On the famous “Geographikon”, an early lexicographic work containing also a meagre description of Persian, see M. Bastiaensen, La Persia Sepofide vista da un lessicografo europeo, Presentazione del, in RSO, xviii (1973-4), 175-203. The earliest really good description written in a modern language was made by the famous Sir William Jones (see G.H. Cannon, Sir William Jones’s Persian linguistics, in JASO, lxxxvii [1958], 262-73; Jeremias, The Persian grammar of Sir William Jones, in History of Linguistics, ed. D. Cran et al., Amsterdam 1999, 277-88). The 19th century saw a proliferation of Persian grammars written in various languages of Europe (see C. Salemann – V. Shukovski 1888, 106-9; Windfuhr, passim, and below, Bibli.).

2. Persian grammars by indigenous authors.

The earliest Persian sources offering data on linguistic thinking came from “scientific” works such as those on prosody, metrics or philosophy (logic), e.g. Shamsâli Kaye’s al-Magâm fi nasrû bi al-sugâr al-maghâm, Ibn Shùa’s Dânînghâmâ, Na’îr al-Dîn Tòsîl’s Kòbîs Asâs al-ikhtâbâs or Şajîr Dîrdjânî’s logical works (see Jeremias, Arabic influence on Persian linguistics, in History of the language sciences, ed. S. Aurox et al., i, section IX. The establishment of Arabic linguistics, ch. 49, Berlin 2000, 329-34; for earlier borrowings, see G. Doerfer, The influence made upon Ottoman Turkish, but only scanty information concerning such languages as Urdu or Hindi (see Hardev Bahri, Persian influence on Hindi, Allahabad 1960, cf. Windfuhr 1979, 219; and see further the general bibliographies on linguistics and languages).

Bibliography: Valuable grammatical studies on certain stages of the history of the language are numerous, but for some other fields research has only just begun. A concise descriptive grammar or a detailed and reliable description of the language history is still missing. In addition to the
references given above, for a general orientation, see Lazard, Persian and Tajik, in CTL, vi, The Hague-Paris 1970, 64-96 (bibl. from 1950 until 1968 at 77-96); Ehsan Yar-Shater, Iran and Afghanistan, in ibid., 689-89; Windfuhr 1979; CLI, ed. Schmitt, 1989. For the best bibliographical journal for Iranian studies, see *Abstracta Iranica*, supplement to Studia Iranica published by L'Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Paris-Tehran. In Iran there is an increasing number of general and specific bibliography and periodicals, e.g. M. Gulbun, *Kishkhan-i zahhān u khaṭṭ*, Tehran 2536; Aflāhār, *Zahhāngīāton*, in *Fezrān-i makālat-i flāh*, i, Tehran 1369/1990; see also the studies published in *Magāqāl-i zahhān-gūnāt* (Iran University Press).

*Éva M. Jeremías*

viii. ART AND ARCHITECTURE

(a) Art.

The arts of Iran will be analysed according to five broad periods; the first stretches from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saljukids in the mid-11th century, a period characterised by the lingering effects of Sasanian rule, and strong cultural, artistic and economic ties with the Persian and Parthian kingdom. The second, which encompasses the next two centuries when Iran was ruled by the Saljukids and their successors, is characterised by an expansion in the quality and quantity of goods manufactured in the cities of Iran. The third, which stretches from the consolidation of Mongol conquests in the mid-13th century to the rise of the Safavids in the early 16th century, is dominated by the artistic patronage of various courts. The fourth period coincides with Safavid rule (1501-1722); their contribution was to unify Iran under a single government which facilitated a diffusion of court culture to a broader spectrum of the population. Some members of the dynasty also fostered a more commercial focus in the works of art produced within the court itself. The concluding phase of traditional Iranian art lasted from the fall of the Safavids in 1722 to the end of the Kādjar in 1925. During this time, Iran was subjected to new pressures that brought it into ever closer contact with other regions such as India and Europe. Some aspects of artistic culture suffered from external competition but others were reinvigorated, particularly court portraiture and the commercial production of carpets. The weaving, sale and collecting of carpets involved a wider spectrum of Iran's population than had earlier phases of artistic production and patronage.

1. The Sasanian heritage and the beginnings of Islamic art 630-1056

The abrupt demise of the Sasanian Empire in the mid-7th century A.D. helped to shape artistic development of Iran under Islam. The hasty departure of the Sasanian court from the royal palace at Ctesiphon allowed the conquering Muslim armies to witness the sumptuous surroundings in which those rulers had reigned, and which eventually by illustrated copies. Literary references mention the post-Sasanian use of textiles bearing the likenesses of these monarchs, and depictions of "Bahram Gur at the hunt" appear on both textiles and ceramics (Maria Vittoria Fontana, *La Leggenda di Bahram Gur Aṣāda*, Naples 1986). Memories of Sasanian life were also transmitted through texts such as the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi [q.v.] completed in 404/1010, describing the accomplishments of Iran's pre-Islamic rulers. Its themes were popularised through wall-paintings and eventually by illustrated copies.

In Iran there appears also to have been a substantial continuity in textile production between the pre-Islamic and Islamic era. The ties between a ruler and the textiles produced in his territory codified in the *tīrūz* [q.v.] system continued from the Sasanian to Islamic periods, although there was a shift from the figural designs that included portraits of the rulers themselves to inscriptions giving the titles and epithets of Muslim rulers. The production of figural textiles did not, however, extend with the Sasanians. Some silks ornamented with roundels containing birds or animals that survive in European collections, or have been discovered through archaeology, appear to postdate the Islamic conquest. Included among them are fabrics showing a composite creature that combines the legs and head of a feline with the wings and tail of a bird. One of these, made into a man's *kāfūn* and now preserved in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, appears to date from the 10th century (Anna Jerousalimskaia, *Soirées sasanides, in Splendour des Sassanides*, Brussels 1993, 113-26, ligs. 127-8). Melikian-Chirvani has identified this type of textile with a silk fabric known as *parand* that is associated with Khuzistān in Persian sources (Parand and Parniyan identified, in *Bull. of the Asia Institute, N.S.*, v [1991], 175-9). Older textile practices may also have lingered along the southern coast of the Caspian, an area noted for both its conservatism and its production of silk fabrics. These included green silk brocades known as *tābār* after their place of production, *Tabaristan*. They were highly valued as carpets and may have had both figural ornament and Arabic inscriptions (R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles. Materials for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 74-80).

Iran's integration into the wider Islamic polity ensured that major changes also occurred in other artistic media such as calligraphy, bookmaking and ceramics. In all three cases, Iranian developments mirrored those in 'Irāk at the centre of the 'Abbāsid
The rise of local lines of rulers such as the Buyids of central Iran or the Samanids of Khurasan caliphate. The style was a result of the region’s economic and cultural vitality. Glass excavated at Nishapur and other Samanid centres such as Samarkand, are notable for their innovative decorative techniques and their excellent craftsmanship. The strong foundations of this period’s artistic culture also allowed it to survive for several decades after the demise of the Seldjukid dynasty itself. Dated and inscribed objects suggest that several crafts, including metalworking and ceramics, reached a peak of quality in the first two decades of the 13th century. The practice of inlaying objects of brass or bronze with copper, silver and gold was developed with particular skill in eastern Iran and Khurasan. During the 12th century this technique was associated with the city of Harat, where some of the finest pieces are known to have been made, including a bath-bucket known as the “Bobrinsky Bucket” dated to 1186 and now in the Hermitage Museum. Objects given this distinctive and painstaking form of embellishment include ewers, bowls and trays intended for use in celebrations and implements such as pen cases and inkwells that were part of the paraphernalia of government officials. This technique was also practiced by craftsmen in the western sections of Iran, and by the first quarter of the 13th century it had spread to the city of Mawsil in Iraq. Melikian-Chirvani has suggested that the pieces made in western Iran drew their inspiration from the Khurasan tradition, but it is unclear whether such connections would have been established through trade or because of the migration of craftsmen from east to west (Metalwork from the Iranian world, 8th-18th centuries, London 1982, 23-54, 136-42).
Although utilitarian ceramics continued to be produced in many places, the most ambitious objects are associated with the workshops of the central Iranian town of Kāshān. This centre was well endowed with raw materials needed for the production of a new type of body based on the use of crushed quartz and other forms of silicon which could be shaped to an unparalleled thinness and even to create white bodies that were translucent. Although the ultimate inspiration for these changes is thought to have derived from a desire to imitate the thin and translucent bodies of Chinese porcelain, the Kāshān potters embellished their wares with painting executed in several different techniques (Ethinghausen, Evidence for the identification of Kāshān pottery, in Ars Islamica, iii [1956], 44-72).

The best-known decorative mode employed by the Kāshān potters is that of over-glaze painting in metal oxides and other pigments. The resulting "lustre-painting" [see ٤٥٣٣] gave the objects a metallic sheen and brilliance. This technique had been applied to ceramics already in 9th-century ٤٥٤٢ and in Egypt during the 10th and 11th centuries. Its use at Kāshān appears to date from the late 12th century, and the technical secrets involved in its production may well have been carried there by emigre craftsmen fleeing the collapse of ٤٥٤٢ rule in Egypt. Whatever the source from which this knowledge was obtained, the potters of Kāshān made this technique their own, applying it both to vessels destined for household use and to tiles used in the embellishment of architecture. They also employed other decorative techniques such as the use of moulded ornament or painting in under- and over-glaze colours. The most laborious of these techniques known as "seven-colour ware" could be executed with great finesse and allowed the ceramics to bear designs of increasing intricacy. Notable examples decorated in this technique include cups associated with the workshops of the central Iranian technical past, in which deeds of the Biblical ruler Solomon were used in illustrated manuscripts of the period (Melikian-Chirvani, Metalwork from the Iranian world, 136-230). Although these objects are often autographed, the name of the craftsman is often omitted, and the recipes for the lustre paints are not recorded. The most elaborate decorative occurrences in ٤٥٤٢ manuscripts, such as the one copied and illuminated at Hamadān in ٤٥٤٢; but similar embellishments appear in a few secular manuscripts, and some illustrated books were produced in Iran and Sūjarid Anatolia (Ethinghausen, Manuscript illumination, in Survey of Persian art, 1937-54; Melikian-Chirvani, Le somon de Varge et Golhāz, in Arts asiatiques, xxi [1970]).

3. Persian art of the Mongol and Timurid periods

The initial devastation of the Mongol invasion of Central Asia and Iran (٤١٢٨-43) was followed by a second, less destructive wave of conquests in the ٤٣٢٠s which brought the remainder of Iran under Mongol control. Although skilled craftsmen were usually exempted from the general slaughter that ensued when a city or town resisted Mongol forces, the population and artistic productivity of the most devastated regions, such as Khorāsān, plummeted and would not recover until the 15th century. By way of contrast, the cities and towns of western and southern Iran including Kāshān, Tabrīz and Shīrzabh not only escaped destruction but even provided the catalyst for a revival of artistic production in the later 13th and 14th centuries. Two major changes helped to transform the arts: increased connections between Iran and East Asia, especially China, and the growing importance of the princely courts as loci of artistic consumption and even of initiated production. This gave Iran's rulers a greater role in shaping its artistic traditions than they had previously exercised.

The first of the arts to revive may have been ceramics, led by the production of lustre-painted tiles and vessels at Kāshān. An important group of such tiles was produced to embellish a palace constructed by ٤٥٤٦ (r. ٤٥٤٦-82) at Ťakht-e Sula'mān in north-west Iran (R. Naumann, Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Sula'mān und Zeitgenosse Sula'mān, Berlin 1977). Here for the first time vegetal and animal themes of Chinese origin such as lotus and prunus blossoms, many-clawed dragons and birds with extravagant plumage became part of the repertoire of Iranian craftsmen. Many of these same elements are also prominent in the luxurious silk textiles embellished with gold and produced under Mongol patronage in various sections of their domain, some of which have recently come to light among objects taken from Tibet. Even before their arrival in the Near East, the Mongols had demonstrated that they placed a high value on textiles, particularly those of silk brocaded with gold, and took pains to ensure their access to a steady supply. Those measures included seizing skilled weavers and moving them from one region to another to establish workshops where they would produce textiles for their Mongol masters (M. Rossabi, The Silk trade, in J.C.Y. Watt and Ann Wardwell (eds.), When silk was gold, New York 1997, 14-19). Although it is difficult to link surviving fabrics with any specific production centre, textiles depicted in Persian manuscripts of the late 13th and early 14th centuries demonstrate that textiles designs of Far Eastern origin were in use there as well.

The history of Shīrzabh shows a different aspect of this era. Its rulers, the Salghurids [٤٥٤٧], forged an alliance with the Ilkhanid Mongols which ensured the city's survival, and local traditions helped to shape its artistic production. A long-standing association of the nearby monumental ruins of Persepolis with a mythical past, in which deeds of the Biblical ruler Solomon and the Iranian hero Dāmghād were interwoven, provided the basis for a distinctive local titulature used by the city's Islamic rulers who declared themselves to be "heirs to the Kingdom of Solomon". These titles appear in a group of brass vessels inlaid with silver produced in Shīrzabh during the 14th century. Although Khurāšān typologies of shape and decoration from the pre-Mongol era appear in some of them, other metalwork from Fārs displays complex faceted, fluted and imbricated shapes. The new emphasis on figural compositions in their decoration is akin to those used in illustrated manuscripts of the period (Melikian-Chirvani, Metalwork from the Iranian world, 136-230).

Ghāzān Khān's acceptance of Islam in 1295 helped to integrate the traditional arts of Islamic Iran with the new cultural modes of the Mongol period. This is evident in two main areas—the creation of sumptuous, large-scale Kūrānic manuscripts and the preparation of illustrated copies of Persian texts. Ghāzān's interests included medicine and various scientific disciplines, and he commissioned the translation of Ibn Bukhtīshū's Manāfi' al-hayawān into Persian. An illustrated copy of it dated to either 1297 or 1299, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, was probably prepared for him (Barbara Schmitz, Islamic and...
Indian manuscripts and paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York 1997, 9-23). Ghazān also ordered his vizier Rashīd al-Dīn to compile a history of the Turks and Mongols, a project that during the reign of Ghazān’s brother and successor Uljaytu (r. 1316-35) was expanded to encompass the history of the rest of Eurasia. Some copies of the resulting text, the Ḍjamāʾ al-tawārīḫ ("Compendium of chronicles"), were illustrated. The earliest and most important of these, now divided between the Edinburgh University Library and the Khalili Collection, London, was completed in 1314, probably for presentation to Oldjeuyt (Sheila S. Blair, A Compendium of chronicles, London 1995, 16-31). As befits the text’s wide-ranging sources, its illustrations show the impact of the several pictorial traditions available in Mongol Iran, including illustrations executed in Byzantine, Nestorian and Armenian workshops, Chinese cartography, Chinese printing, as well as earlier Persian paintings.

The gradual assimilation of the Mongols to Islamic culture was also marked by the creation of large-scale richly illuminated copies of the Kurʿān. The most impressive, executed by the period’s leading calligraphers and embellished with full-page illuminations, were commissioned by Oldjeuyt, most probably for the religious complex at Sulṭānīyya which became his tomb. Copies were prepared for him simultaneously in three cities: one was made in Baghādād, another in Māwšīl, and the third in Hamadān. All shared with the manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn’s history an unusually large size, measuring 50 × 37 cm, and all were adorned with extensive gilded ornamentation (D. James, Qur’ans of the Mantuks, New York 1968, 92-126). A number of impressive Kurʿān manuscripts were also produced at Shīrāz for local dignitaries, including female patrons such as Tāsh Khatun, the mother of Abū Iṣḥāq Indju (r. 1343-57), and her sister Fārs Malik Khāṭīr. Their manuscripts combine well-executed gold calligraphy in ‘Irākī modes with a local style of illumination (ibid., 162-73; James, The master scribes, London 1992, 122-35).

The Mogol period also marks the beginning of the creation of illustrated copies of Firdawsī’s Shāh-nāma, a text often regarded as historical and a source of edification for rulers. Copies produced between the late 13th and mid-14th centuries exhibit diverse features, suggesting that they were commissioned by a variety of patrons. Some, although lavishly illustrated, are compact in size, whereas others are on the scale of large Kurʿān manuscripts. One such large copy has been linked to the reign of the last important Mongol ruler, Abū Saʿīd (r. 1316-35), and may have been commissioned either by him or by his vizier, Rashīd al-Dīn’s son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (O. Grabar and Sheila Blair, Epic images and contemporary history: the illustration of the Great Mongol Shahname, Chicago 1980).

The death of Abū Saʿīd in 1335, without an heir, set the stage for conflicts between rival Mongol factions for control of his domain. The most influential among these factions for artistic development were the Djalavīrs (q.v.). They seized the region of Tabrīz as well as much of ‘Irāk including Baghādād, and endowed important patronage and manuscripts. They continued their patronage even under the successor, Timur. It is generally believed that during the 15th century patterns and decorative schemes created by court workshops were first used in the design of textiles and carpets. Although literary references to carpets indicate that they were produced in Iran from the Sāsānīd period onward, those descriptions are inadequate for reconstructing either their technical characteristics or their appearance. It seems that in Iran the production of knotted pile carpets only became common after the influx of Turkish nomads that began in the 11th century. Depictions of carpets in Persian manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries suggest that most had a central zone occupied by small-scale repetitive motifs similar to those used in Anatolian carpets of that period. During the 15th century, some carpets depicted in Timurid paintings have designs focused
on a central medallion that may be round, oval or star-shaped. Often the carpet's corners contain quarter-medallions while the remainder of its field is filled with vegetal ornament usually in the form of spiraling vines with a variety of blossoms placed along them at intervals (Amy Briggs, Timurid carpets. I, in Ars Islamica, vii [1940], II. in ibid., xi-xii [1946]). These painted carpets resemble the finest extant 16th-century carpets as well as designs used in manuscript illumination and book bindings [see also bâixo, in Suppl.].

4. Iranian art of the Safavid period

The Safavid creation of a kingdom whose boundaries resemble those of the modern Iranian state served to encourage a more homogeneous artistic tradition within the region as a whole, a process also furthered by two of the dynasty's most influential rulers, Shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524-76) and Shah 'Abbâs I (r. 1587-1629). Shah Tahmasp's approach to the arts is an extension of the cultural attitudes which characterised late Timurid Harât in the period of Sultan Husâyn Baykara, a connection that is understandable since Tahmasp spent much of his youth in that city. The prince showed an aptitude for painting as well as calligraphy, so that when he returned to Tâbrîz to ascend the throne he was able to commission for his new capital the progressive illustrated manuscripts reproduced in this book. During the first decades of his reign, the royal workshop was engaged in the production of manuscripts, particularly copies of the classics of Persian literature. The most important manuscript associated with his patronage is a copy of Firdâswî's Shâh-nâmâ which is almost a picture album, for its 759 folios contain 258 illustrations and most of these occupy almost the entire surface of a page. As might be expected from a project of this size, it gives evidence of having been executed by numerous painters and the paintings show a range of styles and quality. By and large, the most impressive paintings are those situated in the manuscript's earliest sections where some of them continue trends originating in Tîmûrid Harât while others echo features of western Iranian art under the Turkmans. The most elaborate compositions depict complex architectural structures the divisions of which are separated by a well established western technique and mood. These pages have an even larger range of styles and quality than those in the manuscripts of the previous section. The most impressive paintings are those situated in the manuscript's earliest sections where some of them continue trends originating in Tîmûrid Harât while others echo features of western Iranian art under the Turkmans. The most elaborate compositions depict complex architectural structures the divisions of which are separated by a well established western technique and mood. These pages have an even larger range of styles and quality than those in the manuscripts of the previous section.

Tahmasp I's enthusiasm for manuscript patronage was echoed by other members of the dynasty, notably his brothers Sâm Mirzâ and Bahârân Mirzâ as well as his nephew Sultan Ibrahim Mirzâ. The last-named devoted considerable time and energy to artistic pursuits and employed a substantial number of calligraphers, painters and illuminators. A copy of Qâdi'm's Haft awrang produced for him between 1556 and 1565, and now in the Freer Gallery of Art, shows the manner in which an illustrated manuscript could become a "world unto itself". Every folio provides a feast for the eye, contrasting finely executed calligraphy with colourful gold-decorated borders, while its paintings draw the viewer into a self-contained universe inhabited by people of various ages and social stations (Marianna S. Simpson, Sultan Ibrahim Mirzâ's Haft awrang. New Haven 1997).

During the Safavid era, the popularity of illustrated manuscripts spread beyond the confines of the court, and they were produced also in non-royal workshops for a widening circle of patrons. Workshops in the city of Shîrâz were particularly active in the book trade. During the 16th century, in addition to the ever-popular poems by Firdâswî and Niżâmî, texts by several writers active in the late Timurid period continued to be both widely copied and frequently illustrated, including the poetry of Dîâmî, Hâfîz and the prose of Husâyn Gawzargâhi (F. Richard, Splendours persans, Paris 1997, 157-204). By the early 17th century, however, the attention of artists and collectors had shifted to single-page paintings, especially portraits, which were often gathered in murakkâb's (q.v.) (albums) (Sheila R. Canby, The rebellious reformer, London 1996).

The Safavid court was also involved in the production of various other kinds of artifacts, particularly silk textiles embellished with gold and silver and carpets with complex patterns which echo the intricate designs of book illumination or even of book illustration. Annually on the occasion of Nawrûz (q.v.), following a well-established Islamic practice, Safavid rulers were expected to provide their courtiers and retainers with garments appropriate to their status and position. Some garments worn by the ruler and his close associates were made of silk woven or embroidered in intricate patterns and embellished with gold and silver; used textiles were routinely destroyed in order to recover the metal which they contained. Safavid rulers sent luxury textiles as diplomatic gifts to their rivals, the Ottomans and the Mughals. Historical accounts confirm that several towns in Iran produced luxury textiles and rugs, including Kâshân, Yazd, Kirmân and Isfâhân, although it is difficult to link surviving examples with any particular centre (Carol Bier (ed.), Weven from the soul, woven from the heart, Washington, D.C. 1987; May Beatte, The carpets of Central Persia, Westerham 1976).

The few surviving rugs from 16th-century Iran follow designs created by professionally trained designers or painters. Some have elaborate figural and landscape compositions, whereas others are noted for their multi-level designs of vegetal scrolls. Shah Tahmasp I is known to have taken a personal interest in the production of carpets, and Shah 'Abbâs I is even said to have practised the weaver's craft. During his reign, weavers worked in the grounds of the royal palace at Isfâhân, although production of luxury textiles and rugs also continued in other centres. The intricate time-consuming designs and lavish use of silver and gold that characterise Safavid court carpets and textiles preserved in shrines or sent as diplomatic gifts suggest that court production was viewed as an index of royal prestige, rather than as a commercial venture (M. Aga Oghlu, Safavid rugs and textiles, New York 1994; Bier and Bernard, The Persian weavings at Rosenborg, Copenhagen 1995; F. Spuhler et al., Denmark's coronation carpets, Copenhagen 1987).

5. Iranian art from 1722 to 1925: the Afghârî, Zand and Kâdîgâr periods

Although the period from the effective end of the Safavid dynasty in 1722 to the emergence of the Kâdîgârs in 1794 was marked by chronic political instability, artistic patronage still continued on an intermittent basis largely echoing trends of the late 17th century. Lacquerwork (avârnam watercolour paintings, usually on a papier-mâché surface which had earlier been used for bookbindings, was also used for pen-boxes, mirror cases and caskets. A few paintings and luxury textiles can be linked to Nadîr Shâh (r. 1736-47), and his seizure of Mughal treasures during his invasion of India provided Iran's rulers with...
jewels later used with great effect by the Kadjars in their court regalia. Karim Khan Zand's reign (1751-79) is notable for a stress on large-scale figure paintings on canvas that were used to embellish buildings, a practice expanded under the Kadjars. It was that dynasty's second ruler, Fat' Ali Shah, who made the most extensive use of decorative, pictorial imagery as an adjunct to state policy. He revived the use of rock-cut reliefs for heroic images of himself and of his court and similar compositions were also used on portable objects such as lacquerwork bookbindings or mirror cases. Enthusiasm for large-scale figurative painting was not limited to the Kadjar court. Itinerant story-tellers used portable picture scrolls (sometimes identified as "Coffee-house paintings") as an adjunct to the recitation of stories and to performances of the passion play or tazya [q.v.] see Layla S. Diba and Maryam Ekhhtian (eds.), Royal Persian paintings, The Qajar epoch 1785-1925, Brooklyn 1999.

The second half of the 19th century witnessed a decline in most local crafts due to the competition created by imports from Europe and India. One exception was the production of carpets, which were much in demand both within Iran and abroad. The old system of court production was replaced by commercial workshops that drew on the skill of many segments of Iran's population. Large-scale enterprises, situated in major urban centres such as Isfahan, produced standardised carpets to the specifications of a mostly foreign clientele. Smaller production centres, situated in villages, the homes of private citizens or even in nomadic encampments, created more varied wares which often combined traditional schemes with idiosyncratic embellishments. This broadly based "folk-art" provided a kind of democratisation of Iran's artistic tradition that carried it into the 20th century (A.C. Edwards, The Persian carpet, 1953).


(Priscilla Soucek)

(b) Architecture.

The buildings erected in Iran during the Islamic period are some of the finest constructed anywhere in the Muslim lands. They are noteworthy for their sophisticated vaulting systems and their sublime use of coloured decoration on both interior and exterior. Both traits may have been encouraged by the materials available for construction. Although large supplies of wood grow near the Caspian Sea and good stone for masonry is found in Fars and Adharbaydjan, brick is the predominant building material in most of the region. Already in pre-Islamic times, builders in Iran had devised ways of roofing their structures with domes supported on squinches, arches thrown over the corner of a room. Buildings in Islamic times maintained the tripartite elevation of wall, squinch and vault, but divided the zone of transition into increasingly smaller and more elaborate segments, culminating in the mukarnas [q.v.]. At the same time, they carved and painted the stucco covering interior surfaces and developed several methods of glazing tiles in a full range of colours, so that brick surfaces covered with brilliantly coloured tiles became a hallmark of Islamic architecture.

The following discussion surveys the development of these trends in Iranian Islamic architecture in five chronological periods. Within each period, a short assessment precedes discussions of the major building types and of form, materials and decoration. The article considers Iran in the broadest sense, comprising the plateau between the Tigris and Oxus rivers, and occasionally includes sites beyond these confines, such as Baghdad or Samarkand. Naturally, more buildings and more types of buildings survive from the later period, making it possible to sketch a fuller picture from the extant record. By contrast, relatively few buildings survive from earlier times, and the evidence for early Islamic architecture in Iran has to be pieced together from widely scattered remains and snippets of information gleaned from texts.

1. Before 900

Virtually nothing is known about buildings from the period of the Abbasid rule when the Islamic capitals were in Syria, but, as befits Iran's position as one of the most important provinces in the 'Abbásid empire, most of its architectural remains reflect the forms and styles used in the capital province in 'Irāq. Compared to 'Irāq, contemporary buildings in Iran are generally smaller, but show a wider variety of materials, including rubble and mortar, fired brick, mud brick (particularly in northeast Iran and the adjacent regions of Central Asia) and wood. Many are decorated with the styles of carved stucco development at the 'Abbásid capital of Šāmarrāt [q.v.].

The most important building type known from early Islamic times in Iran is the congregational mosque. Congregational mosques built in Iran resemble those constructed elsewhere in the 'Abbásid domains, for virtually all of them are (or were) large buildings with a central courtyard surrounded by porticos or arcades and a large covered prayer hall on the kibla side (in Iran, the southwest). The prayer hall was a hypostyle room, in which the roof was supported on a multitude of single supports, either piers or columns. The best standing example of a hypostyle congregational mosque is the one known as the Taft Khāneh, erected at Dāmghān in the 3rd/9th century. The remains of others have been excavated at several sites, including Sūs in Khuzistān in southwestern Iran and at Sirāf on the Persian Gulf (dateable A.D. 815-25), but the largest and most important of these hypostyle congregational mosques was the one erected at Isfahān. Founded ca. 771, it was expanded under the 'Abbásid caliph al-Mu'taṣim (r. 238-27/853-42) and served as the basis for the present Friday Mosque (Masjīd-e Džumā) in the city.

In addition to the hypostyle congregational mosque, there were other types of small mosques. One type had an attached courtyard leading to a rectangular prayer hall (measuring between 5 and 10 m on a side) divided by one or more transverse arcades, with a projecting mahāb [q.v.] in a rectangular salient. At least ten examples were excavated in the residential quarters at Sirāf, and some may date as early as the 3rd/9th century. Another type of small mosque is a square covered with nine domes. The one that survives at Bālkh is about four times the area of the small mosques at Sirāf (measuring ca. 20 m to a side) and was elaborately decorated on the interior with extravagantly carved stucco.
The same forms and decoration were used on a smaller scale in domestic architecture. Vaulted and domed houses excavated at Marw (now in Turkmenistan) were decorated with Sāmarrā'-style stucco. Houses excavated at Nišāpūr also had stucco dados elaborately carved in a similar style (several are now on display in the National Museum in Tehran and the Metropolitan Museum in New York).

Caravanserais [see KĀN] erected along the major trade routes across Iran and Central Asia also reflect the plans of those found elsewhere in the 'Abbāsid lands. Three mud-brick forts erected at Darzān in Kirmān province, for example, are square buildings (25 m on a side) with round buttresses and tunnel-vaulted chambers.

2. 900-1250

This was the most creative period in Iranian architecture, and all of the distinctive features of Iranian Islamic architecture—the use of fine-quality baked brick as the primary material of construction and decoration, the development of glazed tile as an important medium of both interior and exterior decoration, the four-iwan plan, mausolea, minarets, the tripartite elevation of dome chambers, the subdivision of the squinch into increasingly smaller units and the mukarnas, and minbar pulpits—appear for the first time during this period. Most of these features are commonly associated with the patronage of the Sāljuq dynasty (432-590/1040-1194), whose territories stretched from Central Asia to 'Irāk, but many were introduced earlier and were not limited to the Sāljuq domains.

New congregational mosques were built to suit the need of the growing Muslim community. Those erected in the 4th/10th century, as at Nāšāpūr and Ardīsān, continued to use the hypostyle plan, but the major feature of this period was the development of a new plan having a courtyard surrounded by arcades linking four iwan, high vaulted rooms open to the court at one end. The transformation from the hypostyle to the four-iwan plan is best seen in the mosque at Isfāhān, an early capital of the Sāljuq domains. In 483/1086-7, the twenty-four columns in front of the miḥrāb were replaced with a free-standing domed pavilion supported on giant polyched piers. Then, later, probably in the early 6th/12th century, four iwan were added around the court. This combination of four iwan plus dome chamber was soon repeated in congregational mosques in nearby towns such as Ardīsān, whose hypostyle mosque was revamped between 553 and 555 (1158-60).

Despite the occasional use of other types of congregational mosque, the four-iwan plan became the standard for congregational mosques erected all over Iran from this period onwards. Scholars have long debated why this change occurred. Although the reasons are not entirely clear, it may have been due to practicality and utility. This plan had already been used in many pre-Islamic buildings in 'Irāk and Iran, ranging from the Parthian palace at Ashur (1st century A.D.) to Sāsānīd houses at Ctesiphon (6th century A.D.). It provided a suitable setting of monumentality, without any rigid princely or cultic associations.

From the 6th/12th century the four-iwan plan also became standard for many other types of buildings. To judge from later examples, this plan may have been used for mausolea, which began to proliferate at this time. This plan was also used for caravanserais, such as Rīhāt-i Shāraf, built in 508/1114-15 by the Sāljuq vizier Shāfar al-Dīn Kūmmī on the old route from Nišāpūr to Marw. Building civil structures was considered an act of piety and a sign of sovereignty, and many local rulers embellished their domains in this way. The Kurdish prince Bād r b. Ḥasanawāy (r. 370/404/980-1013), for example, erected a series of bridges along the pilgrimage route near Khurramābād; Kākūyād ānīs added iron gates to the mud-brick walls around the city of Yazd in 432/1040-1, as did the Shāhābīs, viz. Shāwūr I b. Fadl at Gandāja in 455/1063.

From the 5th/11th century onwards, minarets began to proliferate throughout Iran. Most are tapering brick cylinders about 30 m tall, decorated with horizontal bands of elaborate brick patterns and elegant inscriptions. In earlier 'Abbāsid times, minarets had been attached to congregational mosques and normally set opposite the miḥrāb. In this period they were erected by a broader spectrum of people, including viziers, judges and private individuals, and sometimes set as isolated, free-standing constructions. Their proliferation may also indicate a revolution in technique which made these tall brick minarets resilient to earthquakes.

The monumental tomb [see KUBBA; TURBA] was another major type of building erected in this period. Tomb towers were popular along the Caspian littoral, as exemplified by the Gunbad-i Kābus (597/1066-7), the earliest of which to survive. The classic example of the domed tomb is the mausoleum of the Šāmānīs at Bukhārā (310/920s), but its exquisite form and decoration in carved plaster and baked brick bespeak a long tradition. The domed tomb became the most popular type. Three fine examples were erected at Marāgha in the 6th/12th century, but the largest and most splendid is the one built at Marw for the Sāljuq sultan Sangār (r. 511-52/1115-16).

Larger tomb complexes also developed during the period. Some, such as those at Māshāqūd or Kūmm, surrounded the graves of Shī'ī imāms. They were underwritten not only by wealthy Shī'īs but also by government officials seeking to garner the support of heterodox segments of the local population. Other complexes grew up around the graves of such learned figures as al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidḥi or such mystics as Abū Yazīd al-Bīrūnī or Abū Yazīd al-Bīstānī [q.v.]. These shrine complexes were often agglomerative, and the specific stages of construction can only be revealed by detailed archaeological investigations, usually impossible because of the sacred nature of the sites.

Texts mention large palaces and elaborate houses for the upper classes in the Būyids at Baghdād and Shīrāz and the Sāljuq capitals at Isfahān, Baghdād and Marw. Excavations have revealed only tantalising fragments from minor sites, such as limestone panels from the palace of the Hasanawayhids at Sarmājid in southwest Iran or carved stucco panels from Tirmidḥ on the Oxus. Contemporary houses excavated at Nišāpūr were lavishly decorated with painted stucco.

Domes were elaborated and articulated during this period. In order to lighten the domical mass, both physically and visually, builders developed the double dome, in which two shells of slightly varied profile are connected by intermittent ties. Niẓām al-Mulk's Šāsān-tūmān (ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340/1962, 211, tr. idem, London 1978, 167) mentions that in the 4th/10th-century tombs of the Būyids at Ravy already had such a double dome ('ba dawdādghī), and extant examples survive from the end of the 5th/11th century (e.g. the tomb at Kharrākān dated 486/1093-4). Ribs were used to facilitate construction in a land where wood was unavailable for centring. As the dome
was built, the ribs were bonded into the construction and often exploited for decorative effect. The inventiveness Iranian builders displayed in the manipulation of domed spaces is clear from the Friday Mosque at Isfahan, where over two hundred examples cover all periods from the early Islamic period, had a pishtak in the middle of the facade, and by the 4th/10th century builders used this form in Iranian mosques and mausoleums (e.g., the Isfahan Friday Mosque). Builders exploited the spaces between the bricks for decorative effect. The increased use of glazed tile, which contrasted with the matte, reddish or yellowish brick. Holes in the brickwork on the earlier tomb tower erected at Marv-din in 460/1067-8 were probably filled with these glazed pieces, and small fragments are still preserved in the dome chamber. The most elaborate building to be erected at Marv-din was the Gunbad-i Sharaf. By further subdividing the squinch, builders often painted the stucco coating in addition to unglazed bricks. They added other techniques of tile decoration, including bandi and other service buildings. Buildings also exploited the spaces between the bricks for decorative effect. Builders in northeastern Iran often laid bricks in double bond so that the vertical joints created a pattern of light and shade across the wall. Builders sometimes filled the joints with plaster, which were stamped or carved with geometric, floral or epigraphic patterns. Other structures include geometric and vegetal ornament as well as figures, animals, and birds. The increased use of colour and the growing taste for covering up wall surfaces foreshadow later developments, but at this time structure and decoration were kept in balance. The increased use of colour and the growing taste for covering up wall surfaces foreshadow later developments, but at this time structure and decoration were kept in balance.

During this period, fine baked brick was the preeminent material for the construction of important buildings, while mud brick, pisé and stone were used for subsidiary structures or in specific areas. By the 6th/12th century, a standard baked brick measuring ca. 25 x 25 x 5 cm had replaced the large rectangular bricks used in the early period and the smaller bricks associated with Buyid buildings in the Isfahan region. Bricks were laid in a variety of flush or bas-reliefs, and walls were sometimes painted to imitate brick bonding patterns. Other subjects include geometric and vegetal ornament as well as figures, animals, and birds. The increased use of colour and the growing taste for covering up wall surfaces foreshadow later developments, but at this time structure and decoration were kept in balance.

This period marked the triumph of coloured decoration. Builders elaborated the technique of tile mosaic so that it covered the entire surface. They also expanded the palette to a full range of seven colours (dark and light blue, white, black, yellow and green). In addition to glazed brick, they added other techniques of tile decoration, including celdes and lidijvandina, overglaze painting. This period also saw an increase in the height, verticality and size of buildings, and the enormous complexes ordered by Mongol and Timurid rulers attest the wealth available in this period of trans-Asian trade. Individual buildings were often incorporated into complexes, which combined a mosque, madrasa, khanqah and other service buildings around a tomb, either for the founder (as in Oldjeytu's tomb at Sultaniyya) or for a Sufi saint (as at Natanz, Bistām and Gūr Gāh outside Herat).

Congregational mosques followed the standard
four-iwan plan. The one built at Warāmīn in the 1320s exemplifies Ilkhanid work, but the most impressive is the elephantine one erected by Ṭīmūr in his new capital at Sāmarghānd. Known as the Mosque of Bbī Kūhārūn, after Ṭīmūr’s favourite wife, it measures a gargantuan 100 × 125 m. Wherever space was available, as in these two examples, these congregational mosques had regular exteriors, but whenever they had to be shoehorned into the space available in a city, as in the one that Ṭīmūr’s daughter-in-law Gwāshaghād added to the shrine of the Imām al-Ridā in Mašhād in 821/1418-19, the interior was irregular. As before, these mosques focus on the courtyard, and the one at Mašhād is truly magnificent, with dazzling tile mosaic and underglaze- and overglaze-painted tiles.

Madrasas of the period are even more homogeneous than mosques and have a similar plan of a court surrounded by two stories of students’ cells connecting four iwāns, as at the Madrasa Imāmī (755/1354) at Isfahān or the one built at Khwārgird in 846-8/1442-5 by the architect Kāvārīn al-Dīn Shīrāzī, the first Iranian architect whose career and style can be delineated. The madrasah built by Shīr Rūḥī’s son Ulūgh Beg in Būkhārā and on the Rūgsīn in Sāmarghānd (both 829-3/1421-2) are variations on the same theme.

A similar plan was also used for rural caravanserais, often erected along major trade routes as part of the flourishing overland trade. Caravanserais were also built within cities. One of the few urban commercial buildings to survive is the Kūn al-Mīrjān (or Kūn al-Urtma) in Baghdad (758/1359); its sophisticated transverse-vaulted roofing system, which allows light to flood the interior, shows that the patron, the governor of Baghdad for the Dithlāvīrīds, considered the caravanserais as important as the other parts of his complex.

Both the tomb tower and the domed square chamber continued to be used for funerary monuments. Mausolea built for lesser figures, such as descendants of the Imāms or minor princes or princesses, were relatively small, free-standing buildings (e.g. the Imāmzāda Ḏārūr at Isfahān, 725/1325). The most striking example, notable for its fine tile decoration, are found in the necropolis outside of Sāmarghānd known as the Shāh-i Zinda, where many domed structures lining the street leading to the principal shrine were built ‘around the tombs of Sufi saints, for female members of Ṭīmūr’s family. Since some orthodox scholars condemned the building of mausolea, the cenotaph was sometimes set in the open air in front of an iwan. Several Timurid examples of this arrangement, which has been called a ṭāqāra, are found at Gāzur Gāh, Turbāt-i Shāhī Djam and Tāyba’ābād.

Richer patrons, mainly sultans and their chief ministers, built larger tombs as part of elaborate funerary complexes. The best example to survive from the Ilkhanī period is the mausoleum of the Kūn al-Ordjeytī at Sulvjntiyā, but the foundations established by Ghāzīn Kūn and his vizier Raṣḥīd al-Dīn at Ta’brīz were equally large. Large complexes were also built around the tombs of Sufi saints. A few honoured contemporary shaykhs, such as the complex built at Naṭanz in the opening decade of the 8th/14th century for the Suhrawardī shaykh ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 699/1299-1300), but more commonly they honoured saints long since dead, as at the complex of Abū Yazīd Bīstāmī, which underwent major restoration at the same time. These complexes, like mosques, had regular exteriors whenever space allowed, as at the gigantic shrine that Ṭīmūr erected on the steppe for Ahmad Yasawī [q.v.] at Turkestan (799-801/1397-99) and the one that Shīr Rūḥī erected for ‘Abd Allāḥ Ansārī [q.v.] at Gāzur Gāh (829-32/1425-29).

A few palaces were permanent constructions. Ca. 1275, the Kūn al-Abāk, for example, constructed a summer residence at Sāfārīk (now Tākht-i Sulaymān [q.v.]) on the foundations of the Sāsānid sanctuary of Shīr. The quality and abundance of the architectural décor, particularly the marble carvings and the lustre and lāqcedārīn tiles, show that the Mongol ruler spared no expense. Both the site, which has been identified as the place where the Sāsānid emperors had been crowned, and the decoration, including lustre tiles with quotations and scenes illustrating themes from the Shīr-nāma, may have been chosen for their association with pre-Islamic Iranian kingship. The ruins of the Ak Sarāy, Ṭīmūr’s palace at Shahr-i Salz (781-98/1379-96) show the same concerns for size and fine tile decoration.

More often, however, the Mongols lived in elaborately tented courts [see KHAYMA. iv]. Ghāzīn’s summer palace, for example, was said to have been a tent of golden tissue which took two years to make, and the Spanish ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo described the many more sumptuous pavilions inhabited by Ṭīmūr. These tents were often set in gardens, and the Timūrids constructed several canals outside Harāt to water their extensive suburban estates set in gardens with such evocative names as the Bāgh-i Dithān-ārī (“World-adorning garden”). Observatories are the most notable civil structures to survive from this period. The one ordered by Hūlēgī in 758/1258 for the celebrated astronomer Naṣr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [q.v.] on a hill north of his capital at Marāgha served as the model for the one that Ulūgh Beg built at Sāmarghānd in 823/1420 for Ghāzīnd al-Dīn Kūsht [q.v.].

Builders in this period shifted their attention from structure to space, developing new and inventive ways of covering both square and rectangular areas. The solid walls of earlier buildings were pierced with openings and bays, and several types of transverse vaulting were developed to admit light and air. Experiments with transverse vaulting over rectangular spaces in the 9th/14th century led to the development of squinch-net vaulting in the 9th/15th. Builders transformed the traditional square room into a cruciform chamber with broad niches on the sides. Both the recesses and the central square are spanned with four broad arches. The intersection of these eight arches creates a smaller square which supports the traditional arrangement of four squinches, an octagon, a sixteen-sided zone and the dome. The interstices between the ribs and squinches are filled with faceted and painted plaster, hence the name “squinch net”. This new system has many advantages: the vault itself is significantly smaller than the square room it covers; it is relatively light in weight; and the loads are concentrated on points rather than walls, as in Gothic architecture, so that the walls can be opened up with windows or filled with staircases and subsidiary rooms.

Builders also altered the proportions used in this period, making rooms taller, arches more pointed and minarets more attenuated. Typical of the new verticality and refinement of form are the monumental portals with soaring double minarets preserved in Isfahān, Yazd and Aḥāḵūt. Many of these soaring vaults are decorated with plaster mukamas shells that are suspended from the outer shell by ropes. Those used at Naṭanz in the early 8th/14th century are relatively simple, but the ones erected a century later at Turkestan are of unparalleled complexity.
Decoration, too, became more complex. Entire wall surfaces were often covered with banbd'i, thereby enveloping the building in a web of pious phrases. Tile mosaic became more common, with floral and curved designs replacing the angular ones used earlier. Interior plaster surfaces were often covered with intricate molded and painted designs, often derived from book painting and thereby suggesting the existence of a central design studio in this period.

4. 1500-1800

The buildings erected during this period are some of the most alluring and attractive in all Iranian architecture, and for many viewers, their glittering web of religious scenes, and some others, such as a group of oil paintings, depict foreigners. In many cases, these wall paintings seem to be the work of the same artists who illustrated manuscripts and single-page paintings.

In general, buildings, especially religious ones, use the same type of plans found in earlier periods. The four-iwan plan, for example, continued to be standard for congregational mosques, as in the splendid one, now called the Masdjidi-i Imam, that Shâh 'Abbâs (r. 995-1038/1587-1629) ordered for his new capital at Isfahân. The same plan was also used for madrasas and khânâsâh. So, too, the domed tomb remained popular. The tomb of Kâ'ârâjâ 'Abbâs at Isfahân (1030/1620) is a domed octagon, whereas that of Tahmàsp I's father Shaykh Djibra'îl, in the village of Kalkhurân near Ardabîl, is a square surmounted by a tall bulbous dome recalling Timûrîd tombs of Central Asia.

In comparison with earlier times, much more civil architecture survives from this period, particularly from the reign of Shâh 'Abbâs, who saw architecture as a means of enhancing his economic policies. An extensive system of kanâsâh [q.v.], subterranean aqueducts directly linked to aquifers, were dug to supply new settlements. Bridges were set up along important roads, as in the superb examples over the Zayanda Rud [q.v.] at Isfahân. Different types of buildings for collecting and storing water were developed, such as the water storage tank (Pers. dbd-anbar, usually a large domed cistern ventilated by means of pipes (Pers. bdgîr [q.v. in Suppl.]). To make and store ice, builders developed ingenious mud-brick structures (Pers. yâgkîlî), often decorated with inventive brickwork. 'Abbâs also encouraged the construction of thousands of pigeon towers (Pers. bdgîs bâdîbâr) on the fertile plain around Isfahân so that he could heavily tax the guano harvest. Similarly, the city of Bûkhrâ, one of the Shâbâyâdí capitals in Central Asia, was dotted with caravanserais (Pers. fîw) and domed markets (Pers. ûhâr-sî).

These many buildings were often integrated into five ensembles centred around a large maydân [q.v.] or public square. In Isfahân, 'Abbâs had four new buildings strategically and symbolically positioned around the maydân; the bazaar entrance on the north faced the congregational mosque, which is now known as the Masjd-i Shâhêjâh Lutf Allah on the east faced the 'Alî Kapu, the entrance to the palace precinct. Between 1596 and 1606, 'Abbâs's governor Gandj 'Alî Khan laid out a similar complex in the provincial capital of Kirmân, with a bath, caravanserai, mint, water tower, mosque and other public buildings connected by a continuous portico around a large rectangular maydân (100 x 50 m). Many of these urban developments continued under Muhammâd Karîm Khân Zand at Shirâz, who glorified his capital with broad avenues and more than 25 public buildings. As in Isfahân and Kirmân, the most important structures, including the citadel or ag, the congregational mosque known as the Masjd-i-Wâkîl (begun in 1766), a public bath and a vaulted bazaar, were grouped around a maydân.

This was also the period when the major shrine complexes in Iran took on their definitive shape. To mark their claims of sovereignty and establish their legitimacy, the Safawid rulers began to build sumptuous shrines. One of the finest is that for Shaykh Nîrâm Allah Wali at Mahân outside Kirmân, whose sequence of courtyards and richly-carpeted and splendidly-vaulted halls evokes the wealth and authority accorded these brotherhoods in Safawid Iran.

Town planning and building on such a wide scale necessitated the employment of dozens of architects and master-builders assisted by calligraphers, tile-makers, plasterers, woodworkers and painters. The workforce, especially at the top, was highly mobile and dominated by the Isfahân school, which had the finest talent from throughout the Safawid domains. The vast scale of architecture during this period led builders to standardise exteriors but to experiment with structure. They perfected the system of ribbed vaults developed during the 9th/15th century by empirical study of the strength of materials. For example, large rooms were spanned by ribbed arches with forked bases which distributed the weight on to piers concealed within the walls. These structural experiments have only been revealed during the course of restoration, as in the upper two floors of the 'Alî Kapu palace at Isfahân. New forms include the tabâr, the pillared hall known from Achamaenid times and adopted during this period for audience halls. Flat walls were often decorated with paintings of varied subjects. Some illustrate current events, such as the series of embassies and battles depicted on the walls of the Çihl Sutûn palace at Isfahân. Others evolved classic Persian themes, such as the romance of Khusrav and Sîrîn. A few, such as the murals in the Imamâbâd Shâh Zalâd in Isfahân, depict religious scenes, and some others, such as a group of oil paintings, depict foreigners. In many cases, these wall paintings seem to be the work of the same artists who illustrated manuscripts and single-page paintings.
5. 1800 to the present day

Architecture in this period can be seen as a struggle between tradition and innovation. Under the Kājārān [q.v.], new Europeanising features were grafted on to traditional ones. Thus congregational mosques, erected at Kazvin, Zandājān, Simnan and Tehran, followed the now-classic plan of an open court with two or four iwans, but interior façades were articulated with such new features as kiosks, windcatchers or clocktowers. The increasing acceptance of European architecture, especially under Nāṣīr al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1264-1313/1848-96 [q.v.]), is especially clear in secular architecture, exemplified by several palaces in and near Tehran, such as the Gūlīstān Palace and the Kājārān Kājāgār. Traditional forms such as the īlān are combined with such European elements as tall windows, engaged pilasters and grand staircases. The mixture of tradition is also evident in the decoration, in which tile mosaic, underglaze-painted tiles and the like are combined with such European elements as tall windows, engaged pilasters and grand staircases. The following includes only books and other major studies. Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406, tr. G. Le Strange, London 1928; E. Diez, Karaschische Baukunst der Perser, Berlin 1918; Survey of Persian art; Aghār-e Iran, i-iV (1936-49); M. Siourou, Caravanserails d'Iran et petites constructions routières, Cairo 1949; D.N. Wilber, The architecture of Islamic Iran, The Il Khoiin period, New York 1955; D. Hill (photographer), Islamic architecture and its decoration, A.D. 632-1800, Chicago 1964; A. Godard, The art of Iran, ed. J.M. Rogers, London 1965; Lisa Golombek, The Timurid shah at Gazur Gah, Toronto 1969; Wilber, The Masjids-i 'Atiq of Shiraz, Shiraz 1972; Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bahtit, Die islamische Schule in der persischen Architektur, Frankfurt a. M. 1977; R. Hodivala, A history of Persian architecture, New Haven 1973; Barbara Finster, Ausstellung 'Art and architecture of Islam, 1250-1800', Cambridge, MA 1986; Sheila S. Blair and J.M. Bloom, Islamic architecture and its decoration, A.D. 632-1800, Princeton 1988; J.M. Bloom, Minarets, symbol of Islam, Oxford 1989; Grabar, The Great Mosque of Isfahan, New York 1990; Blair, The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana, Leiden 1992; eadem and Bloom, The art and architecture of Islam, 1250-1600, London and New Haven 1994; Barbara Finster, Early Islamic Mosches, vom Beginn des Islam bis zur Zeit saljūqischer Herrschaft, Berlin 1994; R. Hillenbrand, Islamic architecture. Form, function and meaning, Edinburgh 1994; idem (ed.), The art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia: Proceedings of a symposium held in Edinburgh in 1992, Costa Mesa, CA 1994; O'Kane, Studies in Persian art and architecture, Cairo 1995; Muhammad-Kārīm Fisūrā, Ābādāt-i bā mirātr-i islāmiy-e Īrān, Tehran 1934/1995; Mosques. An encyclopedia of the Islamic historic monuments in the Islamic era, 2 [in Persian], Tehran 1999.

SHEILA S. BLAIR and J.M. BLOOM

IRĪC, also ERĪC, ERAČ, on modern maps Erachh, a small town of north-central Iran, situated on the south bank of the Betwā river, 65 km/40 miles northeast of Jāhanī and 100 km/62 miles southeast of Gāvarī (lat. 25° 47' N., long. 79° 9' E.). It is now in the Jāhanī District in the extreme southwest of Uttar Pradesh Province of the Indian Union. Although now within a region largely Hindu, the area round Irīc is rich in Indo-Muslim remains and monuments. It was in Muslim hands by 709/1309, when the Khalidī commander Malik Kātūr [q.v.] stayed at Irīc, then renamed Sulānsūp, en route southwards for warangal [q.v.]. The Qāmī Masjīd there was built by Gāzī Diyā al-Dīn in 815/1412 during the time of the last Tughlukīd Mahmūd Shīh II, and was added to in the time of Awrangīž. There is also a fort and five gates to the town. Under the Mughals, it was the centre of a sarkār in the sūha of Agra, but by the mid-18th century was under Marāṭhā control until the region passed to the British.


C.E. BOSWORTH

IRTISH, conventionally Irtysh, a river of Siberia and the main left-bank affluent of the Ob [q.v.]. It rises from glaciers on the southern slopes of the Altai mountains near the modern frontier of the Mongolian Republic and Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang [q.v.] through the Zaysan lake into the Kazakh Republic, then out of it into the Omsk oblast of the Russian Federation and joins the Ob at Khanty Mansiysk, its complete course being 3.720 km/2,312 miles, the greatest part of it navigable. The Irisht is mentioned, as ārīs, in the Otrkhan inscriptions (Kültügin E37; Būgā Kagan E27), where it is stated that the Kagan's armies crossed the Altai and then the Irisht, and attacked the Tūrgeš on its further (i.e. western) side (cf. Barthold, Zeitschrift für orientalische Wissenschaft, 46, 112). But the history of the Irisht basin in early Islamic times is very obscure; none of its peoples can have become Muslim before the post-Mongol, later mediaeval period. A geography like the Hudūd al-'ālam mentions the Arūsh [r. 764] as located between the Oghuz and Kīmāt tribes, but the author was clearly describing a river further west (possibly the Yayık [q.v.], which rises in the Ural and flows into the...
Abarkūh, Gunbad-i ʿAlī, 448/1056-7.
Tehran, Gulistān Palace, Shams al-Imāra, completed 1282-84/1865-67, view from the rear.
Isfahān, Masjīd-ī Imām, formerly the Masjīd-ī Shāh, begun 1020/1611, courtyard.

Sangbast, tomb and adjacent minaret, probably 6th/12th century.
Damghan, Congregational Mosque, known as the “Tari-Khana,” 3rd/9th century, courtyard looking toward prayer hall (vaults restored 20th century).

Nayin, Congregational Mosque, 4th/10th century, court façade showing brickwork added during the Buyid period.
Māhān, Shrine of Niʿmat Allāh, vaulted hall adjacent to the tomb, early 11th/17th century.

Yazd, Congregational Mosque, west prayer hall, late 8th/14th century.
Nāyīn, Congregational Mosque, 4th/10th century, stucco miḥrāb.
Caspian), since he says that it emptied into the lower Volga (tr. Minorsky, 75, §6.42, comm. 215). Mahmoud al-Kashghari mentions the Ertish sauw as a river in the Yemak/Yemak steppes which flows, so he says, after receiving many tributaries, into a lake; this error would appear to stem from the same source as the Hudud al-Islam, since the Arctic Ocean, the Bahut al-Zalimát of Arabic travellers, can hardly be meant (Dinâm bughûtul-turk, tr. Atalay, i, 97, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 129). The Islamic geographers seem to locate the Kimak [q.v.] roughly between the (true) Irtysh and the Ob, and Gardizí writes of the trade route which led northwards from Transoxania to the land of the Kimak, on the Irtysh (cf. Barthold, op. cit., 112-13; but the lower course of the river, beyond the Kimak, must have been the home of Uigrin peoples, the ancestors of the peoples found there in the 16th century, the Oystaks or Khanty). During these later mediæval times, the former lands of the now vanished Kimak, were apparently occupied by the Tatars (perhaps including aboriginal Ugrians now Turkificed) and, to their south, the Kazaks occupied this region (see J. Forsyth, A history of the peoples of Siberia, Russia’s North Asia colony 1581-1990, Cambridge 1992, 10-16, 27).

It was on the banks of the Irtysh that Cingiz Khan in 1208 defeated the remnants of his Mongolised Turkish rivals, the Nayan tribe; he halted in the summer of 1219 on the banks of the Irtysh before his troops appeared in Transoxania; and towards the end of Cingiz Khan’s life, his son Djöchí established his ardo on the river (Barthold, Turkستان, 361, 392-3, 403, 450; idem, Zweif Vorlesungen, 163, 180). The Great Khan Ögedeï was buried, when he died in 639/1241, on a mountain in Mongolia near the headwaters of the Irtysh (Rashid al-Din, in Barthold, Turkستان, 473). Islam may have appeared amongst Turkish nomadic tribes in the region when the Blue (or White) Horde came to control its southern and western fringes. In 792/1390 Timur despatched from Tashkent an army against a Khan called Kamar al-Din, and this marched north from the Issik-Kul [q.v.], crossed the Ili and reached the Irtysh (Sjaraf al-Din Yazzid, Zij-jíl-níma, Bibliotheca Indica, i, 495; and at the end of the 15th century, the Khánate of Sibir [q.v.] moved its capital to Sibir or Ourgiak or later the confluence of the Irtysh and its tributary the Tobol. The overwhelming of the Khánate of Sibir in the 1590s (see KUÇÚM KHÁN), however, brought the greater part of the course of the Irtysh under Russian control.

Bibliography: Given in the article; and see on and under.

(G.E. Bosworth)

ISFÍJDÁB, a town and an extensive district of mediaeval Islamic Central Asia, identifiable with the later Islamic town of Sairam. Popular etymologising saw in the name the Persian component sipid, sipid “white”. It lay on the Aris river, a right-bank affluent of the Sir Daryá [q.v.], 14 km/8 miles to the east of the later town of Chinkent (lat. 42° 16' N., long. 69° 05' E.); Chinkent itself, now in the southernmost part of the Kazakhstan Republic, is mentioned in the historical sources from Timurid times onwards, e.g. in Shíchar al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi.

Isfíjdáb apparently had a pre-Islamic history, though nothing is known of this; it is known that it was also in the hands of the Islamic rulers, as is said, the adjacent regions of Ílák [q.v. in Suppl.] and Istrúghana [q.v.]. The incursions into Transoxania of Kutayba b. Muslim [q.v.] are said to have reached as far as Sháh and Isfíjdáb, but it appears more firmly in history with a report that, in 225/840, the Sámnádí governor of Samarkand Núth b. Asad subdued it and built a wall round its vineyards and cultivated lands (presumably as protection against raids by the steppe Turks) (al-Baladhuri, Futûh, 422; al-Sam’ání, Ansâb, ed. Haydarábad, vii, 26). Being on the northernmost edge of the Islamic lands in Central Asia, Isfíjdáb was never more than a frontier town, the resort of ghiláth and other fighters for the faith, who congregated in ribáh [q.v.] fortified against the infidel Oghuz and Kimak Turks, and numbered by al-Mukaddás, 273, with palpable exaggeration, at 1,700. Many of these ribáhs were built and financed by the people of the Transoxanian towns well behind the frontier, and manned by them in relays; ribáhs of the men of Nakhshab, Buhárá and Samarkand are mentioned, and another ribáh was that financed by the Sámnádí commander Karátín al-Isfíjdáb, with Karátín and his son Músár buried nearby (al-Mukaddás, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athir, ed. Beirut, viii, 492). That this Karátín—obviously a Turk—was the local ruler of Isfíjdáb in the early 4th/10th century, Barthold assumed, is by no means sure. At all events, because of its role as a vital frontier post (būghár djjíl um-dár al-dhjidí) it was, unusually for Transoxania, exempt from taxation, and the local ruler paid only a token tribute and forwarded presents to the Samanid amir in Buhárá (Ibn Hawákal, 510, tr. 488; al-Mukaddás, 340; cf. Barthold, Turkistan, 175-6, 211-12, and idem, A history of the Turkman people, in Four studies on the history of Central Asia, iii, 77-8).

The geographers describe it at this time as thoroughly well defended, with a citadel (ruinous, however, in Ibn Hawákal’s time) and walls round the ghuristán and ribáh respectively. As a place where the products of the steppes could be exchanged for those of the settled lands, it is mentioned in the 4th/10th century, as a place where the tributes were built and financed ribdts [q.v.] that yielded 7,000 dirhams a month (Ibn Hawákal, 510, tr. 487-8; al-Mukaddás, 273; cf. Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 483-4, and Barthold, Turkistan, 175-6).

We do not know what ultimately happened to the local rulers of Isfíjdáb, but in 382/992 the Karátání ruler of Balaságún, Buggá Khán Hárrín or Hasan, occupied the town as he advanced into the Samanid dominions, and it is mentioned that a certain Abu Mansür Muhammad b. Hasan al-Isfíjdábí rebelled against Samanid authority in the very last days of the dynasty (387/997) and summoned help from the Karáhání Ilíg Nasár.

In the early 7th/13th century, the inhabitants of Isfíjdáb, together with those of Sháh, Fargháná and Kásán, were removed by the Khán-razm Shah ‘Alí of the Almohamadid and the land laid waste because he was unable to protect them from the destructive raids of the Mongol Kúrlig [q.v.] (Yakús, Balúdan, ed. Beirut, i, 179; Ibn al-Athir, xii, 271; Barthold, Turkistan, 368-9). The second disaster which Isfíjdáb suffered, according to Yakús, loc. cit., was devastation by the Mongols of Cingiz Khán.

It is around this time that the name Sairam begins to replace Isfíjdáb, although already in the later 5th/11th century, Mahmúd al-Kashgharí, Dinâm bughûtul-turk, tr. Atalay, i, 176; tr. Dankoff and Kelly, ii, 241, equated Sairam/Sayram with the older Isfíjdáb. As such, Sayram figures in the history of the western part of what became, from the 8th/14th century onwards, Mogholistán [q.v.], e.g. in the history of the later Çaghatayids as recounted by Mírzá Muhammad Haydar Khán. Thus it is recorded that ‘Išá Bugha Khán devastated Sayram, Turkistán and Tashkent in...
ISFIZARĪ. Muʿīn al-Dīn Muhammad Zāmī, epistolary stylist and historian in Timūrid Khurāsān whose birth and death dates are unknown but who flourished in the second half of the 8th/14th century. From what he says in his own works, he arrived in Harāt, probably from Isfizarī in what is now western Afghanistan, in 873/1468-9, and was employed as a mādījī at the court of Sultan Ḥusayn Baykāra[1] (see above, Vol. III). As far as we can tell from his patroguage of the vizier Īkhwān al-Dīn Nīzām al-Mulkī (d. 964/1457-8), Isfizarī is most famous as the author of a history and compendium of information about the city of Harāt, its topography and its faḍīlī, the Rawdat al-ḏjamātī fī awsāʾ malānāt Harāt, dedicated to Ḥusayn Baykāra, begun in Muḥarram 897/November 1491 and completed two years later at the end of 899/autumn 1494. Noteworthy here is his use of earier, lost sources, such as a history of the Kart or Kurt dynasty of Harāt by one Rābl lost sources, such as a history of the Kart or Kurt dynasty of Harāt by one Rābl (see above, Vol. III). This history was edited by Sayyid Muhammad Kāzīm Imāmī, 2 vols., Tehran 1338-39/1961-62 (non vidi); description and inshād to it was back

IBN-štīF, MUḤAMMAD RIDĀ MĪRZĀD, modernist poet, playwright, journalist and fervent Iranian nationalist (b. 31 March 1860, d. 3 June 1924 = 12 Tir ASH 1303).

IštīF’s life is shrouded in legend because of his ultra-patriotic pronouncements in his writings and speeches, his unconventional and often militant ideas in politics and literature, and above all, his tragic death at the early age of thirty from an assassin’s bullet. He received his elementary education in his native Hamadān, attending the Ulāfī and Ālīnī (Alliance) high schools, in the latter of which he learned French and was introduced to Western civilization. His knowledge of French helped him to gain employment as a translator/interpreter for a merchant in Hamadān. However, before finishing school, he travelled around the provinces and towns, his eyes being thereby opened to the dismal social and economic conditions of his country and countrymen. At the beginning of the First World War, IštīF was back in Hamadān, where in ca. 1915 he started his career as a journalist by publishing Nāma-yi IštīF; from the start, he was an engājī journalist with leftist leanings. As Iran became a theatre of war with the movement of foreign armies, IštīF joined a group of expatriates and settled for several years in Istanbul. It seems that even before he left, IštīF was a Turcophile and was interested in the activities of the reformist and nationalist group of the Young Turks. According to some writers, while in Istanbul he attended the Dār al-Funūn for courses in science and philosophy.

IštīF’s poetic gift now suddenly blossomed. This took place whilst travelling in Mesopotamia, in the midst of the ruins of the Sāsānīd royal palace at Ctesiphon. The remains of the palace, with its huge iwān, triggered off a poetic rapture in IštīF, and he composed Rāstāhā-ī iškāriyān-ī Irān ("The resurrection of Iranian kings"). It became the first opera in the Persian language, and was first staged in Išfahān on IštīF’s return to his homeland, to the tumultuous reception of the audience. IštīF himself sang the part of the poet. This one-act opera play is a mixture of realism and fantasy, and is full of patriotic pathos, with dramatic personae including the poet (IštīF); Khusrav-dukht (the Sāsānīd princess); Darius the Great; Cyrus the Great; Anushirvān; Khusrav Parvīz and his wife Shīrīn; and the prophet Zarōstrā. The
purpose of this opera was to juxtapose the glories of the ancient Iran with that of the land of 'Ishkif's own day, the ancient kings accuse contemporary Iranians of having no energy and will and of leaving the country in a state of apathy and lethargy. 'Ishkif's second poem inspired by the Sasanid ruins was Kafan-i siydh musammat form set in the time of Khusraw and ShfrTN, and what was meant to be a romantic epic turned out to be a powerful social commentary and criticism.

'Ishkif's criticism of the Iranian policy was carried to its height upon his return to Iran from his self-imposed exile in Istanbul after the end of the War. He wrote his vehement opposition to the 1919 Anglo-Iranian treaty in a form of a patriotic khayyâ, Muhâlii- at bâ Kândisti-i Iran wa Ingâlis ("Opposition to the Iran-England treaty"), in which he ridiculed the Prime Minister Wuthük al-Dawla [q.v.] as well as the passivity of his compatriots, and this resulted in his being sent to prison. In 1920, he published a new journal Karn-i bistum ("The twentieth century"). His poetry and prose now became more and more inflammatory as he demanded radical reforms from the government, the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 having had a clear impact on his ideas; in 1922, on the occasion of the Iranian New Year, he composed a poem Tsh-kî kângârn ("Festival of the Workers"). In his poetry, as in his journalism, he focused unrelentingly on Iran's national and social problems. In his satirical works, 'Ishkif came to use an increasingly malicious language, full of invective, against members of the government as well as against deputies in the Majlis, and he rapidly moved to the extreme position of vigilantism, calling for an annual blood-bath in order to cleanse Iran of corruption. In 1924, he participated in a nationwide canvass for an ideal model (archetype) of each field of endeavour to which prominent thinkers were invited to write and publish. Answering that call, he wrote his revolutionary narrative poem Sik tâbâk-yi ayyâlî ("Three ideal tableaux"). Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak has written that this work was 'Ishkif's "solitary attempt to break through the constraints of poetic diction and to liberize the concept of rhyme and meter ..." Since, however, 'Ishkif ends his poem advocating a bloodbath "to cleanse the country of all traitors", Karimi-Hakkak adds that "The Three Tableaux must ultimately be seen as an angry young man's frustrated outburst against the political situation in Iran during the last years of Qajar rule."' Ishkif's next angry outburst turned out to be fatal. It was the time when Rîdà Khân [see Rîdâ Khân] was preparing to become the first President of the Iranian Republic, and 'Ishkif strongly opposed this idea for two reasons, being afraid that the president, Rîdà Khân, would establish a military dictatorship, and also that Iranians were not yet ready for a republican democratic polity. He opted therefore for the continuation of the Kândîr dynasty. A few days after the publication of his attack on Rîdâ Khân, 'Ishkif was assassinated in Tehran.

'Ishkif's contribution to Persian literature, journalism and political thought has yet to be fully examined and described, but there is no doubt that, had he lived longer, he would have been regarded as the writer who laid the foundation of modern Persian letters.


ISHKODRA, the Turkish form of the name of the town of Shkodër/Shkodra (Slavonic, Skadar) in the north of modern Albania.

The town is situated at an altitude of 16 m/52 feet near the banks of the lake of the same name, at the confluence of an arm of the Drin, the Bunca/Bojana arms and the Kiri, and is dominated by the fortress of Rozafa and by Mt. Tarabosh. This ancient urban centre was founded in the 4th century B.C., in the Illyrian period, around the acropolis. It was successively dominated by the Romans [in 168 B.C.], Byzantines, Serbs (from 1043), Byzantines again, Serbs again, Ottomans (1393) and Venetians (from 1396). It became definitively Ottoman after two sieges (1474 and 1476-9). After the departure of the greater part of its population in accordance with the Ottoman-Venetian peace treaty, Ishkodra (equally called Eksen- terrye or Skutari) became the centre of a sanjak of the same name and was gradually repopulated and Islamised. The tax registers show that, in addition to the troops of the garrison and their families, there were in 1485 27 Muslim and 70 Christian hearths, in 1528 119 and 43 respectively, and in 1570-1 217 and 27 respectively.

The town owed its importance, right up to the early 20th century, to its politico-administrative role and also to its location (situated at the confluence of the Adriatic Sea (some 20 km/12 miles away by water) and the Italian ports, plus its situation on important trade routes (northwards to Montenegro, eastwards to the centre of the Balkan peninsula (Ishkodra-Prizren road) and southwards to the plains of the Albanian coastline. As the centre of a frontier sanjak (comprising the modern regions of Montenegro and northern Albania), Ishkodra enjoyed its greatest period of florescence from the mid-18th century onwards, when the office of sanjâk-beyi passed into the hands of a local ayân family, that of Bugâšî. There they succeeded at the head of the town and sanjak, which last they tried to enlarge: Mehmed Pasha, then his three sons Mustâfa Pasha, Kara Mahmûd Pasha [q.v.] and Ibrahim Pasha, and, finally, Mustâfa's grandson, also Mustâfa Pasha [q.v.], who was in the end subdued by the Porto in 1831. In 1862 Ishkodra became the centre of an 'âdût with just one sanjak, then from 1875 it was the capital of the smallest Ottoman vilayet, with two sanjaks, those of Ishkodra and Draç [q.v.] (Durrës). Being on the frontier with Montenegro, the province retained a special character (mustehnâ) until the Young Turk revolution. Reforms were never completely introduced. The 'âdût was also the military commander. The Muslim population did not perform military service but went out on campaigns in byâns (there being 15 in the town). No population census was made. The Muslims and Christians of the adjacent mountain areas freely bore arms.

During the last century of Ottoman occupation, the town expanded towards the north. Because of epidemics, flood problems the Drin changed its course in 1865 and earthquakes (notably in 1905), the old quarters within and around the fortress (Ailibe, Tabak, Ayazma, etc.) were abandoned for new ones (Parutsa,
was the product of oriental, western and local influences. It was not chosen as the capital, to the great chagrin of Degrand and Th. Ippen, have left writings on the Cultural significance except for the “Leaden Mosque” in the Tabak quarter, south of the citadel), the presence of Muslim gypsies. Towards the end of the 19th century, the bazaar [see p53], which stretched between the fortress and the new town, and trade in general, lost their importance relative to that of Rumelia because of the development of Salonica and the construction of the Salonica-Mitrovica railway line.

The cultural and social development of Ighodora was the product of oriental, western and local influences which met there. The importance of Islamic culture is attested by the rate of Islamisation, the existence of mosques (almost 30, without much architectural significance except for the “Leaden Mosque” in the Tabak quarter, south of the citadel), the presence of dervish tekkes ([the Bektashfs are said to have been allotted, with other troops from the Iranian and Central Asia East, a special quarter, whilst at Samarra they had a citadel, a ghābristān and a rahab or suburb; a village of the same name exists on the site today.]

When the Arsaks north of Samarkand and was administratively separate from it. There were many arable fields, irrigated by a canal taken off the Zaraḵsh river [q.v.]. In the 4th/10th century, the town had a citadel, a ghābristān and a rahab or suburb; a village of the same name exists on the site today.}

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Syrian poet. Born in 619/1222 in Ischird or Sicird [q.v.] in Southeastern Anatolia, which he sentimentally remembers in his Diwan, he lived in Baghad and visited Egypt, but most of his adult life was, it seems, spent in Damascus (and al-Salihiyya). There the kāfi Sadir al-Din Ibn Sami al-Dawla (390/588/1194-1260), for whom al-Isirīd expressed biting contempt, appointed him one of the official witnesses (attorneys) doing business under the famous clock of the great mosque. He won the favour of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Salāh al-Dīn Yūnus, ruler of Aleppo (since 634) and of Damascus (since 648) until his sad end in 658/1260, who made him his boon-companion. He was in contact with many of the litterateurs and other important men of his time, such as Djamal al-Dīn Ibn Yāghmūr (599-663/1203-64) and the ambassador of the Diwan.

His Diwan is so far known to be preserved only in ms. Escorial ar. 472 (with the title-page bound into ms. ar. 399), incomplete at the end. In addition to the many poems addressed to al-Malik al-Nāṣir on a large variety of personal and public events, it includes poems addressed to, among others, the caliphs al-Mu'tasim and al-Malik al-Mu'tazz, as well as fellow-poets, dāhayāt, ghazals, riddles, and the like, as one would expect in a diwan of the period. Wine-drinking plays throughout its customary large role. The Diwan offers valuable sidelights on the political and cultural history of Syria and Egypt immediately before the coming of the Mongols. Another work, apparently lost, Salālah al-zābā'iq fī l-khāli'a wa l-majdūn, dealt, as the title indicates, with lewd verses of his own composition, and also by others. Most of the verses quoted by the biographers, including the Rungest poem of wine and baghdad (cf. F. Rosenthal, The Herb, Leiden 1971, 6, 163-4), may well go back to this work, as only a couple of them can be traced in the extant manuscript of the Diwan. The same applies to additional verses quoted by al-Safādi in al-Ghayth al-muṣāqādīm fī sāḥt Lāmnayt al-nilūm.

Al-Isirīd represents the lighthearted side characteristic of Syrian secular life and culture before “the days of joy in Damascus” (Ibn al-Suka, ed. J. Suhler, 168, tr. 196), which came with the Mongol al-Nāṣir's downfall and the Mongol invasion. Little as we know about him, it seems clear that he, in common with numerous contemporaries, combined serious activity with a great zest for life and provided and enjoyed an atmosphere in which, despite all the political turmoil of the age, ease and elegance flourished as they were scarcely ever to do afterwards.

Bibliography: Safādi, Wīfī, ed. H. Ritter, i, 188-92; who furnishes most of the information for later biographers, also, in a slightly shortened and rearranged form in his Nakt al-hamīyān, Cairo 1299/1911, 255-7; Kutubi, Fawqī, Cairo 1951, ii, 329-34, ed. i. ‘Abbās, Cairo 1974-3, iii, 271-6; Ibn Kathīr, Bīrāya, xiia, 212; Ibn al-‘Imād, Shadhdhārī, v, 294; Ḥādījī Khālīfa, ed. Yalikaya, 995; Brockelmann, P, 299 (where the wrong date of death, 652, goes back ultimately to Flügel’s ed. of Ḥādījī Khālīfa).

ISKĀN (Iskān), lit. “coming into a peaceful state, settlement, the allocation of living quarters or space,” hence in modern usage, “sedentarisation” as a stage after a migratory or nomadic existence.

Unlike hidūr [q.v.], “desert, people of the desert”, and ḥudur “settled lands, people of the settled lands”, iskān is not a concept often used in the Arabian peninsula and its fringes. In the recent past, the Beduin of northern Arabia, when talking about the town of Shaykh Miskīn in the Hawrān [q.v.], ostensibly connected the term miskīn with the root s-k-n (when it is, in fact, derived from a quite separate, ancient Semitic usage, see miskīn); these townspeople were said to be descendants of people who had been unable to cope with the rigours of Beduin lifestyle and had therefore settled. In fact, equating iskān with “sedentarisation” places an undue emphasis on the locale of towns described, when town or village and countryside were generally enmeshed in multiple relationships. Hence in what follows, some separation of contexts is attempted in an otherwise generalised discussion.
The Arabian peninsula and its ancillaries include a great diversity of physical environments, habitats and natural resources. Urban and rural settlements differ, not only from each other but also between themselves, and over time. Middle Eastern patterns are similarly diverse and shift through time. Factors affecting settlement and nomadism over the region can be discussed in general terms only, with regional and historical examples indicated in the bibliographical references. Settling and settlement take place in economic and political—often administrative—contexts; religious reasons have been important at some times and places. The economic context changes from the traditional period when animals were an essential source of energy and the more recent one, starting about the 1850s or 1860s, and involving modern sources of energy culminating with oil from regional oilfields [see SART. 3] and electricity grids. In traditional political economies, governments or rulers got wealth from taxation, tribute and booty, most of which ultimately went to government agents, directly, and participation in the global political economy. Environmental factors necessitate some seasonal mobility in most modes of livelihood, agricultural, commercial, and administrative as well as pastoral. In most social groups, households were and are the productive and consuming units, which may or may not have all members present. They drew and draw resources from various directions, drawing on two or more components from herding, agriculture, commerce and services. Towns and countrysides continue to be enmeshed in some places, the settling was permanent; for others, the Arab world. For some groups, at some times and reasons have been important at some times and places. As pastoral livelihood become untenable for many, these summer water points became the bases for settlements, first as storage depots and then as villages. All modern nation states of the region, with the exception of Oman/Umān, apart from its Dhofar/Zufar region (Chatty 1996, 9, 188-9), regard settlement of nomads as a means of imposing or encouraging incorporation into the state and identity as citizens. States with potentially rich agricultural areas like Irāk and Syria initially left the settlement of nomads to market forces, changes in land laws and the provision of hydraulic schemes. Later, their more revolutionary governments saw nomadism and nomadism as primitive survivals to be eradicated by social engineering. Saudi Arabia set up agricultural schemes in the 1960s to settle nomads and established the National Guard to provide employment for tribesmen after a long series of drought years in the 1940s and 1950s (H.H. Hamza 1982; W. and Fidelity Lancaster 1986, 1993). Later, state provision of water, electricity, health and education services, and subsidies for agriculture and housing, distributed oil wealth to rural areas (W. Lancaster 1997, 139-50, 166-80; A.-R. al-Sudairi 1995). The UAE urged settlement in government-sponsored housing schemes and employment as a way of forming a modern society, Oman, after 1970, provided services to all citizens without requiring settlement.

Living quarters may be allocated by an individual family with the agreement of the heads of other families of the place, by a šākhd or headman, or by a government agent, depending on the nature of the living place. Tent sites of nomad encampments arrange themselves along lines of closeness and distance of members; links through women influence the sitting of particular tents. Women's relationships similarly affect those who live in small villages and in house groups throughout the peninsula. Some recent settlements developed by state governments attempted to break up traditional residence patterns and to form new bonds of citizenship. Large hydraulic and agricultural developments in Syria had, along with economic objectives, the political aim of generating a "new class of socialist peasants". Between the late 1950s and early 1960s, rural people from more than a hundred villages wanting to acquire land poured into one development (Françoise Metral, 1984). The agricultural reform service scattered populations with shared common origins, settling individual families in housing along roads and canals. Twenty years later, these housing groups had not become communities; many households have rebuilt extended family structures along lines of kinship, and communities have been less cohesive than they were in the past as a result of government changes in the land
law and of changing market forces. From the 1860s in 'Iraq, Syria and what is now Jordan, as the value of transit trade and desert products declined, many nomadic and semi-nomadic groups moved to agriculture, or else to sheep-herding rather than camel herding. From the 1930s, there were mass movements from the Trakf countryside to towns and cities, caused by debt among agricultural workers, repressive land laws and the uncertainties of agricultural production (H. Batatu 1978, 35). In Syria, after the Second World War, nomads, especially camel herders, had to adapt fast to the fully mechanised cultivation of grain and cotton (J. Hannoyer 1980, 294); later, more grazing lands were lost to irrigated vegetable and fruit growing for export to the oil states of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf.

Scholars frequently discuss settlement in terms of “the frontier of settlement” and make a positive correlation between strong government, commercial agriculture and settlement. It used to be assumed that from near the end of the 'Abbasid period, settlement declined in rural areas but increased in cities, and nomadism took over countryside until the process was reversed from the middle of the 19th century onwards. Archaeological and historical research has shown that settlement continued, with fluctuations, in the countrysides of Syria, Jordan and 'Iraq, although it appears that there was an urban demographic decline from the 15th century to the late 18th century (Beaumont, etc. 1988, 212-13). In the Arabian peninsula itself, the “frontier of settlement” thesis was not developed. It seems that there was here more rural settlement than had been previously thought, and that there was movement between settlement and nomadism, with some settlements disappearing and others being founded. The general thesis linking strong government, commercial agriculture and settlement is not wholly consistent with actual historical examples, since it ignores particular events and local circumstances along with governments’ sources of revenue; what is meant by commercial agriculture; access to land, sources of labour and the established social processes utilising these; the service provision of pastoralism; distribution of goods by means other than an obvious market; and the nature of the household and multi-resource livelihoods. Social practices negate ideas of settlement and nomadism, as distinct entities of hadar and hodar is, according to these authorities, unsatisfactory, since here the crucial determinant is the ability to get one’s living and security by one’s own efforts and networks, rather than by accepting government employment and provision. Of course, there are many who do both at the same time, and are in fact “settled” and “nomadic”. Movement is now important to households in order to link employment and traditionally-owned resources in the countrysides.

Bibliography:


ISKANDAR KHAN B. DJANI BEG, ruler in Transoxania, from his capital Bukhara, of the Turco-Arabian Iskandars (shuf’a). As the Great Khan Iskandar b. Djani Beg, he ruled 968-91/1561-83. Iskandar was in fact a weak and ineffective ruler. Real power was in the hands of his son Abd Allah, who had shown his ability against rival families in Transoxania as early as 958/1551 and who became the greatest of the Shu’i Iskandars. Iskandar’s dynasty was unchallenged for a further sixteen years (see ‘Abd Allah b. Iskandar). For the course of events in these decades, see SHIBANIDS and R.D. McChesney, The Middle East and Central Asia, vi. In the 10th-12th/16th/18th centuries.

Bibliography: See those to the two arts, mentioned above, and also C.E. Bosworth, The New Islamic Dynasties, a chronological and genealogical manual, Edinburgh 1996, 288 no. 153. (Ed.) ISKAT (x), a legal term meaning “relinquishment”, specifically of a right (hak). In general, four conditions must be met to make the relinquishment of a right valid: (a) that the right should exist at the time it is relinquished (e.g. the right to collect a debt to be incurred in the future may not be relinquished); (b) that the right relinquished does not concern milk al-qayn (i.e. the ownership of the substance of a thing, whether movable or immovable, is not subject to relinquishment, but only to transfer, nakl); (c) that the interests of the person entitled to the right should be absolute and not limited by other interests (e.g. it cannot be an interest such as that of a trustee in a waqf property); and (d) that the relinquishment of the right does not involve an illegal result.

Iskat may be of two kinds: iskat mahdī (true relinquishment) and iskat ghayr mahdī (quasi-relinquishment). The first kind includes divorce (talak), manumission of a slave (i’tak), and the relinquishment of the right of pre-emption (takārī). In the latter case, clear clauses of relinquishment of the right of pre-emption are often added to deeds of sale of houses (e.g. kad iska’ābukīsh, šay‘a’tan mīn ḥabīk), neighbours of the vendor in Islamic law having the right of pre-emption [see shuf’a].

The term iskat ghayr mahdī includes legal transactions such as acquittance of debt (ibnā‘an al-dīn), which is not regarded as a pure relinquishment since it partakes of the nature of a donation (tabarrû‘). Bibliography: Adnan Kouatly, Étude comparative du droit de preemption, Damascus 1948, 242-45; Mustafa Ahmad al-Zarka‘ī, Al-Fikr al-Islāmī fi ṣu‘ūd al-dīn, Damascus 1968, and bibliography there cited; R.Y. Eshel and M.J.L. Young, Some Arabic legal documents of the Ottoman period, Leiden 1976 (see documents on pp. 15, 17, 23). (R.Y. Eshel and M.J.L. Young)

ISLĀH
v. CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia (here basically understood in the sense of the pre-modern Mawarri‘a al-Nahr [q.v.]), notwithstanding its regional peculiarities, historically is to be regarded as an integral part of the Islamic world. Hence, in one way or another, its Muslim communities—at least until the Russian “October Revolution” of 1917—was influenced by and/or contributed to reformist trends and movements current in other Muslim regions, in particular, those of Russia, Ottoman Turkey, the Arab world and also India. The course of the religious discourse on islāh in the 18th-20th centuries, as described in the previous sections of this article (see Vol. IV) are to be found in Central Asia as well. But, because of the impact of roughly seven decades of Soviet rule, our knowledge about the specific nature of islāh in Central Asia, and about its various supporters, actual developments, exchange of ideas, etc., is still rather poor in comparison to that about other regions. The inaccessibility of relevant sources during the Soviet period, as well as the application of Marxist-Leninist concepts of history, have led to a somewhat ecletic picture.

As a result of the prolonged Soviet impact, reformism in Central Asia appears predominantly as a more or less obscure and finally political (nationalist) movement among Muslim intellectuals emerging around the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries, and considerably gaining strength after 1905-7 when censorship in the Russian empire was loosened and the press could function more freely [see DARDAN IV]. This reform movement was the so-called Djadidism [see PAJDAD], but the usual self-designations of its representatives were different, e.g. islāhāt, tanqishpan (progressive), munassar (enlightener), šaykh or ga‘ūn (young).

It figures as a historically more or less isolated phenomenon, directly inspired by an identical movement which started somewhat earlier among Russia’s Muslims. A key role in these endeavours, in the first place directed to renewing the Muslim educational system, disseminating Western-type knowledge, and fighting harmful social conditions and customs, falls to the Central Asia of the Khanates (Bukhara, Khiva and Khokand [q.v.]) in the 18th-19th centuries. But, because of the impact of roughly seven decades of Soviet rule, our knowledge about the specific nature of islāh in Central Asia, and about its various supporters, actual developments, exchange of ideas, etc., is still rather poor in comparison to that about other regions.

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that such eminent precursors of reformism and modernism in the Volga-Ural region as ‘Abd al-Nasır al-Kūrsāwī (1776-1812) and Shāhāb al-Dīn al-Mardżānī (1818-89) both finished their studies in Bukhārā, Central Asia’s most famous centre of Muslim learning. A decisive role in their taking up positions against traditionalism and favouring modernism was played by Bukharan scholars and brothers of the al-Mardżānī family, who were affiliated with the influential Nakshbandiyah (Mujaddidiyyah) and see AHMAD NAKSHBANDIYYA (MUJADDIYYA) is worth mentioning that Central Asia, and particularly Bukhara, was not an isolated region but was connected through extensive trade relations with China, India, Russia, and also Western Siberia, where, besides the Tatars, BUKHRĀL played a major role in spreading Islam and building up Muslim institutions, thereby in some cases showing reformist approaches at a comparatively early date. “Critical erudition” also can be found in 19th-century Bukhārā itself, among what might be called the teachers’ generation of its later modernists (the Young Bukhārans, emerging around the end of the first decade of the 20th century), such as Ahmad Makhādūm Dānish (1827-97) [see AZADI, in Suppl.] who subsequently, under Soviet auspices, was praised as a [Tāfīd] “enlightener” (al-Kursawī and al-Mardżānī were removed from their Islamic context in a similar way); Mīrzā ‘Abd al-‘Āzhīm Sāmī (ca. 1835-1914) who served as a mansūḥ of the amīr Muzaffar (1860-85) and ‘Abd al-‘Abdī (1885-1910); Dāmmullā Muhammad Ikramī (1847-1925) who was appointed in 1913 one of the twelve official Bukhārā maktābs; Muhammad Sharīfīān Makhādūm, named Sadr-i Diyā (1867-1932), from a well-known kūdi family, himself being appointed 1917 for three months kūdi-yi kūla, the highest judicial officer in Bukhārā. All of them, except Sadr-i Diyā, shared the characteristic of having stayed for some time abroad, either by travelling to Russia or by performing the Ḥajj.

To be sure, all this does not mean that Bukhārā in the 18th-19th centuries was a stronghold of islah. On the contrary, al-Kūrsāwī, for example, already met with sharp opposition and even condemnation by the overwhelming majority of Bukhārān ‘ulamā’, including the then ruling amīr ‘Haydar (1800-26), when he, in regard to the question of the divine attributes [see SūT, 2], opposed the generally accepted doctrine that God possesses either seven or eightṣifāt by arguing that the only way to formulate a qualification of God is His own word, the Kur’ān, in which theṣifāt are not at all limited to a definite number of seven or eight. Leaving aside that kind of subtle debates, it can be stated at least that Bukhārā was in constant exchange with the outside world, and to some extent participated in current Islamic developments, thereby providing certain prerequisites for a more evident manifestation of reformist endeavours that was to happen only at the beginning of the 20th century, then taking shape in Ḏādīdīm, current amongst Russia’s Muslims. The main impetus to Ḏādīdīm, the followers of which—beyond the basically regressive concept of islah—also believed in Western ideas of progress, thus came from outside. But in Central Asia it met with an already existing specific spiritual basis of genuine islah, namely, a critical attitude towards traditional ways of rule, social life and religious learning which, as their critics saw it, were incompatible with “true” Islamic principles.

Unlike the Muslims of the Volga-Ural region, who already for centuries had stood up against Russian rule and various policies of Russification, Central Asia had to face the challenges of colonial rule only from the second half of the 19th century, when it was conquered by Russia (abolishing the KHĀNATE of KHOKAND finally in 1876, and reducing Bukhārā in 1868 and KHIWA in 1873 to protectorates). At that time Russia’s Muslim communities had for almost one hundred years already for centuries had stood up against Russia’s rule and various policies of Russification, Central Asia already for centuries had stood up against Russia’s rule and various policies of Russification, Central Asia

The majority of outstanding Central Asian modernists, although of different social origins, belonged to the younger generation and had gone through a traditional maktāb and madrasa education. Some had a Russian education, and finally, a considerable number of them had fruitful experience of the outside Muslim world. Another group of supporters of modernism, at least in Bukhārā, was made up of traders and entrepreneurs. Their business interests led them to welcome efforts towards reform oriented towards interpretations of Western standards of knowledge and civilization. At the same time, endeavours of this kind were combined with a more or less conscious harking back to the fundamentals of the “true”, early Islam. This synthesis of both following the dictates of the Kur’ān and “keeping up with the times” in practice mainly resulted in activities to disseminate knowledge (the press, publications, textbooks, founding of charitable societies [dīn-e ṭabarrūʿī, dīn-e ṭarbiyāt], and their own educational system the maktāb, madrasa), and to criticize “backward” administrative institutions (e.g. the judiciary, awkaf) and social conditions (e.g. features of popular religion, certain activities of Sufi brotherhoods, lavish festivities and moral decline—the latter, by the way, was a field...
in which the Djadids largely shared the opinion of the Kadimos).

These general characteristics are mirrored in the basic biographical data of distinguished Central Asian modernists (their backgrounds and their entire work are, for the most part, not yet sufficiently studied), such as: (1) Sayyid Ahmad Siddiki, named ‘Adji (Samarqand, 1864-1927, madrasa education, published the first textbook for “new method” maktabs [Ustid-i avval, Tashkent 1901], ca. 1901-3 Hadjji and residence in the Hidjaz, Egypt and Russia; then founding “new method” maktabs, writing textbooks and contributing to modernist press; (2) Mahmund Khadi Bibi (Samarqand, 1873-1919, madrasa education, 1900 Hadjji, 1903-4 stay in Cairo, Istanbul, Ufa and Kazan; then founding a “new method” maktab, acting as mufti, publisher, editor of the newspapers Samarqand [1913-4] and Athina [1914-5], writer of textbooks, theatrical plays); (3) ‘Abd Allâh âl-Wâli (Tashkent, 1878-1934, madrasa education, editor of newspapers Shubrat [1907], Aşı (1908) and Tûrân [1917], founder of “new method” maktabs [1908, 1912], charitable society [1909], writer [textbooks, anthologies, theatrical plays], organising [1913] a theatre group; (4) Munawwar Khân (Bukhara, 1886-1938 [?], editor of newspapers Khârîgarh [1906], Sadî-ye Turkistan [1914] and Naﬁgât [1917], published textbooks); and (5) ‘Abd al-Ra’ûf Fira ‘ (Bukhara, 1886-1938?), madrasa education, 1904 Hadjji, ca. 1910-14 studying in Istanbul, the starting point of his career as an important writer and as theorist of Central Asian modernism.

Within the Central Asian context, the activities of these and other adherents of modernism represented a remarkable phenomenon that successfully challenged traditional society and colonial rule. But these modernists were few in number and, beyond shared basic ideas and goals, they seem to have formed a rather disparate movement of limited success. They lagged behind the modernist debate in other parts of the Muslim world. Their influence did not apparently reach beyond the borders of Central Asia, and even in their homeland they had no firm socio-political grounding. When finally, in the course of the Russian Revolution of 1917, some of the Central Asian modernists entered the political stage (striving for an autonomy of Turkistan within a Russian federation, or for an implementation of reforms in Bukhârâ), they were quickly swept away and successively absorbed by various more firmly-based social and political forces and realities (ranging from Soviet power to the armed resistance of the BasmacTs [q.v.]).


dence in Anadoluhisar and was buried in the cemetery next to the Fatih Mosque.

In addition to Turkish, he knew Arabic, Persian and Bulgarian. His writings include a translation of, and commentary on, *Al-Kazâda al-nâšîyya* on the Islamic creed by *Khabir* Beg [*q.v.*]; *Beyyindül Ahmediyye* (Leiden and Paris 1879; originally published as *Het Islamisme*, Haarlem 1863), translated by 'Abdallah Djeddet. For his other works, *see B.H.*; he also contributed numerous articles to journals and newspapers.

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ISMÂ'IL PASHA BAGHDÂDLÎ, ISMÂ'IL B. MUHAMMAD ÂMÎN B. MIR SALÎM AL-BABBÂNî AL-BAGDÂDI, in modern Turkish orthography, Bagdath, Ismail Paşa (1839-1920), Ottoman army officer and author of two important bio-bibliographical reference works.

He was born in Bagdadî, in a family originating from Bâbân, near Sulaymanîyâ in Trak, hence his other name and life span of the author, or the year of the text, reference is made to the scope of the literary interests of the Ottoman elite.

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2. *Hidayat al-ârîfîn, Ama'â al-mu'âllîfîn wa-âdûr al-musamânîn*. This is the monumental biographical counterpart to the previous work. It is a list of approximately 9,000 authors of in all some 50,000 works (vol. i, which ranges from âdûr to âmam, mentions 5,398 authors and ca. 25,000 works). It was edited by Kilişi Rifat Bilge and İbnülemîn Mahmud Kemal İnal (vol. i, Istanbul 1951) and İbnülemîn Mahmud Kemal İnal and Avni Aktuç (vol. ii, Istanbul 1955). It has been reprinted several times in Bagdadî and Tehran. Nail Bayraktar has published a register of the sâhîrÎn mentioned in the *Hidayat al-ârîfîn* (*Hediyetî-i 'ârîfîn, esma'î-i-mu'ellîfîn ve âdûrî-i-musamânîn yebretlet indexi*, Istanbul 1990). The work is arranged by ism of the author, followed by the patronyms and other names of an author, with personal details, notably the year of demise, and it then provides the reader with the titles of the books composed by these authors.

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Given in the article.

**ISMET İNÂNÜ** (Ottoman form, İsmet), b. 1884, died 1973, Turkish military commander and statesman, who served on three occasions as Prime Minister in the Turkish Republic (October 1923-November 1924; March 1923-November 1937; and November 1961-February 1965) and once as President (1938-50). He played an important part in the Turkish War of Independence (1919-12), made significant contributions to the institutional framework of the Turkish Republican state, initiated multi-party politics in 1945, acted as champion of the procedural rules of democracy as well as of secularism, and had a critical role in the relatively speedy return to civilian politics following the military interventions of 1960-1 and 1971-3.

The son of a lawyer in Izmir, İsmet made a career in the Ottoman army, and during the First World War served on the staff of Ahmed 'İzett Pâsha, the military commander of the Arab Expeditionary Force and Allied occupation force in Syria, and when the Greeks invaded western Anatolia, he became chief of the General Staff of the Nationalist army and repelled the invaders at the two battles of İnönü to the west of Eskeşir ([January and April 1921]), from which engagements he later took his European-type surname.

When the Grand National Assembly met in Ankara

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in 1922, Ismet became Foreign Minister, and represented Turkey at the Lausanne peace conference, strongly opposing Britain and France and gaining most of what Mustafa Kemal wanted in the final Treaty of Lausanne, signed July 1923. When the Turkish Republic was proclaimed on 29 October 1923, Ismet became Atatürk’s Prime Minister, remaining in power thus for nearly fourteen years. On Atatürk’s death on 10 November 1938, he became President and permanent chairman of the ruling Republican People’s Party [see İYİHÜMRÜYET EKİBİ FİRKASI].

During this period, when westernising reforms were being imposed from above on Turkish society, and when in the 1920s there were rebellions in southeastern Turkey by traditionalist elements, İnönü adopted a rather authoritarian position, but then, in the 1939-45 period, he became much more flexible. He had a large measure of self-confidence in himself and in the future for Turkey. He believed that, together with Atatürk, a threatened resurgence of conservative Islam could be dealt with, when in 1930 many elements of the population seemed to sympathise with Islam could be dealt with, when in 1930 many elements of the population seemed to sympathise with Islam could be dealt with, when in 1930 many elements of the population seemed to sympathise with}

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**İSTANBUL.**

**VIII. MONUMENTS.**

The first and most important of the Ottoman monuments of Istanbul is Saint Sophia. The only church to be transformed into a mosque immediately after the conquest of the city (others followed later, mostly in the reign of Bayezid II), it remained symbolically the model of imperial religious architecture. From the reign of Selim II onwards, it became a place of burial reserved exclusively for the Ottoman royal family and was restored on numerous occasions between 1573-2 and 1847-9.

Ottoman building activity dates from 1458, when Mehmed II built the mosque of Eyüp and decided to construct his own imperial complex (Fatiş) at the square of the Holy Apostles, and the Topkapı Palace on the site of the ancient acropolis of Byzantium. This plan, added to other decisions taken in the course of the same reign—building of the bezistan (1456), of the first palace on the site of the Theodosian forum (1453-5), of the barracks of the Janissaries (Eski odalar), of the saddlers’ market (Sarrâj Khâne, 1475), of the markets of the major and the minor Kârâmen (after 1467)—led to the formation of a monumental axis which, while initially retracing the route of the Byzantine Meaus (Diwan Yolu) from Saint Sophia to the Old Palace, from this point follows a northerly direction, across the complex of Fatiş and extending as far as the Adrianople Gate (Edirne Kapısı).

This activity also corresponded with the choice of architects of non-Muslim origin, apparently in contrast to what is known of the builders of the first
period of Ottoman architecture, that of Bursa and of Edirne. This practice could also be linked with the policy of recruiting from among all the peoples of the Empire and even beyond, implemented broadly by Mehmed II in almost all sectors of public life, but also with the search for new technical solutions. This appears to have been the case in choice of Sinan the Elder (‘Atık), a freedman of Byzantine origin, supposed to have built the Fatih mosque on the model of Saint Sophia. This was also the time of the introduction into Ottoman architecture of the demi-cupola, as is mentioned in a passage from Tursun Beg (Ta’rikh-i Abu ‘l-Fath, fol. 56), who applauds the outstripping of Saint Sophia, and another from the Anonymous Giese (99), who de-nounces the latter as sacrilege, inviting comparison with the imperial Byzantine model.

Parallel with the founding of these imperial edifices, Mehmed II encouraged his entourage to follow his example. This injunction was implemented to varying degrees: individuals such as Mahmod Paşa or Khalîs Murâd Paşa, of Byzantine origin and graduates of the Palace school, built some important mosques, their architecture, paradoxically, mirroring that of the first Ottoman mosques of Bursa; others like Gedik Ahmed Paşa [see Ahmed Paşa Gedik] or Ishak Paşa, contented themselves with constructing secondary buildings in the capital and established their major projects in the towns of Anatolia.

The accession of Bâyezid II in 1481 marks a halt in monumental construction in Istanbul.

The sovereign initially built mosques and large religious complexes at Tokat, at Amasya and at Edirne, while other leading figures of the regime confined themselves to converting the churches of the capital into mosques. Seventeen of them are known to have been adapted for Muslim worship, as opposed to four during the reign of Mehmed II. The only monumental project completed during the last twenty years of the 15th century was the mosque built by Dâwûd Paşa (1485). It conforms to the model inaugurated by Bâyezid II in the provinces, with a single cupola resting on a cube. With a diameter in excess of 18 m, this remains the largest cupola of all the vizieral mosques of the capital.

Deciding, at the opening of the 16th century (in 1500–1), to build a religious complex in the capital, Bâyezid II borrowed the system of roofing of Saint Sophia, with two demi-cupolas flanking the central cupola, but also followed the model of the mosques of Bursa in adding ah-khânê (lodgings for dervishes) on both sides of the prayer hall. The complex was built on land reclaimed in its entirety from the Old Palace, in a place chosen more for purposes of seeing and being seen, seems henceforward to have been a decisive factor; it was to find its most absolute expression with the Suleymâniye. The mosque known as that of Sultan Selim (1522) is also the last imperial edifice to reprise the model of a single cupola resting on a cube; it is inspired directly by that of Bâyezid II at Edirne.

This monument to filial piety apart, the first two decades of the reign of Suleyman I (1520-66) were marked in monumental constructions of religious character. On the contrary, the sovereign and his entourage were competing in the construction of palaces. Suleyman renovated the Topkapî Palace and built a palace on the hippodrome for his Grand Vizier Ibrahim Paşa [see Ibrahim Paşa]. Monumental building activity was resumed with the appointment of Sinân to the post of chief architect in 1538 and was to continue without intermission during the first half-century of his activity [see Sinân].

The sovereign gave the signal for the start of this activity in 1539, ordering the construction of a complex for his wife Khûrûm Sultanê [see Khûrûm], built on the site known as ‘Avret Bâzârî (women’s market), in the vicinity of the column of Arcadius. It consists of a mosque, progressively complemented by an ‘imaret and a hospital (dûr al-dîfî). It is probably that Suleyman subsequently decided, on his return from the Hungarian campaign in 1541, to begin a monumental assemblage situated on the triumphal axis, on the site of the Janissaries’ barracks (Eski odalar) which he intended to appropriate. On the death of the prince Mehmed, in 1543, this mosque was dedicated to him, and the complex probably remained incomplete since it was situated exclusively on the northern part of the axis, the barracks situated to the south being retained. In this mosque, his first monumental project, Sinân took to the very limit the process in which Ottoman architecture had been engaged since 1453, proposing a system of roofing in perfect symmetry, with four demi-cupolas. But after the peace treaty concluded in 1547 with the Emperor Charles V, Suleyman decided to commission a new imperial complex, returning to the model of Saint Sophia and also attempting to attain its dimensions. This was to be the Suleymaniye (1550–7), overlooking the Golden Horn and likewise built on land reclaimed from the Old Palace, competing with its rival for prominence in the vista of Istanbul. Similarly, the totality of religious and social institutions which surrounded it stole primacy from the Fatih complex, since henceforward the medrese of the Suleymaniye constituted the highest level of religious education in the Ottoman empire.

Members of the Ottoman royal family and their entourage shared in this construction frenzy. Mihr-i Mah Sultanê [q.v.], daughter of Suleyman and Khûrûm, had her first complex, consisting of a mosque, a medrese and a caravanserai, built at the quay of Üskûdar, on the Asiatic bank, the place where the Bosphorus was crossed (1548). Twenty years later Sinân completed, again on behalf of Mihr-i Mah, a mosque with a courtyard medrese at Edirne kapi, at the point where the triumphal axis joins the land wall. In experimenting with the cupola on pendentives, which frees interior space entirely, Sinân here definitely
outstripped the model of Saint Sophia, achieving the absolute unity and disengagement of interior space, more in accordance with the Muslim tradition.

The Grand Vizier Rustem Paşa (in office 1544-53, 1555-61 [q.v.]), husband of Mihr-i Mâh, chose for his buildings the most densely populated areas of the city and found himself obliged, no doubt for this reason, to disperse them. He built a *köhan* (ca. 1550) at Ghalata [q.v., in Suppl.] on the site of the former Genoese cathedral dedicated to Saint Michael, a *medrese* with octagonal courtyard enclosed within a square, situated below the mosque of Mahmut Paşa (1550) and a mosque facing the *hammam* of Taht al-kâla', completed after his death in 1562. This mosque, built on the site of that of *'Atâr Khâlid*, the most ancient attested in the city (1457), had interior surfaces entirely covered with magnificent ceramics from Iznik, used here on a massive scale for the first time. Sinân Paşa, brother of Rustem, Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (1550-4), built in its turn a mosque with a courtyard *medrese* at Beshiktâş, embarkation-point of the fleet.

Kara Ahmed Paşa, Grand Vizier 1553-5, drew up shortly before his execution in the latter year a *vakifâye* in which he gave instructions for the construction of a mosque with the surplus yielded. His steward, Ferruh Khethâbud, undertook the search for a site and acquired a piece of land close to the land walls inside the gate of Topkapı, where in 1560 Sinân completed a mosque with a courtyard *medrese*.

While the successors of Süleymân, Selim II (1566-74 [q.v.]) and Murâd III (1574-95 [q.v.]) built their mosques respectively at Edirne and at Magniás, Istanbul continued to be endowed with monumental constructions under the long vizirate of Şokollu Mehmed Paşa (1565-79 [q.v.]), benefiting from the energy of Sinân’s workforce. Şokollu’s first project in the capital was a funeral monument, built in 1568-9 at Eyyûb. This consisted of a mausoleum accompanied by a *medrese*, a combination which became standard from the end of the century onward, contributing to the transformation of the suburb of Eyyûb into a necropolis for the military and religious dignitaries of the empire. Şokollu subsequently built below the hippodrome, near the docks used by galleys of the navy, a complex situated in proximity to his palace. This consisted of a mosque with courtyard *medrese*, completed in 1572, to which a *zâviye* was added. Another mosque was built by the same Grand Vizier in 1577-8, outside the walls of Ghalâta, beside the Arsenal, to commemorate his service at the head of the Admurlûty (1546-50). Fıyâle Paşa [q.v.], High Admiral 1554-68, commissioned from Sinân a mosque situated behind the arsenal, in an area populated by rural immigrants drawn by the functions of religious education and the judiciary—virtually the only professions open to persons of Muslim birth.

In 1573-4 Djerrâli Mehmed Paşa built the last vizzorial mosque to be completed before the 18th century. The density of the city seems not to have permitted monumental constructions without costly extractions. Thus in order to build her own mosque, on her acquisition of the title of queen-mother with the accession of her son Mehmed III in 1595, Safiyye Sultanî [q.v.] made inroads on the Jewish quarters of the city’s port. Harassed by the death of the architect Dâvûd Agha in 1598, by technical problems arising from the digging of foundations at a site close to the water, and by the death of Mehmed III in 1605, relegating Safiyye Sultanî to the Old Palace, construction remained incomplete and was only to be resumed sixty years later by Khâlid Turâkân Sultanî [q.v.], the mother of Mehmed IV, being completed in 1663 (Wâlîde Jâmi’). The new sultan, Ahmed I (1603-17 [q.v.]), was the first since Süleymân to undertake the construction of an imperial complex. The latter, situated above the hippodrome, necessitated a massive expropriation of the vizzorial residences which were situated there. The manner in which the buildings of the complex are dispersed is testimony to the difficulties of expropriation. The complex of the Blue Mosque, the name given to the mosque of Ahmed I on account of its extensive decoration in ceramics of this colour, marks the end of the first period of monumental edifices of Istanbul.

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Ghadanfer Agha, senior eunuch of the palace, introduced into the capital the combination of a *medrese*, a mausoleum and a fountain. The latter, built in 1590-1 at the foot of the aqueduct of Valens (Bozdogân kemeri) rapidly started a trend. These more modest combinations were more easily integrated into the dense urban fabric and contributed to the vitality of the principal axes of the city. Thus the combinations of this type built by Sinân Paşa (1592-3), Kuyuoglu Murad Paşa (1610), Köprülu Mehmed Paşa (1660-1 [see KÖPRÜLU PAŞA], Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa (1681-90 [see KARA MUSTAFA PAŞA]), Amâzârâzâde Hüseyin Paşa (1700-1) and Dâmad İbrahim Paşa (1719-20 [q.v.]) were situated on the triumphal axis of the city, while that of Ekremджi-zâde Ahmed Paşa
that of Bayram Pasha (1634-5) situated in the vicinity of the complex of Khorser Sultâne. The Topkapî Palace, the most architecturally imposing and sole markers of the 17th century, when new imperial constructions—with the exception of the completion of the Wâlide mosque and the small mosque built by Kösem Sultan on the heights of Uskûdar—were non-existent. The return of the sultans to Istanbul after a period of residence at Edirne, with the accession of Ahmed III in 1703, marked the start of a new phase of architectural activity, responding to new needs and new styles. The needs resulted from the development of the city, where density of population led to increasingly frequent fires and epidemics. These induced the prosperous classes to take refuge in the periphery, such as the Eyyûb, the northern shore and the Bosphorus, where new residences were to be constructed, soon to be followed by new mosques. At the same time, the need to protect collections of precious manuscripts from fire required the construction of libraries as independent buildings, while the shortage of water resulting from overpopulation led to new projects of water provision, including monumental fountains. These secular buildings, less hampered by the weight of tradition, also gave opportunities for new stylistic experiments, often described as Ottoman baroque art, first coming to prominence in the “Tulip Period” (1718-30) [see LALE DEVRI].

The fountains and the sebil (places for the distribution of water, see SABÎL) regularly accompanied combinations of a medrese and a mausoleum, but it was to them that the first stylistic innovations were applied. These were already perceptible in the sebil of Amâdjäzaâ Hüsâyn Paşa, at the turn of the 18th century and developed in that of Dâmûd İbrâhîm Paşa twenty years later. In another arrangement, where sebil and fountain became the principal elements in a small complex also containing a mausoleum, as well as a school no longer in existence, built at Dolma Baghçesi by Hâdevi Mehmed Emin Âgha (1741), the baroque elements attained their fullest expression. The sebil or fountain was also to be found in association with a primary school (bâtûn mektebi) situated on the upper level (fountain school of Reçîşâ il-Kuttab Ismâ‘îl Efendi at Karaköy [1742] and sebil school of Reçîşâ Mehmed Efendi at Weft [1775]), but this combination, frequently encountered in Ottoman Cairo, remained exceptional in Istanbul.

The monumental fountain standing alone in a covered space was first seen at the very end of the Tulip Period, the first five known examples being virtually contemporaneous. Dâmûd İbrâhîm Paşa, responsible for the drawing of water from Uskûdar, built the first of these four-faced monumental fountains beside the harbour of this suburb in 1728-9. The same year, Ahmed III built the monumental fountain before the main entrance of the Topkapî Palace. His successor, Mahmûd I (1730-54) undertook the conveyance of water from the northern shore of the Golden Horn (waters of Topkâm) and three other monumental fountains were built in 1734 on this network: that of Topkâm by the sovereign himself, that of Azâz Kapî (in front of the Arsenal) by the queen-mother Şâlîfâ Sultan and that of Ka’ba Tâsh by the Grand Vizier Hekîm-oglu ‘Ali Paşa [see ‘ALÎ PAŞA HAKIM-OGHUL].

The first independent library was built by Köprülü Fâdîl Ahmed Paşa as an extension of the familial complex on the Diwan Yolu (before 1676), and Schehid ‘Ali Paşa also built a free-standing library behind the mosque of Şâlî-zâde in 1715. This type of building nevertheless acquired a monumental nature—while retaining modest dimensions—with the library built in 1719-20 by Ahmed III in the third courtyard of the Topkapî Palace. The architectural preoccupations were evident in that of Âşîf Efendi at Weft (1741) and were to be most fully expressed in the library of the Nûr-u Othmânîyye complex (1755). Among later buildings, those of Râşûl Paşa (1762) at Lâlîli and of Dâmûd-zâde Mehmed Murad Efendi—known as Murad Molla—(1775) at Çarşamba are worth mentioning.

A new type of building linked with projects for the provision of water consisted of dams, reservoirs placed in the Belgrade forest to the north-west of the city, a happy combination of utility and ornament. The oldest, a straight wall supported by four buttresses, is known by the name of the Dark Dam (Karanlik Bend); dating from 1620 it was located on the network set up by Sinân. The Topluzu Bend, built in 1750 on the network of Topkâm, introduced cut-off corners, more resistant to the pressure of water. By way of the Aywad Bend (1765) and the Wâlide Bend (1797), progress was made towards the vaulted dam, realised in 1839 with the dam of Mahmûd II.

The 18th century also marked a renewal in the construction of religious buildings, but the first phase was slow and hesitant. The mosque built by Ahmed III for his mother Emetullah Gûlnûş Sultané at Uskûdar (1708-10)—a place apparently reserved for the wives of the imperial family—revived the models of the 16th century, albeit with some adjustments to the lines of the sebil typical of the Tulip Period. Similarly, it was again the sebil, as well as the school, placed above the entry-gate, rather than the mosque, which represented innovation in the monumental complex built by Hekîm-oglu ‘Ali Paşa in 1734-5. This makes even more surprising the full-scale renewal of architectural motifs in the Nûr-u Othmânîyye complex, begun in 1748 by Mahmûd I and completed in 1755 under Othmân III. Even though the daring solutions, such as the horseshoe-shaped courtyard, were not to be repeated in subsequent centuries, the Nûr-u Othmânîyye marked a new phase in imperial building activity which was not to be discredited for as long as the empire lasted.

Mustafa III (1757-74) built no fewer than three imperial mosques: that of Ayazma at Uskûdar, named after his mother, in 1758-61, that of Lâlîli in 1760-3, and that of Fâtih, rebuilt in 1766-71 after the earthquake of 1765. His successor, ‘Abd ul-Hamîd I (1774-89) dedicated to the memory of his mother Rabî’a Sultané the mosque of Beylerbey on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, and to the memory of his wife Hûmsâh Kadın that of Emîrgân on the European shore. He also built near the port his own funeral monument, consisting of a medrese, an imaret, a sebil and a mausoleum. In this complex, constructed in stages between 1775 and 1789, what is observed is the transition from baroque in the sebil to Ottoman neo-classicism in the mausoleum.

The reign of Selim III (1789-1807 [q.v.]) marked the zenith of a flamboyant baroque which was expressed essentially through funereal monuments: the complex composed of an imaret, a sebil and a mausoleum of the queen-mother Mîhr-i Şâlî Sultané, built at Eyyûb in 1792-5, and the mausoleum was accompanied by a school and a sebil of the sovereign’s sister Şâlî Sultané, built at Eyyûb (1800). The tendency continued beyond the reign with the mausoleum and sebil of Naşirîl Sultané built by Mahmûd
II in memory of his mother in the cemetery of Fatiha in 1818. Finally, baroque and rococo decoration, abundantly present in those parts of the Topkapı Palace dating from the second half of the 18th century, also infiltrated the mosque, but it was only in the monumental Edirne Mosque of the second half of the 19th century that the Renaissance style was exploited and given a national character.

The latter is manifest in modern buildings such as the main Post Office or the office building built for the benefit of the postal service in the 19th century as much as it is in mosques seeking classical inspiration from the Ottoman past. The mosque of Ayazma, completed in 1907, is an example of this.

During the 19th century, Islamic architecture was influenced by both foreign and local sources. The Swiss brothers Gaspare and Amico Mengoni were invited by the Ottoman government to design the new Archeological Museum in Istanbul in 1862, and they also designed the Archeological Museum in Athens.

The activity of the Balyans was manifested essentially towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, when the Ottoman empire was in need of reform. The Ottoman state was in crisis and the Ottomans were forced to adopt new architectural styles to satisfy the needs of the time.

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çısı, in Osmanlı mimarlığının 7. yüzyıl “Uluslararası bir mara.” 
Ayarşafâ: bir hıristiyan deme, in ibid., A.YÜ. Kubilay, 
18. ve 19. yüzyı1 usul olarak kıştapatlaneri üzerine tipolo-
jik bir değerlendirme, in ibid.; Vakıllar Genel Müdûruhü, 
Istanbul Yeni Cami ve Hipnak Kasr, n.p., n.d.
(S. Yerasimos)

İSTILHAK (А.), the verbal noun of Form X of 
the verb labita “to reach, catch up with,” having the 
meaning of “to try to reach, attack, adopt, affiliate 
s.o. to s.th.” (see ḳÂṢÂS, letter lám, 330). In Early 
Islamic history, it was especially used for the attempt 
in 44/665 of the Umayyad caliph Mu‘awiyya I (q.v.) 
to attach the very able official Ziyaâd b. Abihi (q.v.) 
to his own, ruling clan of Umayya. Ziyaâd was of 
doubious parentage, his mother Sumayya being appar-
tently a slave, and Mu‘awiyya aimed at linking Ziyaâd 
to his own family as the putative son of his own 
father, Abi Sufyân (q.v.). For details of this istilhak 
process, see ziyâd b. Âbîhi, with full references.

İTHEM (А.), a term of Islamic theology meaning
“sin,” used in Kur’ân, II, 216/219, V, 32/29, 
XLIX, 12, amongst various other terms denoting sin 
and sinfulness in varying degrees, such as ḳamâh, pl. 
dhâmbâh, used in Kur’ân, III, 129/135 and passim. For 
a discussion of the concept of sin and its consequences, 
see KHÂTA.'
his horse to enable him to escape at a time when he was in a perilous situation on the banks of the Nahravan. According to some (e.g. al-Tabari, i, 1029), the hero of this story is Iyās; for others (Levi della Vida, Livres des Chevaux, Leiden 1928, 32; al-Masʿūdī, Murūḡ, ii, 216-7 = § 636), it was his nephew, Hassān b. Hamzah al-Taʿīfī, who gave the king his horse, al-Duḥayl, and subsequently received as a land grant the faṣūḥ of Ḳhutarmiya. The chronicles mention a victory won by Iyās over the Byzantines near Sāṭi-damā, but the most important event of his life was his appointment to succeed al-Nuʿmān III after the Emperor of Persia had taken his revenge by putting the latter to death. Although the date of this appointment is hard to establish, it may be located between A.D. 602 and 604/5. Ḳhusraw Aparwāz appointed to serve at his court a Persian official whose title of Nakḥwraḡān appears in various forms in the Arabic sources (cf. A. Christensen, Sasanides, 452). According to the same sources, Iyās governed al-Hira for nine years, and it was in the eighth year of his reign that the prophetic mission of Muhammad began. He died probably in the year A.D. 611 or 612.

It was during the period when he governed al-Hira that there took place the famous battle of Ḩitū Kār [q.v.], in which he participated as leader of the Arab warriors. According to the Arabic sources, the Arabo-Persian troops were defeated, but Iyās was spared drastic punishment and retained his responsibilities. He was, essentially, the last Arab “king” of al-Hira since the town was subsequently placed in the hands of exclusively Persian officials until the Islamic conquest. Finally, the sources consider him a talented poet, but very few of his verses have been preserved (see, however, Ābkāryūs, 46-9).

Bibliography: Tabarī, i, 1029-32 and index; Ḳalādūh, Fāṭiḥ, 243; Ibn Ḳaduṣa, Maʿrūf, 605; Abū Tammām, Ḳawālsa, 73; Masʿūdī, Murūḡ, ii, 212 = § 1073; idem, Tanbih, ed. Sāʾī, 158, 208; Ṭafṣīl, al-Badʾ wa ʿṭarīqī, ii, 169 ff.; ʿĪbān ʿAbd Rabbīḥ, Ṭad, index; ʿAḍhānī, ed. Beirut, xxiii., 220-41; passim; Ṣulṭān, Geschichte der Perier und Araber, 311 ff.; Cheikho, Shūʿarā al-Nāṣrānīyya, 135-8; Rūḥān, Lajfīnīd, 107 ff.; Bihāl. to the art. Ḳuṭār. (Ch. PELLAT)

IZMĪD, modern form Izmīt, a town of north-western Turkey, lying at the head of the Gulf of Izmīt (Izmīt Kūfret) in lat. 40° 47′ N., long. 29° 55′ E.

It is the classical Nicomedia, named after Nicomedes I of Bithynia, who in 264 B.C. founded it as his new capital. The Roman emperor Diocletian made it in the late 3rd century A.D. his capital in the east; it remained in Byzantine hands until captured after a long siege by the Ottomans under Orkhan. The dates for this vary in the Greek and Turkish sources, the former placing this in 1338; at all events, it must have been soon after the fall of Nicæa in 731/1331

(cf. Pitcher, An historical geography of the Ottoman empire, 38). In 1402 the Turkish town was sacked by a group of Ṭımūr’s troops. In Ottoman times Izmīt, in the sanjak of Kōḏja-či [q.v.], became especially important as a naval arsenal, reportedly founded by the Kopitūs, and for building small merchant vessels using timber supplied by the extensive forests of the vicinity.

In the earliest register so far known, an ʿīṣāzī dated 937/1530, the settlement is on record as one of the five towns (nefs) of the province. As it is mentioned first in the list, it must have been the residence of the local governor. The town contained 389 men of tax-paying age, 86 of whom were exempted from certain dues. Of the remainder, 351 were heads of households and 152 were bachelors. These figures indicate a settlement of about 2,000-2,500 inhabitants.

In the kāḍā, there were two madras and two children’s schools, as well as two Friday mosques, in addition to five public baths (Ahmet ʿOzkılınç, ed. al-īli, 438 narmah muḥāsib-e-i vilāyeti-i Anadolu defteri (937/1530), dizin ve tezkirname, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü 1994, ii, 65-6).

In 962-3/1555, Hans Dermisch saw a fortress on a hill with a new mosque, which supposedly had been built in place of a previous church. A sizeable part of the town was also located on this hill. At the time of Dermisch’s passage, the classical ruins were being quarried for stone. This was soon locally into the sizes required by Istanbul builders, presumably for use in the construction of the Suleymaniye, then in progress (Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55), ed. F. Babinger, Munich and Leipzig 1923, 153-4). The area’s abundant water resources also served for the operation of mills grinding flour for the consumption of Istanbul, including the Janissary bakeries. Due to its functional link with the capital, Izmīt formed an exception to the rule that towns were to feed themselves from the product of their own kāḍās. For the hinterland was heavily forested rather than agricultural, with high-quality pine trees suitable for ships’ masts abundant. As late as the second half of the 11th/17th century, the French ambassador was permitted to export a certain number for the use of the French navy (R. Mantran, Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle. Essai d’histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale, Paris and Istanbul 1962, 445).

The only surviving register enumerating individual taxpayers (muṣafād) and covering Izmīt dates from 1034/1624-5. At this time, the town consisted of 29 fully-fledged town quarters or, in some cases, recent accretions to older urban wards. The total tax-paying population numbered 849; no data on bachelors being available, our estimate of total population cannot be very precise, but probably the number of inhabitants had about doubled since 937/1530. One of the quarters was named for the local Friday mosque. Since another urban ward was called Dūm, it is likely that the town possessed two structures suitable for Friday prayers; possibly one of these was the Süleyman Paşa mosque which, according to a rescript dated 1171/1568, was recorded in the official registers of the time but has not been located in the surviving adhārvis (Ahmet Kâl’a al-īli, ed. al-īli, Istanbul adhārvis defterleri Istanbul avukat sanıhi, Istanbul 1998, i, 238). Near the port there was a Christian quarter; this may well have grown in later years, as in 1165/1752 the town boasted a metropolis, albeit one who resided in Istanbul (ibid., i, 338-9). During this same period, the town also possessed some Jewish residents (ibid., i, 164). As
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the non-Muslim quarter is described as lying "under the town", we may assume that most of the Muslim wards lay on the hill, as they had done in Derin-
scham's time (Ankara Tapu ve Kadastro Genel
Mudurlugu, Kuyudo Kadime, no. 19, fol. fol. 12b).

Ewliya Celebi visited Izmir in 1642, describing the ruined fortress, which in his opinion had been destroyed by Sultan Othman to prevent its use by the Byzantine nobles with whom this ruler was at war. Among the notable buildings, Ewliya mentioned a mosque built by Pertev Pasha on the seashore, a work of Mim'at Sinan, along with a public bath and kırkandıryası by the same vizier. A garden palace with an extensive park had been built for Murad IV. The town contained 23 quarters, three of which were inhabited by Christians while one was settled by Jews. There was no bedesten, normally the hall-
mark of a major commercial centre, but the exten-
sive docks located near the port seem to have served similar purposes. Timber merchants formed a signi-
ficant part of the urban elite Seyhatnamesi, Topkapi Sarayi Bogaz 304 yazmasının transkripsyonu dizesi, Istanbul 1999, 39-40).

In the 12th/13th century, woodworking crafts, such as the manufacture of combs and spoons, appear to have been of some significance. However, the Izmir kiln craftsmen did not supply themselves with wood directly from the forest villages, but purchased it in Istanbul.

Yet there must have been economic opportunities available in the town itself, as toward the end of the century, Izmir supposedly held 30,000 people. A.D. Mordtmann Senr., who saw the town shortly after the end of the Crimean War, claims that it was inhabited by 2,000 Turkish, 1,000 Armenian and 200 Greek families, which means that he estimated a population size of about 15,000 (Anatolik, Skizen und Reichweite
aus Kleinasi (1850-1859), ed. Babinger, Hanover 1925, 282-3). According to Mordtmann, a small salt pan, already mentioned by Ewliya, was in operation, the local harbour was still of some importance and the arsenal was, at the time, building a warship for the Ottoman navy. Further development of the town was, however, impeded by the prevalence of malaria. In the closing years of the 19th century, Izmir formed the centre of the mîaneseriflik of Izmir. Under Ahmed V. (Crete, La Turquie d'Asie, Paris 1890-4, iv, 301-
400). Urban growth had probably been promoted by the railroad linking Istanbul to Ankara, and the town's population now amounted to about 25,000, living in 5,857 houses and purchasing their daily needs in 1,140 shops. Stone quarries and a sawmill were still active: two state-owned factories had been established, making fezzes and woollen cloth for uniforms; another such factory, producing fine silk fabrics and located in Herke, administratively was situated in the wâlîyât of Istanbul but geographically much closer to Izmir. In the immediate vicinity, the townlet of Armach (Cinett's spelling) was inhabited by Armenians who in 1019-20/1611 had immigrated from Iran. Housing a seminary for Gregorian priests, this locality specialised in silk cultivation. However, Izmir's transformation into a major industrial centre has come under the Republic, and especially, after the Second World War, with the town being cut off from the easy access of Istanbul. Until 1974, a state-owned paper mill opened in 1936 produced practically all the paper used in Turkey (arti. Kocaeli, in Yurt ankslopekodisi, Istanbul 1982-3, vii, 5037). Since the 1960s, car tyres, petrochemicals and liquid petrol gas (the major fuel for cooking in Turkey) have been developed there, and since there is now an autoroute along the northern shore of the Gulf of Izmir, the area between Izmit and Istanbul is becoming the major coherent industrial area of Turkey. Izmit itself is now a city of over 300,000 which attracts migrants; its factory workers, now organised, were major par-
ticipants in the labour unrest of summer 1970. It suffered badly from the 1999 earthquake, when amongst many others, buildings of the recently-
established provincial university were destroyed. Yet despite this industrialisation, away from the coastline, some of the area's agricultural potential remains, including the cherries of Yarmaca, known to Ewliya Celebi, and also tobacco, sunflowers and sugar beet.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see J.B. Mordtmann's Pf art. s.v.; Cinett, op. cit., iv, 357 ff.; Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, Turkey, London 1942-3, ii, 555 and index. (Surayfa Faroun)

IZMIR, the Turkish form of the ancient Greek name SYMNA, one of the great mercantile cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. It lies in western Anatolia at the head of the Gulf of Izmir, and the pre-modern city lay mainly on the small delta plain of the Kazıklı (ancient Melas) river.

Izmir has a history going back five millennia, archae-
ological evidence indicating that this town formed the greatest level of occupation as contemporary with the first city of Troy at the beginning of the Bronze Age (ca. 3,000 B.C.). Greek settlement is indicated from ca. 1,000 B.C., and Herodotus says that the city was founded by Aeolians but then seized by Ionians. It became a fine city, possibly re-founded by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C. Under the Romans it was the centre of a civil diocese of the province of Asia, and was one of the early seats of Christianity. In Byzantine times it continued as a metropolitan see and was the cap-
tal of the naval theme of Samos.

With the invasions of Turkmen across Anatolia towards the end of the 11th century, the Turkish chief Çaka/Tzachas established himself at Smyrna in 1081 and from there raided the Aegean islands. But after the Turks were driven out of Nicaea in 1097 [see Izmih, in Suppl.], Smyrna reverted to Byzantine rule in 1098. It was over two centuries before it passed under Turkish control again, when it was con-
quered by the Aydınogulları (see sivas-ogullar) (1716-
1721: Kadife Kafè, 729-30/1329: Aaghi Kal’ç) (Tuncer Baykara, Izmir gezri ve tarihi, Bornova-Izmir 1974, 28; for slightly variant dates, see Irene Melikoff-
Sayar, Le destan d’Umar Pacha, Paris 1934, 40). On his visit in ca. 1731/1331, Ibn Battuta found a largely ruinous place, whose upper fortress was held by the Aydınogulları and which possessed at least one çarşih (Rihla, ii, 310-12, tr. Gibb, ii, 445-7). The city was captured by the Knights of Rhodes on 28 October 1344, although the Aydınogulları and later the Ottomans held on to the citadel or upper fortress. The Knights were finally expelled by Timur in 804-
5/1402, when he took the lower fortress, and the Aydınogulları briefly reinstated.

However, in 817/1414-15, Izmir became an Otta-
man possession, after the last Aydınogulları to rule, Djinved, known as İzmir-oglu, had been defeated by Sultan Mehemmed I (Himmet Akin, Aydınogulları tarihî hakkinda bir araştırma, Ankara 1968, 80; for a later date of the final Ottoman conquest, namely 828-
9/1425, see D. Goffman, Izmir. From village to colonial port city, in Ethem Eldem, Goffman and B. Masters, The Ottoman city between East and West, Cambridge 1999, 86). As the new governor, an Islamised son of the former Buğlar Tsar Shishman, was appointed, but
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the first extant tahrir describing the town only dates from 935/1528-9 (physical damage to earlier registers accounts for this absence: Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, Tapu Tahrir no. 146).

In the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, Izmir was a small settlement; in 957/1550, 304 adult males, both Turkish and Greek, were recorded; 42 of these were Christians (Ismet Binark et alia (eds.), 166 numarası maddesi-i vilâyet-i Anadolu (957/1550, Ankara 1995, 392). There were no more than five urban wards, one of them situated in the immediate vicinity of the port, rather active in spite of the town's small size. By 983/1575-6, Izmir had grown to house 492 taxpayers in eight urban wards; in addition, a group of former İzmirlis had settled in the nearby village of Boynuzseki, but continued to pay their taxes with the town's population (Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Mudurlüğü, Ankara, Kuyudu Kadime no. 167, fols. 3b ff.). One of the port's major functions was the supply of Istanbul with grain, raisins, cotton, and other agricultural products (Zeki Ankan, A Mediterranean port, Izmir in the 15th and 16th centuries, in Three ages of Izmir, palimpsest of cultures, ed. Enis Batur, tr. Virginia T. Şaçoğlu, İstanbul 1995, 59-70).

But İzmir’s remarkable growth really begins in the late 16th century when the cotton, cotton yarn and other products of the region began to attract French, English, Dutch and Venetian traders. İzmir thus took over the role of mediaeval Ayatholough (Éphesus, Atılılugo), which was losing its commercial significance due to the siting up of its port (D. Goffman, Izmir and the Levantine world, 1550-1650 (Seattle and London 1990). At first illegal, the exportation of cotton was legalised in 1033/1623 (Surayet Farnoqhi, Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia, Cambridge 1984, 130-7). In the 18th century, Izmir and the surrounding region were settled by numerous migrants from other provinces, including Jews from Salonika who fled the mounting exactions and diminishing rewards of the Macedonian woolen industry (Goffman, op. cit., 97-102). Toward the century's end, J.-B. Tavernier estimated the population at about 90,000 (Les six voyages en Turquie & en Perse, ed. St. Yerasimos, Paris 1981, i, 138, for a general overview of the descriptions of İzmir by 17th-century European travelers, see Sonia Anderson, An English consul in Turkey, Oxford 1989, 1-18). Turks formed the vast majority (about 60,000), while there were also 15,000 Greeks, 8,000 Armenians and 6,000 to 7,000 Jews. A major earthquake destroyed the city in 1099/1688, with the heaviest damage in the seaside quarter, but continued to pay their taxes with the town's population (Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Mudurlüğü, Ankara, Kuyudu Kadime no. 167, fols. 3b ff.). One of the port's major functions was the supply of Istanbul with grain, raisins, cotton, and other agricultural products (Zeki Ankan, A Mediterranean port, Izmir in the 15th and 16th centuries, in Three ages of Izmir, palimpsest of cultures, ed. Enis Batur, tr. Virginia T. Şaçoğlu, İstanbul 1995, 59-70).

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Of the numerous public buildings of Ottoman İzmir, very little survives. Ewliya Çelebi, who visited the town in 1081-2/1671 and admired the relief of a female face at the entrance to the seaside fortress, praises the Biyklikhoğlu Džami‘i, later destroyed in the earthquake of 1099/1688, and also mentions the Fâk Pasha Džami‘i, one of the oldest mosques in town (Sevâlhatnamesi, Istanbul 1935, ix, 88-100). His descriptions in part reflect the data collected by the officials who, in 1068/1657-8, put together a tahrir under the orders of a certain Ismâ‘îl Pasha (for further information on this document, see Faroqhi, Tomes, 276). At different times in İzmir’s history, 25 medreses were active (Munir Aktepe, Ottoman medreses in İzmir, in Three ages of İzmir, 85-99). Éwliya also mentioned the multitude of kâns (Aktepe, İzmir hanların ve çarşılarnın hakkinda inââ-i buh, in Tarih Dergisi, xxv [1971], 100-3; W. Müller-Weinert, Der Bazar von Ismîr, in Mitteilungen der Frankischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, xxvi-xxvii, [1980-1], 420-54). In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, certain İzmir buildings were decorated with elaborate reliefs, featuring slightly stylised views of local mosques and other buildings. The popularity of this decoration may indicate the donors’ pride in the prosperity of their city (Aydâ Arel, Image architecturale et image urbaine dans une serie de bas-reliefs ottomans de la region egienne, in Turcica, xviii [1986], 83-118).

An active trade resulted in the residence of foreign consuls, the English historian Paul Rycaut officiating as Charles II’s representative between 1077-8/1667 and 1089/1678 (Anderson, An English consul, passim). By contrast, the Ottoman central administration was merely represented by the kâfi and the tax farmers collecting customs and other dues. Unlike in many other Ottoman commercial centres, foreign traders were not obliged to reside in the khâns but could inhabit houses by the seaside, many of them with landing stages of their own. Houses for rent, known as fênik kâhîne, were built by Ottoman notables as an investment and sometimes passed on to pious foundations. Thus the seaside quarter became known as the “street of the Franks”. The latter also were permitted their own churches, the French worshipping at St. Polycarpe, whose parish registers survive from the 18th century onwards (Marie Carmen Smyrnélis, Colonies europeennes et communautés ethno-confessionnelles à Smyrne: existence et réseaux de sociabilités, in Vivre dans l’Empire ottoman, ed. F. Georgeon and P. Dumont, Paris 1997, 173, 194). Entertainments might take on a public character, with plays performed in the French consulate even in the 11th/17th century, while a hundred years later, the Jewish community also staged
plays (Eftal Sevincli, Theater in Izmir, in Three ages of Izmir, 370). Officially speaking, neither French nor English merchants were expected to bring their wives, much less marry local Christian women, for this would have made them subjects of the Sultan, sojourn in the Ottoman Empire was expected to be a temporary affair. In practice, certain French and English families lived in the city for generations, and marriages of Frenchmen to Roman Catholics of Greek or Armenian background were common enough.

Ewliya Celebi vaunted the enormous revenues which the küdsı of Izmir enjoyed in his own time, partly due to regular emoluments and partly due to the presents which he could expect (ix, 89). But in the 18th century, the major Ottoman presence in the area was not the küdsı but a family of tax farmers and dues collectors acting for absentee governors and known as the Kara 'Othmânoghulları. The economic power of these personages derived from the fact that they marketed the cotton and other agricultural produce they collected from local peasants to foreign exporters (G. Weinstein, "Aşmın de la région d'Izmir et le commerce du Levant (deuxième moitié du XVIII siècle)," in ROMM, xx [1975], 131–46; for a contrary position, emphasizing the role of the family as actual landholders, see Yüzü Nagata, Tarihde aşmın, Karaosmanoğulları izinde bir incedem, Ankara 1997, 89-142). Political power and status allowed the Kara 'Othmânoghulları to drive hard bargains, so that peasants also entrusted them with the goods they wished to sell on their own behalf. Socio-political status also was documented by the numerous pious foundations this family established in the region, for which the two kühs constructed in Izmir by different Kara 'Othmânoghulları were meant to produce revenue (İlçe Kuyu, Kara Osman-âğlı viâ-i cem imtiyazi, Ankara 1992, with extensive bibli.).

In the 19th century, Izmir continued to function as a city specializing in foreign trade. However with the Ottoman Empire's increasing integration into a transcontinental economy dominated by Europe, the character of this trade changed, while its volume continuously expanded. Grain, sesame, figs, raisins (at the end of the century by far the single most valuable crop), the tanning agents sumach and valonia, and opium, all arrived in the depots of Izmir's "gentlemen traders," many but not all of them non-Muslims. Ottoman merchants operated as middlemen, dependent on exporting European merchants (Halit Ziya Úşakgılı, citing a passage from kirk yıl, 5 vols., İstanbul 1936, cited in English tr. in C. Issawi, The economic history of Turkey 1800-1914, Chicago and London, 1980, 72-3; V. Cuinet, La Turquie d'Asie, Paris 1892-4, iii, 362 ff.).

Izmir's role as a centre of export trade encouraged investment in the construction of railroads; thus one of the first Anatolian railways linked Izmir to Turgutlu, then known as Kasaba, and another line connected Aydin and Izmir. However, the orientation of these railways according to the needs of import and export merchants limited their overall economic usefulness (Orhan Kurmus, İmparatorluk Türkiye'ye gelisi, İstanbul 1974). Between 1867 and 1875, the port of Izmir was modernized, with quays and a breakwater constructed (Mubahat Kütükgölü, İzmir hımzıma iştiradi ve iştıname(PC), İstanbul 1974, 495-530). A few industrial enterprises were then prepared to receive the output of agricultural goods for export. While most of the olive, sesame and other vegetable oils were still pressed in old-style mills, there were a few ventures, undertaken by members of the Ottoman minorities but also by the occasional Englishman, to found modern-style factories (Abdullah Martal, Doğum sürecinde İzmir'de sanayileşme, 19. yüzyıl, İzmir 1999, 144-5). In the import sector, textiles assumed a greater importance after about 1840. At that time, the output of English cotton factories began to flood the Izmir market, unimpeached by any protective duty since the Anglo-Ottoman commercial treaty fixed custom duties at a low level and prohibited monopolies (Martal, Sanayileşme, 123-5). This did not, however, prevent the emergence of a flourishing textile industry specializing in home furnishings (Cuinet, iii, 429).

Moreover, rising standards of living among the European middle classes, as well as the stylistic preferences of the Victorian age, led to an increased demand for carpets. What had previously been a luxury trade expanded to cater for mass markets which by around 1900, came to include the more affluent sectors of the working class. While these carpets were manufactured in small towns of the Aegean region, notably Uşak [see 'uşak'], they became known as Smyrna rugs in Europe, not only because they came out through the city's port but also because the merchants organizing this enterprise, British traders occupying a prominent position, were frequently based in Izmir (D. Quataert, Carpet industry of western Anatolia 1860-1908, repr. in Workers, peasants and economic change in the Ottoman Empire 1730-1914, İstanbul 1993, 117-36).

Trade and an active public administration had by the end of the 19th century stimulated urban growth, the population of Izmir proper reaching the 200,000 mark. About 89,000 were Muslim Turks and 39,000 Orthodox Greeks, while over 36,000 inhabitants carried foreign passports (Cuinet, iii, 440; for further statistical information, see the anonymous art. Izmir, in Yatt anotología, Türkiye il il, dünü, bugiin, yanm, 4271-87). Steamboat lines and a tram assured intra-urban communication and, in 1905, electricity was introduced. The city became an educational centre, with nine state schools on the secondary level. For the Greeks, there was the "Evangelical School" famed for its high level of instruction, in addition to numerous foreign, especially French educational establishments.

Izmir was not directly affected during World War I, although many young men were drafted into the army or into labour battalions. But in 1919, with the Ottoman Empire defeated and Istanbul occupied by the Allies, the Greek government, with the backing of the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, landed troops in Izmir and occupied the city until 1922, when the invaders were driven out by the Nationalist army under the command of Mustafa Kemal [ Atatürk]. Both the Greek occupation and the later withdrawal of the Greek forces were accompanied by large-scale flight from Izmir, which in September 1922 was moreover destroyed by a major conflagration (M.L. Smith, Ionian vision, Greece in Asia Minor 1919-1922, rev. ed. London 1998). The exchange of populations decided upon in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) involved the exodus of the remaining Greek population, whose places were taken by Turks who had been forced to vacate Greek territory.

In the 1960s, Izmir began to add new functions to its traditional role as an export-import centre serving an agricultural hinterland. Small-scale industry developed, and in automotive transportation, numerous minute undercapitalized entrepreneurs were also active. As in all large Turkish cities, migration from rural areas led to the hasty construction of shantytown housing and the emergence of a large informal
IZMIR — JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA

JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA (AL-QI'MI'YA AL-MILHIYYA AL-ISLAMIYYA), a Muslim University, formerly in British India and now in the Indian Union.

In September 1920, the Indian National Congress adopted the non-cooperation resolution against the British government. The Jamia Millia Islamia (National Muslim University) was the "hasty child of the non-cooperation days", according to Jawaharlal Nehru, independent India's first Prime Minister 1947-64.

Mawlana Mahmud Hasan (1851-1920), the first Principal, lectured at the Jamia. According to him, the institution's chief objective was to create Muslims who would be men of refinement and character, living according to the highest moral standards and being, and has been, progressive, Indian, and Muslim."

M.K. Gandhi, the main inspiration behind the founding of the Jamia, hoped that this institution would interpret Muslim culture in a manner consonant with truth and the requirements of a people diverse in culture. He hoped that it would produce good Muslims who would be men of refinement and character, living according to the highest moral standards and serving the people with devotion and sincerity.

In 1935, Halide Edib Hanum, the Turkish author, lectured at the Jamia. According to her, the institution's chief objective was to create a harmonious nationhood, and she observed that, in its aim, if not always in its procedure, it was nearer to the Gandhian movement than any other Muslim institution she had come across in India. In 1943, W.C. Smith, the historian of Islam, commented that the Jamia "has been constantly growing, ever refurbishing its methods, and branching out from time to time to meet new needs. . . . Its education has aimed at being, and has been, progressive, Indian, and Muslim."

The pursuit of such ideals ran into rough weather owing to paucity of funds, and yet dedicated teachers kept the Jamia going under adverse circumstances. They did not have money, and worked amidst and through poverty. They did not even have the shelter of houses, so they taught under the open sky. Yet they cheerfully faced the hard trials in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and optimism. Zahir Husain, vice-chancellor from 1926 to 1948, remembered those years of deprivation as "days of joy".

In the 1930s, the All-India Muslim League staked its political claims as the sole spokesman of the Muslim community. Muhammad Mudjib, the historian at Jamia, sector" (Mubecel Kiray, Ögülüşmeyecek Kendi, Izmir'de i̇z hayatının yapısı, Ankara 1972). By 1980, Izmir had developed into a city of over half a million inhabitants, surrounded by highly urbanised suburbs. Apart from the beginnings of an investment goods industry, factories processing tobacco, olives and fruits continue to be a local specialty, and tourism also plays an important role in the urban economy. With two universities, the city also has become one of the educational centres of Turkey.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also J.H. Mordtmann, Ef art. s.v. (Suraya Faroqui) 'IZZET HÖLÖ (AL-)Abid, Ahmad b. Muhýf٢-Din Abu 1-Hawl b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Kadîr, popularly known as 'ARAB IZZET Pasqa (1272-1343/1853-1924), late Ottoman statesman and close counselor of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamîd II [q.v.].

Born in Damascus (hence his nickname "Arab") as the son of a wealthy local notable, Holö Pasqa, he was educated in his hometown and in Beirut and became proficient in Turkish and French. Counted among the reformers, he edited a weekly in Arabic and Turkish, named Demâşq. Moving to Istanbul, he eventually joined the ranks of the chamberlains (karende) of 'Abd al-Hamîd and then became a Second Secretary (kândî-Ê kântî) of the Mâtyan [q.v.]. He gained great influence at court and was finally appointed Vizier. In May 1900 he was made head of the supervisory committee for the Hijâz Railway [q.v.]. From gifts of the Sultan and from kickbacks paid to him by foreign companies he acquired great wealth, and became the object of public outrage. The then famous satirist Şâhir Eşref (1847-1912), in a lampoon against 'Abd al-Hamîd, wrote: Besmele gûdh evlenen dreyan gûbî, Korkuyarsun "hot" dese bir efneki. Padiyâhâm öyle alcaksın ki sen Izzet-i nefân 'Arab Izzet gûbî! Like Satan, when he hears the bismillâh, you panic, if a foreigner says "hum". My Lord, you are so lowly that your soul's nobility is like unto 'Arab Izzet.

At the outbreak of the 1908 revolution he fled to London and thenceforward lived outside his own country, mainly in England, Switzerland and France. He died in Egypt, where he had gone for medical treatment, and was buried in Damascus.

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told Muhammad Idbāl (1876-1938 [q.v.]), the poet of
Indian Islam, that his plea for a Muslim state in
north-western India was opposed to their cherished
ideal that Muslims live and work with non-Muslims
in order to realise common ideals of citizenship. In
March 1940, Muhammad 'Ali Djinah (1876-1948 [q.v.])
put forward the “two-nation” theory to legitimise his
demand for a Muslim homeland. Unlike the university
at 'Aligarh, which turned into an “arsenal of Muslim
India”, the “two-nation” theory found no supporters
in the Jamia brāndī (fraternity).

An institution with a nationalist record could not
escape the fury of the angry mobs that rioted in
independent India’s capital after the country’s Partition.
The Jamia’s property was looted and destroyed. But
it lived through this experience to provide the healing
touch and was, in the opinion of Gandhi, “like
an oasis in the Sahara”.

The university, in search of moral and political support
after independence in August 1947, could have
turned into a quasi-religious or quasi-communal insti-
tution, but this did not happen, and the Jamia’s his-
toric character has remained unchanged. “I look on
this,” claimed Mughīb, “as a secular school.”

In the mid-1920s, the total enrolment of the schools
and colleges was about eighty, with 25 to 30 teachers.
Today, the Jamia is a central university, admin-
istered by an act of Parliament. Over 5,600 students
receive education and training in social, physical and
natural sciences, humanities, education, law, engineer-
ing and mass communication. From a few thousand
ruppes in the 1930s, its maintenance budget, in 2000-1,
is approximately 36.11 crores.

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nation: India’s Muslims since independence, London 1997;
Mushirul Hasan, A nationalist conscience: M.A. Ansari, the Congress
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Modern Islam in India, a social analysis, Lahore 1943;

(Mushirul Hasan)
KABBAMI — KABBANI

Hanafi, and president of the Consultative Council. The second held various offices with the reformist ministers before going into exile, after Khayr al-Din’s fall, at Istanbul and then Cairo, where he instigated a reformist newspaper, *al-’Itim*, and a reform movement.

If Muhammad Kabbadi is considered as a precursor of reform in Tunisia, this stems mainly from his role in the education of a political and religious elite to which he remained close and which put into action the reform of institutions in 19th-century Tunisia. At the Bardo School, as at the Zaytuna, he inculcated those reformist ideas which had begun to be known within the Muslim world at the end of the 18th century. This spirit, which Kabbadi defended in his writings and in his official duties, rested on the will to reconcile the Arab-Islamic heritage with the ideas and knowledge that had brought about progress in Europe.

Not all of his work has come down to us, and what he wrote before 1842 is essentially lost. Even of his later works, at least a commentary on the reform of institutions in 19th-century Tunisia. At the Bardo School, as at the Zaytuna, he inculcated those reformist ideas which had begun to be known within the Muslim world at the end of the 18th century. This spirit, which Kabbadi defended in his writings and in his official duties, rested on the will to reconcile the Arab-Islamic heritage with the ideas and knowledge that had brought about progress in Europe.

His political ideas are especially to be found in his eulogies of the three Beys whom he knew between 1842 and 1871, and of the viziers and influential figures of the same period, as also in his poems hailing such events as the promulgation of the *Fun‘t al-am‘arat al-mamlaka al-tunisiyya* in 1852. His later works, at least a commentary on the reform of institutions in 19th-century Tunisia. At the Bardo School, as at the Zaytuna, he inculcated those reformist ideas which had begun to be known within the Muslim world at the end of the 18th century. This spirit, which Kabbadi defended in his writings and in his official duties, rested on the will to reconcile the Arab-Islamic heritage with the ideas and knowledge that had brought about progress in Europe.

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of some twenty poems by singers such as Umm Kulthūm [q.v.]. Fayrūz, 'Abd al-Halīm Hāfīz (d. 1977), Mādjīda al-Rūmī (b. 1957), Kāẓīm as-Sāhir, Nādīr as-Saghira and others have also contributed. His prolific works include statements on poetry, and the autobiographical Kīsīyāt maṣlaʾ al-kāmi‘a (1973) and Min awdīkī l-nāqūshā: sīru ḍhāḥiyatū ṭābī‘a (2000; not seen).

Kabbānī’s contacts with Spain (with a professional stay at the Syrian embassy from 1963 till 1966) have contributed to a focus on Andalusian themes, and several poems have been translated into Spanish, notably three volumes by P. Martínez Montávez, Poemas amorosos árabes, Madrid 1965, 1988; Poemas políticos, Madrid 1973; ‘Ādī, amor, Madrid 1987. An Italian collection Poesie, tr. by G. C�novā et al., was published in Rome 1976. Volumes in English are Arabian love poems, tr. by F. Frangieh and C.R. Brown, Colorado Springs 1992, with the original texts in the surveys of modern Arabic poetry.

Bibliography: I. Works. The collected works (including poems, interviews and commentaries) have been published in nine volumes, Beirut 1997. They lack a common name, and are entitled al-dīn al-ḥāyya al-kāmi‘a (vols. i, ii, iv and ix); al-dīn al-sā‘iya al-kāmi‘a (vols. iii and vi); and al-dīn al-nātiṭiya al-kāmi‘a (vols. vii and viii) [earlier editions in eight volumes].


KABĪR, North Indian mystic and poet (d. ca. 1448). Although Kabir is regarded as one of the most influential saint-poets of mediaeval Northern India, there is very little authentic information concerning his life. We can reliably state that he was born in Benares to a family of low-caste Muslim weavers called gujālāhs, probably in the opening years of the 9th/15th century. Beyond this, various hagiographies of Kabir, depending on the authors’ sectarian affiliations, make competing claims that he was a Muslim Shī‘a, a Hindu with liberal Vaisnava leanings or a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity who rejected institutionalised forms of both Islam and Hinduism. Kabir’s fame is based on the numerous couplets (doḥān) and songs (pādas) attributed to him and called kabhrānīs, or “words of Kabir”. Written in a caustic colloquial style in a mediaeval Hindi dialect and sung in folk melodies, these compositions have been an integral part of oral religious literature in North India, being recited by Muslims and Hindus alike. Selections of Kabir’s verses have been incorporated into the Adī granth, the scripture of the Sikh community, as well as the Pāṇḍīṇa, the hymnal of the Dādipañtha sect. The Kabir Panthi, “the followers of the path of Kabir”, have a compilation of his poetry called the Bījak. Since Kabir’s verses, like most mediaeval Indian devotional poetry, were initially transmitted orally and recorded in writing only later, there are serious doubts concerning the authenticity of much of the corpus attributed to him.

Kabir, who was influenced by various religious currents including forms of Śiṣūm and tantric yoga expounded by the Nāth yogis, is regarded as the pioneer poet of the saṅkh movement that swept across North India in the 15th century. The saṅks, or poet-saints, were participants in a grassroots religious reformation that rejected the worship of multiple deities in favour of an esoteric form of religious practice whose goal was union with the one attributeless (nirguna) God. They also questioned the efficacy of religious rituals and.validity of scriptural authority. Expressing themselves in vernacular poems, the saṅks conceived of the human-divine relationship in terms of śivāna, or yearning, longing love. Union with the Divine could be attained by anyone, regardless of caste, through meditation on the divine name and with the guidance of a guru. In poems attributed to him, Kabir is particularly harsh in his attacks on the representatives of institutionalised religion, the Hindu bhāṣān and the Muslim mālūl or kāfī, whose bookish learning and religious rituals he considered entirely useless in the spiritual quest. After his death, some of Kabir’s disciples organised themselves into a sect, the Kabir Panth. Notwithstanding Kabir’s anti-institutional and anti-ritualistic stance, at the sect’s central monastery in Benares, both monks and lay people engage in a ritualised recitation of Kabir’s poems and make offerings to an image of their master.


KABIRA [pl. kabhrān], a term of Islamic theology meaning “grave [sin]”, occurring in Kur’ān, 112, 42/39, 138/143 and passim. It was the stimulus for much discussion amongst theologians and sectaries like the Kāharījites [q.v.] on what constituted a grave sin and how committing one affected a man’s salvation. For a discussion, see KABIR.
archives, the most used ones, are far from having been fully scrutinised. In the Ottoman archives, only the surface has been scratched, chiefly due to the efforts of French scholars (A. Bennigsen, Ch. Lemeret, Quequet, V. Vannevent et al.). The rich local collections, or rather those that have survived war, deportations, confiscation and deliberate destruction, have only begun to be intensively collected, catalogued and studied in the 1980s, mainly by Dagestani scholars (A. Shikhsaidov, Kh. Omarov, G. Orazayev et al.). Their works, published mainly locally, are not easily obtainable, however. The result is that most of the information available on this period is from the viewpoint of the neighbouring Great Powers (above all, Russia) competing for mastery over the Caucasus.

Yet even the scant information at our disposal points to the importance of the internal processes that occurred during these three centuries. To start with, this seems to be the time when the Northern Caucasus was converted to Islam. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Adighe peoples (known collectively as Circassians) and the Kabartay (see Karabars) of the north-western and central Caucasus respectively, were Islamised by the Crimean Tatars and the Ottomans. In the mountainous west, the Adighe peoples as well as the Gumiaks were written down, usually in their local idiom (for an example in Russian tr., see Kh.-M.O. Khashaev (ed.). Rukopisnaya i pečatnaya kniga v Dagestane, Moscow and Leningrad, 1960, vi, 574-84).

Nevertheless, the daily life of the Muslims in Dagestan, as all over the Northern Caucasus, continued to be regulated by the local 'uda (pronounced 'udat) rather than by the 'ajam ('ajam). On some occasions the local 'udas were written down, usually in the local idiom (for an example in Russian tr., see Kh.-M.O. Khashaev (ed.). Rukopisnaya i pečatnaya kniga v Dagestane, Moscow and Leningrad, 1960, vi, 574-84).

The Ottoman overlordship was recognised over the western part of Georgia (i.e. the kingdom of Imereti and its "vassal" principalities of Guri, Svaneti and Abkhazia), while Saqafid overlordship was recognised over its eastern parts (the kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti), and in present-day Armenia (Artsvan and Nakhchivan). Adjara, Abhydjan (Artsvan, annexed in 1536) and the southernmost corner of Dagestan (Derbend, annexed in 1509). This line of division would remain in force throughout the period with two notable exceptions (1578-1602 and 1722-35), when the Ottomans took advantage on the first occasion of internal struggles within the Saqafid house, and on the second occasion, of the disintegration of Saqafid power temporarily to seize control over the entire Caucasus.

North of the main mountain range, the Sunni Muslims habitually recognised the Ottoman Sultan's authority. This, however, was far from constituting even a shadowy Ottoman rule. In the west and centre, the Ottomans exercised a very limited, indirect and ineffective control over the Circassians, mainly via the Crimean Khans. In the east, in the various polities of Dagestan (remote, cut off and claimed by the Saqafids and their successors), the Ottomans usually enjoyed nothing more substantial than sympathy. Nevertheless, their Sunni identity added to the obstinate resistance by some Dagestani polities to the rashid, i.e. the Shi'ite Persians. Several fragments on the margins of manuscripts testifying of such acts of resistance in different places and times were published by Shikhsaidov in 1991 (in Russian tr., in A.A. Isayev (ed.). Rukopisnaya i pečatnaya kniga v Dagestane,
Makhazadzala 1991, 128-9. On many occasions the mountain dwellers managed to beat the invading armies, the most resounding defeat being that dealt in 1744 to Nadir Shah’s troops by the joint forces of the confederation of ‘Askhāja and other qanāts. The futility of the attempts to conquer the mountains gave rise to a Persian proverb to the effect that "when Allah wants to punish a Shah, He inculcates into his head the idea of campaigning in Dagestan."

The collapse of Nadir Shah’s empire after his assassination in 1747 was not followed by any Ottoman attempts to seize the area. This granted the kings of eastern Georgia half a century of freedom, and allowed for de facto independent khānates to be established in Derbend, Kuba, Baku, Shkil, Shifian, Gandja, Karabaghi, Erivan, Nakhchivan and Tbilisi. The resulting vacuum on their southern borders permitted different Dagestani communities and rulers to expand and raid the lowlands, mainly into eastern Georgia. The boldest raids were carried out by ‘Umar (pronounced ‘Ummah), Khān of Avastanāt (1774-1801). Once the Kadjars started to bring together the lands of the Safawids, they turned towards the Caucasus. In 1795, after the local rulers had ignored a series of demands to acknowledge his suzerainty, Ağha Khān Muhammad, the founder of the dynasty, led a campaign into Trans-Caucasia, which culminated in the sack of Tiflis. However, the Kadjārs’ attempts to incorporate the Caucasus into their empire met a new obstacle in the shape of Imperial Russia.

Muscovite Russia had shown interest in the affairs of the Caucasus already in the second half of the 16th century. Having seized control over the entire Terek (Volga) basin by conquering the khānates of Kazan and Astrakhan [q.v.] (1552 and 1556, respectively), Tsar Ivan IV (“the Terrible”) tried immediately to expand south into the Caucasus. For that purpose he pursued three goals: (1) the settlement of Cossacks on the Terek river; (2) alliances with local chiefs in the area, the most important of which was his marriage in 1561 to the daughter of a Kabartay prince; and (3) an attempt to help his coreligionists, the kings of Georgia, who had appealed for help to the new Orthodox power in the north. The Ottomans, though unsuccessful in capturing Astrakhan (1569), were nevertheless strong enough to thwart the attempts by Ivan as well as by his two successors Feodor (in 1594) and Boris Godunov (in 1604).

Weakened by the “time of troubles” of the early 17th century, Russia was deterred for more than a century and a half by the might of both the Ottomans and the Safawids from any initiatives in that direction. Nevertheless, additional Cossacks settled on the Terek and were incorporated by Peter I (“the Great”) into a continuous line of defence facing the eastern Caucasus. It was he also who ventured a campaign to the south. In 1722, following the Aghān invasion of Persia he marched with an army and navy along the western and southern shores of the Caspian as far as Astrabād. Yet he did not dare to challenge the Ottomans by advancing inland beyond the littoral, and the campaign achieved nothing tangible. Only Catherine II (“the Great”) successfully realized Russia’s advance southwards with a double-pronged policy.

In the Northern Caucasus, the erection of the fortress of Mordzok (1765) was the immediate cause of the 1768-74 war with the Ottomans and of a fourteen-year long struggle with the Kabartay. Following the peace of Kiucht Kaynarica [q.v.], Cossacks were settled opposite the western Caucasus and a continuous line of defence established, to be known in the 19th century as the “Caucasian Line”. These events were the trigger for the ten-year long resistance (1785-94) led by Mansūr al-Ushara [q.v.], a Cecen who assumed the title al-Imām al-Mansūr, and called on all the Muslims of the Caucasus to return to the Sūra’a and to unite against Russian encroachment. In this he provided a foretaste of the events of the 19th century.

At the same time, Catherine re-established Russian ties with the king of Kart’o-Kakheti (i.e. Georgia; see Al-kurj) and during the war of 1768-74, a Russian force crossed for the first time the Caucasus range and then operated against the Ottomans in Georgia. In 1783 the treaty of Georgievsk made Kart’o-Kakheti a Russian protectorate. A Russian force was stationed in Tiflis and a paved road, “the Georgian military highway”, was cut across the mountain range. However, the Russian force was soon withdrawn (1784), which left Kart’o-Kakheti exposed to the Kadjars while the king, confident in Russian protection, provoked the 1795 sack of Tiflis by his refusal to accept Ağha Khān Muhammad’s overlordship. The Emperor Paul, Catherine’s son and successor, was averse from involvement in the affairs of the Caucasus. Yet in 1799 he found himself obliged to protect Kart’o-Kakheti against the threats of Fath ‘Ali Shah, Ağha Khān Muhammad’s successor. Finally, on his deathbed, Giorgi XII, the last king of Kart’o-Kakheti, asked the Russian Emperor to take his kingdom under the Tsar’s protection. On 30 December 1800 N.S., Paul issued a manifesto incorporating Kart’o and Kakheti into the Russian Empire.

Alexander I, Paul’s son and successor, confirmed his father’s decision on 24 September 1801 N.S. Unlike Paul, Alexander used the annexation of Kart’o and Kakheti as the first step in Russia’s expansion into and beyond the Caucasus. Thus began the sixty-five years’ long struggle to conquer the Caucasus, known in Russian historiography as “the Caucasian War”, one that would drastically alter the political, religious, economic, social, ethnic and demographic composition of the Caucasus.

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3. The period 1800 to the present day.

a. Introduction

Any attempt to furnish a coherent and objective overview of the history of the Caucasus in the modern period is hampered by the scarcity of local sources and by the inherent biases of the historical accounts generated by its colonisers, the Ottomans, Persians and Russians, who, for more than a century, were vying with one another for sovereignty over this strategically important area. The same goes for European historiography of the region, which was likewise shaped by political agendas of the European states and their colonial designs. This is especially true of the works of 19th-century British writers, both lay and academic, who viewed Russia as its principal colonial rival and Persia as its principal colonial rival and took the Ottomans as an ally against their mutual adversary. Consequently, the literature on the Caucasus has been largely shaped by the interests of those countries, and the field has been dominated by Russian scholarship, which has tended to present a one-sided view of the region's history.

In 1826, the Persian army led by the Kadjar Crown Prince 'Abbas Mirzâ [q.v.] invaded Karabakh in an attempt to regain control of Persia's former dependencies in the central Caucasus. Despite initial successes, the Persian advance was eventually repelled by the Russian army under the command of Ivan Paskievich, who led the Russians to victory over 'Abbas Mirzâ's forces at the battle of Gandja (Elizavetpol) in September 1826. In 1828, after two years of hostilities between the Russian Caucasian Corps and Persian forces throughout 1804-13 were, as a rule, favourable in outcome to the Russians. Russian victories can be attributed at least in part to the dynastic struggles within the Persian ruling elite, which weakened its ability to resist Russian encroachments on Persia's former dependencies in the region.

Russian claims to its new domains in the Caucasus and Transcaucasia were formalised by the Gulistán Treaty of 1813. This document decisively redrew the map of the Caucasus in favour of the Russian Empire. By 1826, the Persian army led by the Kadjar Crown Prince 'Abbas Mirzâ [q.v.] invaded Karabakh in an attempt to regain control of Persia's former dependencies in the central Caucasus and Transcaucasia. Despite initial successes, the Persian advance was eventually repelled by the Russian army under the command of Ivan Paskievich, who led the Russians to victory over 'Abbas Mirzâ's forces at the battle of Gandja (Elizavetpol) in September 1826. In 1828, after two years of hostilities in which the Russians scored one victory after another, Persia was forced to sign the humiliating treaty of Turkomâncây [see TÜRKMEK ĖCAY (i)]. This document all but eliminated Persia's influence in the northern Caucasus by denying it any direct contact with its potential Muslim allies in Dagestán. On the Ottoman front, in 1828-9, Russian troops penetrated as far as Erzurum [q.v.] and Adjaria (Adjaristan) and blocked the strategic Black Sea ports of Poti and Anapa [q.v.]. The Russian military successes drastically reduced the Ottoman Empire's ability to exercise its influence over the Circassian (Adyghe [see ÇERKES]) tribes of the northwestern Caucasus, which even at the height of Ottoman power were Ottoman vassals in name only. Under the treaty of Adrianople (Edirne [q.v.]) of 1829, the Ottomans...
had to cede to Russia many of their former territories along the Black Sea coast. These territorial losses deprived the Ottomans of direct access to Circassia. Countless tribes along the Black Sea coast. These territorial losses had to cede to Russia many of their former dependencies in the Caucasus under Russian rule. Appointed by Tsar Alexander I as the military governor of the Caucasus in 1816, Ermolov consistently implemented what many Russian and Western historians view as “policies of terror” toward the mountaineer communities and local principalities. His brutal treatment of his Caucasian adversaries was deliberately aimed at breaking their will to resist Russia’s rule and to cow them into submission. Granted full authority over the area by the Tsar (in the Russian sources of the age, Ermolov was often referred to as the “proconsul of the Caucasus”), his own personal memoirs of the Caucasian campaigns seem to have been consciously patterned on Caesar’s Commentaries on the Gallic Wars, reflecting his desire to emulate his illustrious predecessor. Ermolov ruled over Russia’s new colonies with an iron fist, sparing neither his new subjects, nor his own troops, nor even the Russian irregulars, known as “Cossacks”. Parallel to his often merciless “pacification” of Caucasian tribes and principalities, Ermolov embarked on a series of ambitious administrative and military reforms that sought to consolidate Russian colonial authority over the region and encourage immigration of Russian settlers (Cossacks) to the area. In some regions (e.g. Kabarda), Ermolov also implemented a sweeping judicial reform. Thus in 1822 he replaced the local Shatfa and ‘Inda’ jurisdiction with civil courts staffed by Russian colonial officials. This measure undermined the positions of the local aristocracy and sparked several riots that had to be suppressed, with its usual brutality, by the Russian Caucasus Corps.

Controlling this vast and rugged area with just 49,000 troops (of which only 40,000 maintained at least some semblance of military readiness) proved to be a great challenge to Ermolov and his chiefs of staff. Their responses to the tremendous difficulties faced by the Russian colonial enterprise amounted to sustained social engineering, such as the forced resettlement of some tribes (Osetes and Noghay Tatars (q.v.)), the brutal “pacification” of “hostile” mountaineer communities, and the imposition of corvee services on others, e.g. the Çeçen (q.v.). These measures disrupted the customs and lifestyles of the mountaineers, who retaliated by attacking Russian forts and settlements and carrying off prisoners and booty. Another source of resentment against the Russian military administration was its attempt to eliminate the widespread slave trade in the northern Caucasus. For many centuries this business had been an important source of income for many local tribes, which sold captives to Ottoman merchants. The captives were then re-sold in Ottoman slave markets. Initially, the captives to Ottoman merchants. The captives were then re-sold in Ottoman slave markets. Initially, Russian efforts to eradicate the slave trade bore only limited results. It took the Russians several decades of thorough policing and enforcement of their anti-slavery edicts finally to put an end to this practice.

The mountaineers responded to Russia’s interference in their traditional occupations with armed uprisings. They were brutally put down by the Russian Caucasus Corps. The rebels’ villages and fields were burned to the ground. The “hostile” populations were chased into the inhospitable mountains. Such punitive campaigns, however, had only a limited impact, since the villages were easily rebuilt once Russian troops had left the area. At the same time, this brutal repression against a people unaccustomed to foreign rule bred and sustained hatred towards the Russian administration among the mountaineers. Ermolov soon realised the inadequacy of his policy, and embarked on military and administrative measures aimed at consolidating Russian presence in the region. The new policy consisted in the construction of fortified defence lines. They were formed by Russian fortresses and forts connected by networks of roads. Cut through the virgin forests of Çeçenya, the roads were meant to separate “pacified” tribes and villages from those which continued to resist Russian rule. In the process, the “hostile” communities were pushed ever deeper into the barren mountains, where they faced hardship and starvation.

Throughout Ermolov’s tenure as military governor of the Caucasus, mountaineer resistance (1816-27) in the eastern and central parts of the region remained spontaneous, unorganised and localised. Sporadic insurrections against Russian rule were easily suppressed by the better-equipped and disciplined Russian troops, which made good use of their superior firepower. Despite their personal bravery and intimate knowledge of the terrain, the mountaineer levies of Dâgîştân, Kabarda, Çeçenya and Ingushetia were unable to defeat the Russians due to a lack of co-ordination and organisation. The local ruling elites were usually unable to provide leadership, since they had been either tribed by the Russians or torn by internal strife. In other cases (e.g. in Çeçenya and some “democratic” Çerkes (Adygeh) tribes of the north-western Caucasus), the mountaineer elite had not yet been formed. Such “democratic” mountaineer societies posed an especially severe problem for the Russian authorities, which preferred to deal with local nobility rather than entire communities. Furthermore, Ermolov’s cunning implementation of “divide and rule” policies led to the decimation of many ruling families, who tried to resist Russian rule, especially in Dâgîştân. Some historians of the Caucasus even argue that Ermolov, steeped in the idea of “progress” and “civilisation”, viewed the local rulers as brutal and ignorant despots, who were inherently incapable of embracing Russia’s “civilising mission” in the Caucasus. He therefore considered them irrelevant and dispensable. Whether intentional or not, Ermolov’s policies seem to have led to the considerable weakening and discrediting of the local elites, which may explain why most of the leaders of the mountaineer resistance to Russian rule in 1829-59 came from relatively humble backgrounds and relied for the most part on free peasant communities for their support. Be this as it may, it is obvious that Ermolov’s rule permanently upset the earlier balance of power in the region. His draconian measures set the mountaineer resistance movement on its feet on an unprecedented scale. The movement developed its vitality from the idea of equality of all Muslims before the Divine Law and their duty to actively resist “infidel” Russian rule. Since the majority of the subjugated tribes and communities of the northern and central Caucasus professed Islam, it was only natural that resistance to Russian domination took the form of ghazawat, which, in the local tradition, is usually referred to as ghazawat.

c. The Caucasian ghazawat and its leaders

As with many contemporary Muslim movements, the leaders of Caucasian resistance often began their
In any event, the careers of the Çeçen Şaykh Mansur Ushurma and the three Daghstani imāms of the northern Caucasus [see Şamil] unfolded according to this scenario. The extent of these leaders' affiliation with the age of myuridizm, namely, the Nakhabandiyya-Mujaddidiyya-Khididiliyya Sufi order (in the case of Ushurma there is no historical evidence of his association with any Sufi silsila, while the three imāms were at least nominally Nakhabandi Şaykhs) remains a moot point. However, many Russian and Western historians of the Caucasus continue to view myuridizm/Nakshbandi Şī‘ism as the principal vehicle and source of inspiration for the movements in question.

The events of the thirty-year war led by the three imāms of Daghstān and Çeçenya, Ḥādīdji Muḥammad (Kazi Mulla), Hamzat (Gamzat) Bek and Şamil (Şamwil) are discussed in the article Şamil and will not be detailed here. The war cost both sides dearly in casualties and material resources. Russia's initial military strategy, imported from the European theatre of war, was geared to winning victories in pitched battles through an orderly movement and deployment of large military contingents. Much value was placed by the Russian military command on besieging and capturing enemy strongholds and headquarters. Such strategic assumptions proved to be ineffective or outright counterproductive in the Caucasus, where the Russian army faced a highly mobile and elusive opponent. The headquarters of the mountaineer levies could be easily moved from one village to another without impairing their ability to effectively fight the Russians through swift night raids, ambushes, diversionary tactics, misinformation and other forms of guerrilla warfare. These tactics were honed to perfection in Daghstān and Çeçenya under the talented leadership of the Imam Şamil, who implemented it with remarkable success from 1834 to the late 1840s, when the Russians were finally compelled to reconsider their military doctrine. Nevertheless, in spite of repeated military setbacks, the Russian military command continued to cling stubbornly to the ineffective "one-blow" strategy for over ten years. Its flaws culminated in the disastrous expedition of 1845 against Şamil's headquarters at Darghi (Darghiya, in present-day Çeçenya). Led by the newly-appointed viceroy of the western Caucasus Prince Mikhail Vorontsov, the Russian expeditionary force lost almost 1,000 men killed (including three generals), almost 2,800 wounded, 179 missing in action, three guns and all its baggage, including the army war- chest.

Vorontsov realised his error and convinced Tsar Nicholas I to implement the siege strategy that was first introduced by Ermolov but had been abandoned by his successors following his removal from office in 1827. Efforts were made to construct fortifications, to build new ones and to connect them with a network of improved roads. These defence lines cut through Şamil's domains in Daghstān and Çeçenya, gradually reducing his sphere of influence and depriving him of provisions and manpower. This slow and less spectacular military strategy, which following Vorontsov's retirement in 1854 was continued by his successor, Prince Aleksandr Baryatinskiy, eventually bore fruit. Deprived of the resources to wage war against the superior Russian military machine and abandoned by the majority of his former followers, the third imām of the Caucasus surrendered to the Russians in the summer of 1859. The bloodiest episode of the Russo-Caucasian war came to an end, although armed resistance to Russian rule continued throughout the Caucasus for another decade.

c. Circassia and Muhammad Amin

Şamil's long resistance to Russian conquest had wide-ranging repercussions for the mountaineer communities and tribes throughout the Caucasus, including those areas that remained formally under Russian rule or were contested by the Russian and Ottoman empires, namely, Kabarda, Balkaria, Ossetia and the western Caucasus (Circassia, Akhkhazia, Guria, etc.). Thirty-seven Kabardian princes and nobles went over to Şamil in 1846, following his raid into Kabarda. At the same time, the majority (around 200) remained loyal to the Russians and were richly rewarded by the Russian administration for their refusal to support Şamil's movement. Throughout Şamil's imate, the Transkuban region and Circassia (Adygheya) remained, for the most part, outside his direct influence. However, news about his military successes against the Russian forces periodically reinvigorated local resistance. In 1840 four major Russian fortresses along the coast of the Black Sea were captured and destroyed by Çerkes tribes. In 1842, Şamil sent his emissary, Ḥādīdji Muḥammad, to Circassia instructing him to spread ghazawat among the Muslim populations of the western Caucasus. After Ḥādīdji Muḥammad's death in 1845, he was succeeded by Şamil's nāṭeb (military governor) named Sulaymān Efendi. On Şamil's instructions, he began to preach ghaza- wat against the Russian garrisons stationed in the area and attempted to recruit several Çerkes (Adyghe) tribes to Şamil's cause. However, Sulaymān Efendi soon fell out with Şamil and defected to the Russians.

At the end of 1848, Şamil appointed Muhammad Amin as his next nāṭeb in Circassia. The new nāṭeb, who was not familiar with local realities, soon became embroiled in a power struggle between the aristocracy and free squires (fokoldes) of the Abadzekh, the largest Adyghe (Çerkes) tribe. After flirting for some time with the Abadzekh princes, Muhammad Amin eventually decided to throw in his lot with the peasants, promising them independence from their aristocratic masters and equality under the Şamwil law. His populist politics alienated the nobility, who turned to the Russians, hoping to retain their traditional privileges. Throughout the 1850s, Muhammad Amin was able to secure the loyalty of just one Adyghe tribe, the Abadzekh. He later extended his rule to some other Adyghe (Çerkes) communities, such as the Nalukhays and Shapsugs. Muhammad Amin modelled his administration of the nascent Çerkes (Adyghe) state on that of Şamil's imate. The lands under his jurisdiction...
were divided into a number of territorial units called *mahkama*. Each *mahkama* consisted of around 100 households. The administrative centre of the *mahkama* was located in a fortified Cerkes village (*aui*), which usually had a mosque, a court of law, a prison and a *mahkama*.* Each *mahkama* consisted of a religious officer, the *murtazik* (kadis), and a council of three Muslim judges (*köştsis*). Each Adyghe (Cerkes) household was to supply one mounted warrior (murtazik) for Muhammad Amin’s military force. The *murtazik* constituted the military foundation of Muhammad Amin’s rule. In all, Muhammad Amin’s state at its height consisted of four *mahkamas* among the Abadzekhs, one among the Shapsugs and two among the Natukhaya.

I. The Crimean War and its impact on the Caucasus

The beginning of the Crimean War in 1853 galvanised the mountaineer resistance movement on both sides of the Main Caucasian Range. In the eastern and central Caucasus, Şahmîl was preparing to invade Georgia, to cut the Russo-Georgian Military Highway and, finally, to effect a juncture with an invading Ottoman force at Tiflis. The capital of the Caucasian was expected to fall to the allied Muslim army within a few days. In the western Caucasus, Muhammad Amin and his Cerkes levies, supported by an Ottoman sea-borne expeditionary force, were bound to disrupt Russian communications and capture the lands of the Turkic-speaking Karaçay [g.e.] on the northern slopes of the Main Caucasian Range. Muhammad Amin was then to march across Kabarda and Osetia and to join Şahmîl’s forces there. In Guria (a part of present-day Georgia), which had been under Russian administrations since 1840, a large Ottoman force attacked the fortress of Shchtetelli (St. Nicholas Port) on the Black Sea and wiped out its small garrison, which consisted of a Russian detachment and pro-Russian Gurid militia.

These developments awoke the Russian administration of the Caucasian to the possibility of a powerful military coalition between the invading Ottomans and their local supporters among the Adygles. In response to the repeated pleas of his viceroy, Prince Vorontsov, Taar Nicholas I agreed to send reinforcements to the Caucasus. In the hostilities that followed, the Ottomans’ expeditionary force (the so-called Anatolian Corps) was defeated by the Russians in several pitched battles in the southern Caucasus. The Porte’s plans suffered another major setback in the harbour of Sinop in November 1853, when a Russian naval force led by Admiral Nakhimov attacked and destroyed the Ottoman fleet that was to land at Sukhjm-Kaf’e in order to join forces with the Cerkes levies. In March 1854, a joint Anglo-French naval squadron sailed into the Black Sea. Its appearance forced the Russian military command to dismount or to blow up a number of Russian fortresses along the Circassian coast (the so-called “Black Sea Defence Line”), including Anapa. Only those fortresses deemed able to withstand a prolonged siege from the sea were preserved and received fresh reinforcements.

These measures and the absence of a Russian naval presence in the Black Sea gave the Anglo-French fleet full control of sea communications off the Circassian coast. The allies tried to establish direct ties with Şahmîl and Muhammad Amin in order to better coordinate their military operations in the Caucasian theatre of war. While the Anglo-French emissaries failed to reach Şahmîl, they succeeded in securing Muhammad Amin’s commitment to participate in joint Ottoman and Anglo-French operations against the Russians. The allied plans were upset in the summer of 1854, when several Ottoman brigades were defeated by the Russian army in a series of bloody engagements. The Circassian tribes, which expected the Ottoman troops to help them in their unequal struggle against the Russians, were surprised to discover that their Ottoman allies were not prepared to offer any kind of assistance. These reversals may explain why Şefer (Safar)-bey (beg), an Adighe prince of the Natukhay tribe, whom the Ottomans had appointed as governor of Sukhum-Kaf’e with the rank of pasha, was unable to recruit enough Cerkes fighters to form a separate corps under his command. The Akhfhz, who had both Christian and Muslim princes, were divided, with the Christian part of the population favouring the Russians. The Ottoman cause was not helped by Şahmîl’s inactivity. Burdened by the internal problems of his imamate and incapable of undertaking any large-scale military operations due to the lack of resources and growing war fatigue among his followers, he was unable or unwilling to respond to the Ottoman and Anglo-French pleas for a more aggressive strategy against the Russians.

The next year (1855) of the Crimean campaign did not bring any dramatic changes to the stalemate on the Caucasian front. Şahmîl remained inactive, while neither Sefer-bey nor his allies were themselves in a position to convince the Cerkes chiefs to form a separate corps under Ottoman command. Their efforts were hampered by their personal rivalry and their dependence on mutually hostile social groups within the Cerkes (Adyghe) communities. While Sefer-bey, a Cerkes prince, represented the interests of the mountaineer aristocracy, Muhammad Amin relied on the free Cerkes peasantry, which was anxious to minimise its feudal obligations vis-à-vis the nobles. As a result, the two leaders often worked at cross-purposes. The Russian military successes in Transcaucasia, such as the capture of Kars and Bayazet, and the lack of a decisive allied victory in the Crimea, hampered the efforts of Ottoman military commanders in the western Caucasus. With the fall of Sevastopol in September 1855, Muhammad Amin attempted once again to form a Cerkes corps under his command, but to no avail. The Cerkes tribes were not ready to relinquish their independence and to join the Ottoman-led military coalition, whose ultimate goals they did not share. Besides, the plans of the European allies to mount a massive offensive against the Russian troops stationed in the Caucasus never materialised. Without the support from their European partners, the Ottomans proved unable to dislodge the Russian forces from the western Caucasus. At the same time, with no major victories to their credit, they were unable to convince their potential allies among the Cerkes tribes of the necessity to launch an all-out attack against the Russians. ‘Umar (‘Omer) Paşa’s initially successful campaign against a Russian force near Zugdidi (Georgia) in the autumn of 1855 failed to impress the Cerkes and Akhfhz enough to join his expeditionary force. In the end, the European powers’ decision not to shift the centre of hostilities from the Crimean Peninsula to the western Caucasus, which would allow the Ottomans to make decisive advances in that area, worked to Russia’s advantage. Despite the loss of its naval power in the Black Sea, Russia retained her overall strategic superiority in the region, which eventually enabled her to bring it firmly under control.

The allied plans to invade the Caucasus were shelved when the warring parties began peace negotiations.
and signed a peace treaty in Paris during the winter of 1856. The results of the Crimean War, although by no means favourable to the Russians, failed to reverse Russia’s inexorable expansion in the Caucasus and to put an end to her domination over the areas already conquered by Russian troops. If anything, it strengthened for many mountaineer leaders the futility of resistance against Russian rule. If Russia was able to withstand the attack of the greatest European and Muslim powers of the age, how could their small levies have any hope of defeating her on their own? It is even more remarkable that, despite the growing war fatigue and despondency among his supporters and the overall devastation suffered by his realm, Shamil was able to continue his struggle until August 1859, when he surrendered to the Russian forces at the village of Gunib in Dagestān.

Following the collapse of Shamil’s movement, in November 1859, Muhammad Amin started negotiations with the Russian military command of the Kuban military district. He pledged allegiance to the Russian Empire, recognised its sovereignty over his lands, and signed a peace treaty in Paris during the winter of 1856. The results of the Crimean War, although by no means favourable to the Russians, failed to put an end to her domination over the areas already conquered by Russian troops. If anything, it strengthened for many mountaineer leaders the futility of resistance against Russian rule. If Russia was able to withstand the attack of the greatest European and Muslim powers of the age, how could their small levies have any hope of defeating her on their own? It is even more remarkable that, despite the growing war fatigue and despondency among his supporters and the overall devastation suffered by his realm, Shamil was able to continue his struggle until August 1859, when he surrendered to the Russian forces at the village of Gunib in Dagestān.

During and after the Crimean War, Chechen rebellions against Russian rule were encouraged and assisted by outside powers, especially Britain and France. To a lesser extent, France, the provisions of the Paris Peace Treaty seriously impaired Russia’s ability to control the Black Sea coast. In the absence of a Russian naval force to patrol the coastal area (under the Paris Treaty, Russia was allowed to have only six corvettes in the entire Black Sea area), Britain and France gained free access to the Chechen populations of the western Caucasus. Some elements within the British government accepted the advice of the British diplomat and Turkophile, David Urquhart, to assist the Chechens in establishing an independent state that would serve as a buffer between the Ottoman lands and the Russian colonial possessions in the western Caucasus.

To this end, the British and the French enlisted the help of Polish emigrants to England and France who had fled their country after the Russian crackdown against Poland’s bid for independence in 1830. In addition, there were many Polish deserters from the Russian Army stationed in the Caucasus who had joined the Chechen tribes to take an active part in anti-Russian resistance. Throughout the late 1850s and early 1860s, several Polish-led and Chechen contingents of European volunteers equipped by England and France landed on the Circassian coast in an effort to encourage the local tribes to rise against the Russians. However, they were not always well received by the Chechens, who were wary of the motives of these self-appointed supporters of their independence. Moreover, the efforts of small foreign contingents were not enough to change the overall strategic situation in the Caucasian theatre of war, which was dominated by Russian military might. Faceless Russian lagers—united by the lack of support from the local populations, all foreign contingents gradually withdrew from the western Caucasus, leaving their Chechen allies face-to-face with the Russian Empire.

h. The tragedy of mass emigration

In the early 1860s, the Russian administration of the Kuban military district (oblast’) embarked on a large-scale plan to resettle the Adyghian tribes. These measures were proposed and implemented by the military governor of the Kuban region, General Nikolai Yevdokimov (Evdokimov), who was intent on preventing the Adyghian tribes from resuming their resistance to Russian rule by undermining their economic and geopolitical foundations. Unlike Dagestān with its barren mountains, the Kuban area with its extraordinarily fertile and fertile arable lands was quite suitable for resettlement with Russian and Ukrainian peasants, who were considered to be much more “reliable” than the warlike Chechen tribes with their long history of anti-Russian warfare. Aided by Russian resistance, the Ubykhs, Bzedukhs, Abazins, Karacays, Abkhaz, and to put an end to her domination over the western Caucasus. Some members of the local Chechen and Kabardian nobility anxious to preserve their influence over their former bondsmen, the emigration turned out to be a terrible tragedy for the mountaineer peoples. The emigrants, known as muhādīrīn, came from practically every North Caucasian community: Kabardians, Čećens, Ossetes, Natukhays, Abadzekhs, Shapsugs, Ubykhs, Bzedukhs, Abazins, Karacays, Abkhaz, Temirgoys, Nogay Tatars, and a few others. During the winter and spring of 1864 alone, 257,068 individuals departed for Anatolia from seven Black Sea ports under Russian control. The refugees were motived by a variety of factors, such as the dislocation and resentment produced by the Russian resettlement schemes and oppressive rule, hopes for a happy life under friendly Muslim rule in Anatolia (inspired in part by Ottoman propaganda), and the religious rulings issued by Muslim religious authorities, which proclaimed living under infidel rule to be a grave sin for any Muslim who had other options. Once the emigrants found themselves on board ships headed for Ottoman Turkey, they were readily preyed upon by Ottoman slave-traders and greedy crews who charged their passengers by the head and therefore packed as many of them as possible into each ship.
Crammed conditions combined with various infectious diseases took a heavy toll on the human cargo. The ships, usually commercial craft not intended for carrying passengers, quickly turned into abodes of death. According to some chilling eye-witness accounts, they left hundreds of dead bodies in their wake. The statistics indicate that over 20,000 refugees perished at sea in the 19th century, and their remains were later found on the shore of the Black Sea. The survival rate was particularly low among the sick and the elderly, who made up a significant portion of the refugees, especially the sick and the elderly, who were often the victims of cholera and other infectious diseases. The makeshift refugee camps at the ports of destination, which, for the most part, were totally unprepared for such a massive influx of refugees. The makeshift refugee camps at the ports of destination, which, for the most part, were totally unprepared for such a massive influx of refugees.

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emphasised solicitude for the needs of one's neighbours, mutual assistance and the necessity to share one's wealth with the poor and needy. Kunta Hadji's also advocated peaceful co-existence with the Russians as long as they revered the Cecens and Ingush freedom to practice their religion and follow their customs.

As mentioned above, Kunta Hadji's pacificistic message ran counter to Shamil's ideology of armed resistance to Russian rule. Moreover, Shamil also saw in Kunta Hadji's a rival in the struggle for the loyalties of the mountaineers, a struggle that Shamil was already losing due to the growing war fatigue and despondency among his supporters in the face of Russian military superiority. Shamil is said to have summoned the young preacher to his headquarters and subjected him to a close interrogation. Upon witnessing the vocal *zikr* and dance that Kunta Hadji performed in accordance with the precepts of the Kadiiri brotherhood, Shamil allegedly declared it contrary to Nakhshbandi precepts and "orthodox" Islam. He then ordered the preacher of *zikr* (a Russified version of the Arabic *zikr*) to leave the territory of his imamate to perform a second pilgrimage and to gain a better knowledge of the intricacies of Islamic law.

Kunta Hadji reappeared in Cecnya after the collapse of Shamil's imamate in either late 1861 or early 1862. With Shamil no longer on the scene, his message received an eager hearing among the war-weary Cecens and Ingush. Accounts of Kunta Hadji's sermons indicate that, in addition to pacifism, his teaching was tinged with millenarian expectations and a doomsday mentality. He called upon his audiences to prepare for the Day of Judgement by purifying their *shahdda* [q.v.] the one hundred times a day, and to leave the territory of his imamate to perform a second pilgrimage and to gain a better knowledge of the intricacies of Islamic law.

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Kunta Hadji's supporters, ascribe to him a number of miracles that allegedly demonstrated the superiority of his spiritual teaching over the dry scholasticism of his detractors.

In early January 1863, after some hesitation, the Russian authorities decided to put an end to Kunta Hadji's preaching. On the orders of the viceroy of the Caucasus, the Grand Duke Mikhail Romanov, Kunta Hadji and fourteen of his closest followers and *vakils*, including his brother Mowsar, were arrested and sent to the Russian city of Novozerkassk. Several months later, he was separated from his companions and exiled to the town of Ustuzno in the Novgorod province of northern Russia. There he spent the rest of his days in misery under police surveillance. Throughout his exile he balanced on the brink of starvation, as his daily six kopeks' allowance was barely enough to buy a piece of bread. The Russian authorities ignored his repeated requests for an increase in allowance; his letters with pleas for help addressed to his wife and family were intercepted by the Russian secret police and never reached their destination. In any event, by that time, his wife and other members of his family had already emigrated to Anatolia with thousands of other *muhadżir*un. Kunta Hadji died around 1867, his health undermined by a life of deprivation.

Kunta Hadji's arrest in early 1863 triggered a rebellion of his followers that became known as "The Battle of Daggers" (Rus. *kizal'nyi boi*). On 18 January 1863, a group of 3,000 to 4,000 of Kunta Hadji's followers, armed only with daggers, sabres and sticks, charged against a Russian detachment near the Cecen village of Shali. As they found themselves within the firing distance of the Russian troops, dancing and singing Kadiiri litanies, they were mowed down by Russian fire. The "*zikr* army" dispersed, leaving behind some 150 dead, including several women dressed as men. The site of the Battle of Daggers near Shali has become one of Cecnya's most sacred places, along with the grave of Kunta Hadji's mother at the village of Guní, in the Vedan district of Cecnya. It is said that Kunta Hadji's *nāʾib* Myačik-Mulla had persuaded the attackers that their *usuli* would miraculously protect them from Russian bullets and cannon-fire. Following the massacre, the Russian administration arrested and exiled to Russia many members of the *zikr* movement. Some of them managed to escape and became *abreks* (that is, bandits of honour, who vowed to fight the Russians to the death),

Russian sources claim that, despite its pacificist message, some of Shamil's former fighters among the Cecens came to see Kunta Hadji's teaching as a new version of Shamil's *ghazawī* ideology. The Russian authorities were to launch the first any popular religious teaching that called mobilise the mountaineers for a certain political cause, encouraged renowned local scholars, such as 'Abd al-Kadiî Khordae and Mustafa 'Abdullaie, to condemn *zikr* as being contrary to the *Sharfa*. In particular, the scholars denounced Kunta Hadji's loud *zikr* techniques and musical instruments that induced ecstatic states in the participants.

They also pointed out that Kunta Hadji had no scholarly qualifications to substantiate his claims to the spiritual leadership of the Cecens and Ingush. Kunta Hadji responded with his usual humility. He readily acknowledged the authority of his learned critics as interpreters of the outward aspects of the Islamic revelation. However, he presented himself as an exponent of its true essence, which was hidden from the majority of believers. Later accounts, circulated by Kunta Hadji's supporters, ascribe to him a number of miracles that allegedly demonstrated the superiority of his spiritual teaching over the dry scholasticism of his detractors.
In May 1865, a Ccčen shepherd of the Kharačoi anl named Taza Ekmirža(ev) proclaimed himself a new imām and attempted to raise the population of a mountainous part of Čecnja known as Ikererja. Taza claimed to have performed a hajj to Mecca (mawlāq [q.v.]), during which God himself had ordained him as the new imām of Čecnja in the presence of the Prophet and Shaykh Kunta Hāḏḏjī. Taza’s claims were endorsed by a number of former followers of Kunta Hāḏḏjī, especially Myaqič-Mulla. The Russian administration reacted strongly by sending three infantry detachments, led by Colonel Goloćačev, against the rebels. Fearing Russian reprisals, the Čecnja population of Ikererja seized Taza and his closest supporters and handed them over to the Russian command. Taza was convicted, sentenced to 12 years of hard labour and sent to Siberia. The spring of 1865 witnessed a massive exodus of the Muslim population, including many of Kunta Hāḏḏjī’s former supporters, from Čecnja and Inguşetiya to Ottoman Turkey. Scared by the rumours of impending forced resettlement and conversion to Christianity, some 23,000 Čccens boarded Ottoman ships bound for Anatolia. Of these, around 2,100 individuals later returned to the Caucasus, bringing with them stories of hardship and deprivation. These stories stemmed the tide of refugees, although some families continued to emigrate to the Dīr al-islām in the decades leading up to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

j. The Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-8 and beyond

The dhikr movement, now effectively banned by the Russian authorities, was reduced to a semi-clandestine existence. To protect its leaders from Russian persecutions, the dhikr claiming descent from Kunta Hāḏḏjī and his lieutenants grew extremely secretive and fraticious. In 1877-8, some of their members took an active part in the rebellion of ‘Alī-šek Hāḏḏjī Aldanov, during which, for the first time, the Kādirīs fought side by side with the members of the Nakshbandī tariqa of Dāḡhīštān led by Hāḏḏjī Muḥammad of Sogratī (Thughūrī). His father, ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Thughūrī (d. 1882), also took an active part in the rebellion. A renowned scholar, ‘Abd al-Rahmān was considered to be the chief Nakshbandī shaykh of Dāḡhīštān and Čecnja after the emigration to the Ottoman realm of Šāmīl’s spiritual preceptor, Dīmāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzī Ghumukī. After the followers of Shaykh Muḥammad Hāḏḏjī proclaimed him imām of Dāḡhīštān and Čecnja, he began to send his nāḥiās and wādikhs to various Dāḡhīštān communities, inviting them to fight the Russians in the name of “freedom and Sharrā’. The revolt was triggered in part by the Russian policy aimed at limiting drastically the jurisdiction of the Sharrā and replacing it with the customary law (‘Idāt [q.v.]). This fact explains the large number of religious leaders among the rebels. Another important motive of the rebellion was Ottoman propaganda, which predicted an impending victory of the Ottoman army in the Caucasus and the Balkans. Some of the inflammatory flyers that circulated among the mountain communities were signed by Šāmīl’s second son, Ghāzī Muḥammad, now a general of the Ottoman army. The rebellion lasted for a whole year, until it was finally quashed by a Russian military force led by General Sovstitov.

Following the suppression of ‘Alī-šek Aldanov’s movement, the abolition of Hāḏḏjī Muḥammad’s imāmate and the execution of twenty-eight of his leaders by the Russian military administration, their surviving supporters went underground. The early 1880s witnessed the emergence of three principal branches (known locally as wādiks) of the Kādirīiya under the leadership of Bamat-Gīrey (Bamatgīrī) Hāḏḏjī Mitāev and Cīm-Mīrzā in Čecnja and of Batalhāḏḏjī Bēlıkhorī(ev) in Inguşetiya. Their influence on the mountain communities was of great concern for the Russian administration, which suspected the leadership of the new brotherhoods of trying to create an alternative power structure completely outside Russian control. Continual Russian surveillance and persecutions turned the brotherhoods into secret societies, whose members often practiced endogamy and were suspicious of outsiders. This is especially true of the Batalhāḏḏjī wādik, which was characterised by particularly strict discipline and fear of outsiders. Each male member of this brotherhood carried a long dagger, which he did not hesitate to use to protect his honour or to retaliate against any attack on the honour of his wādik. Each of the three wādiks that emerged from the Kunta Hāḏḏjī movement practiced a distinctive type of dhikr. Thus the members of the Bamat-Gīrey wādik are known for their high jumps (hence their Russian sobriquet, pryguny “jumpers”); the Batalhāḏḏjī dhikr is distinguished by the intensive clapping of hands, while the Cīm-Mīrzā brotherhood is characterised by the use of drums (hence their Russian name harkashdikhs “drummers”). Many members of the abek movement, including the famous Čccen “bandit of honour” Zelimkhan, were associated with one or the other wādik. Consequently, Russian attempts to crack down on the abeks were often accompanied by persecutions against the Kunta Hāḏḏjī wādiks. Thus in 1911, the Shaykhs of the three Kunta Hāḏḏjī wādiks, Bamat-Gīrey, Batalhāḏḏjī and Cīm-Mīrzā, together with their closest followers (thirty in all) were arrested and exiled to Kaluga.

These persecutions and the dire economic conditions in Čecnja and Inguşetiya, which were suffering from chronic food shortages, triggered a new wave of emigration. In 1913 alone, some 1,000 Čccen families left their homeland for Anatolia in search of a better life. Paradoxically, similarly dire economic conditions in neighbouring Dāḡhīštān did not prevent it from retaining its position as the major centre of Islamic learning and literacy in the northern Caucasus. In many areas of Dāḡhīštān, even after the Russian conquest, Arabic retained the principal language of administration and correspondence among isolated mountain communities, whose multilingual inhabitants continued to use it as a lingua franca up until the late 1920s-early 1930s, when it was finally supplanted by Russian. Before the Russian Revolution there were, according to different estimates, from 800 to 2,000 Kurman schools in Dāḡhīštān alone, enrolling around 40,000 students. At the beginning of the 20th century, Dāḡhīštān boasted five printing presses, including the Mavraev Publishing House at Temfr-Khanshūrā (Makhačkal’ [q.v.]), which specialised in Arabic books. It also produced books in major Dāḡhīštān languages: Avar, Dargān, Kumuk and Luk [q.v.]. In 1911 alone, it published 256 titles in these languages.

The strong position of Islamic learning in Dāḡhīštān was recognised by the Russian administration, which prohibited Russian Orthodox missionaries from proselytising in the area. The powerful local popular uprising against the local Muslim population, Russian attempts to replace local religiously-based education with Russian schools had only limited success. The so-called “new method” gymnasia and technical schools in the urban centres of Dāḡhīštān, Čecnja and Ossetia were dominated by non-native, Russian-speaking students and faculty. At the same time, the last decade of the 19th
century and first decade of the 20th century witnessed the steady growth of a small but active Russian-educated intelligentsia among the Caucasian ethnicities, which became an important vehicle in spreading Russian culture among their respective ethnic groups. Overall, however, the literacy level among the mountaineers remained relatively low throughout the Caucasus. The Russian census of 1897 shows Dagestan to be in the lead with 9.2%, followed by Adygeya (7%), Karačay (4.6%), Kabarda (3.2%), and Balkariya (1.4%).

k. The Caucasus on the eve of the Russian Revolution

Following the discovery of commercial amounts of oil in some areas of Cecnua in 1894, the region underwent a rapid economic and social transformation and by 1910 had become a major centre of oil production in the Caucasus, second only to Bakú. Radical changes in the social and economic landscape of the region were underway throughout the first decade of the 20th century, as Cecnua and its neighbours were going through a rapid economic and social transformation and by 1910 had become a major centre of oil production in the Caucasus, second only to Bakú. Radical changes in the social and economic landscape of the region were underway throughout the first decade of the 20th century, as Cecnua and its neighbours were becoming increasingly integrated into the world economy. This process is attested by the emergence of a number of local companies with links to major European and Russian entrepreneurs and banks. They proved especially prominent, especially in Cecnua and Ossetia. While the majority of the mountaineers worked in the oil industry and the construction of the railways, many local peasants lost their property as a result of widespread land speculation. Several newly-built railways linked central Russia to the major urban centres of the Caucasus—Ekaterinodar, Vladikavkaz, Novorossisk (former Saduj-Kal'e), Stavropol' and Bakú. These cities soon became centres of anti-government agitation spearheaded by, for the most part, Russian revolutionary intelligentsia and Russian-speaking industrial and railway workers. While the majority of the mountaineers from the northwestern and central Caucasus did not benefit from these developments (in fact, due to widespread land speculation, many local peasants lost their property and were forced to migrate to the rapidly-growing cities), some members of the Cerkos, Cecen and Ingush elites, including some wealthy leaders of Süfí wonds, profited from this economic boom. The growing economic inequality and abiding hostility between the Russian settlers (Cossacks) and the mountaineers fuelled rural unrest, especially in Cecnua and Ossetia. As usual, the Russian administration resorted to the tactic of deportation and exile to Russia and Siberia of real or imaginary “troublemakers”. Among those deported from Cecnua and Ingushetia in the first decade of the 20th century were shykhos of the Nakshbandiya (e.g. Abd-al-'Aziz Shaptukaev, also known as Dokku Shakyh and Deni Arsanov, and wakifs of the local Kádirí wonds, Batalhadjdi Belkhoroev, Baminigrey-Hadjidi and their closest followers. The Russian revolution of 1905-6 galvanised local resistance movements, which were driven in part by the forced Russification of the rural population and the growth of the number of Russian settlers and landlords. In line with Marxist principles, the Russian Communist agitators, who, for the most part, were based in the industrial centres of the region, attempted to reach out to the mountaineer masses and to rally them to their cause. However, these attempts met with limited success among the majority of mountaineers, who remained suspicious of the goals of the agitators, many of whom espoused atheism. As a result, the revolutionary movement in the Caucasus was for the most part confined to the urban centres with a substantial Russian population. Local disturbances continued throughout the first decade of the 20th century, despite severe repression. In 1914-15, the hardships and short-

ages of World War I triggered another wave of anti-government protests in both cities and the countryside. The military defeats of Russian armies on the Western front and the wartime requisitions instituted by the Russian administration resulted in acts of sabotage and mass desertions among mountaineer recruits.

l. The Russian Revolution and civil war

The victory of the democratic revolution in Russia in February 1917 installed in the Caucasian nations a hope to finally rid themselves of the oppressive imperial rule. In the heady days after the revolution, mountaineer leaders saw their chance to secure independence from Russia. Throughout the Caucasus, there mushroomed numerous “civil committees” and “revolutionary councils”, which represented a wide spectrum of political views from “Muslim Communism” of various shades to bourgeois liberalism and parliamen
tary democracy. At the same time, many mountaineer communities remained committed to the more traditional religious values and leaders. Thus a “congress of the Cecen people” that spontaneously assembled in Grozny in March 1917 demanded the reinstatement of the Sharia as the law of the land and the creation of the post of the chief mujtih of the Terek aqil, a post widely seen as a rival institution. Such demands were actively supported by local scholars, many of whom were leaders of the Cecen Kádirí wonds and the Nakshbandiya, namely Sugaii-Mullah, 'Ali Mitaev, Deni Arsanov and ‘Abd al-Wahhab Hadjidi. The spiritual authority and economic power (the individuals just mentioned were wealthy landowners and successful entrepreneurs) wielded by such traditional religious authorities made them indispensable for the new crop of local politicians, who represented the interests of the nascent mountaineer bourgeoisie. Thus the famous Cecen oil tycoon and politician ‘Abd al-Majidjá Amyrev was anxious to secure the support of the influential Süfí shykh Yusuf Hadjidi and Deni Arsanov. On 1 May 1917, the “First Congress of the Mountain Peoples” was convened at Vladikavkaz (North Ossetia). Presided over by the Balkar intellec
tual Buniyat Shakhanov, it lasted for ten days. Of its 400 participants many were authoritative religious scholars and Süfí wáqifs, namely, Deni Arsanov and Sugaii-Mullah Gaysumov from Cecnua, Uzun Hadjidi and Nadjin al-Din Efendi Gotsinskii from Dagestan, Hamzat Hadjidi Uruvos from Karačay, etc. The Congress called for the formation of the Union of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, which, in turn, was supposed to be part of a larger political structure called the “All-Caucasus Muslim Union”. The resolutions of the Congress included a demand for the establishment of the office of Shaykh al-kilám at the government of the Russian Federation, who would preside over a consultative council of six representa
tive of the three major schools of law on the territory of the former Russian Empire, namely, Shahí', Hanafi and Dja'fari (Shí'). Another resolution called for the creation of an academy of Sharia sciences at Vladikavkaz and the declaration of the Sharia as the only law of the land. In June 1917, the famous Muslim scholar and Naqshbandi Shaykh of Dagestan, Uzun Hadjidi, arrived in Cecnua. He had already acquired a reputation there for piety and clairvoyance during his earlier sojourn at the Cecen village of Shatoi, whose inhabitants had given him shelter from the persecution of the Russian military police shortly before the Russian Revolution. At a meeting of the inhabitants of the Shatoi district, Uzun Hadjidi declared Nadjin al-Din...
Gotsinski, a respected scholar of liberal leanings and son of a nādīb of Imām Şamil, as imām of Cēcnya and Daghistan. The shaykh confirmed his nomination by a display of his miraculous powers. According to some "eye-witness" accounts, he performed his prayer on his felù (boat) which he had spread in the middle of lake Eyzenn-Am.

In September 1917, the Second Congress of the Mountain Peoples was assembled at Andy, on the border between Daghistan and Cēcnya. It attracted some 20,000 participants from all over the Caucasus. In addition to traditional religious and political leaders and members of the nascent mountaineer bourgeoisie, the Congress was attended by representatives of leftist political parties, including the Bolsheviks, and a number of political emissaries from the Provisional Government of Russia. Another congress took place at Temir-Khān-Shūrā, in Daghistan. Its participants ignored Uzun Hāждjf's appointment of Gotsinski as imām of Daghistan and Cēcnya. Instead, they bestowed upon him the title of chelī muftī, which carried less political authority. This event upset Uzun Hāждjf, since it nullified his earlier appointment of Gotsinski as imām. Upon hearing the news, Uzun Hāждjf withdrew from Temir-Khān-Shūrā together with some 10,000 of his supporters. Uzun Hāждjf's departure reflected his frustration with the growing influence of leftist, "socialist" groups on the events in Daghistan and Cēcnya and their attempts to seize the initiative from the traditional mountaineer leadership and to use it to their advantage. Gotsinski's authority was drastically reduced when a mass meeting of Daghistani villagers (apparently orchestrated by the opponents of Gotsinski) named the Nakshbandi shaykh 'Ali Hāждjf of Akso—a village in the Dargin region of Daghistan—as the second muftī.

Similar tensions between various tribal, ethnic and political factions, often working at cross-purposes, were in evidence in other areas of the northern Caucasus. Thus at a meeting of the Cēcēn National Council, the murāds of the Nakshbandi shaykh Deni Arsanov attacked and beat up the Council's chairman Ahmad-Khān Mutuğhev. As a result, Arsanov became chairman "by default". The breakdown of centralised authority resulted in chaos and political assassinations, which had begun shortly after the February revolution of 1917 and which continued uninterrupted throughout the rest of the year.

Against this background, the long-standing animosity between the Russian and Ukrainian Cossacks and the Cēcēns burst into the open, leading to a tit-for-tat warfare between the two groups. Several Cēcēn and Cossack settlements were plundered and put to the torch. In the course of these hostilities, a Cossack detachment murdered shaykh Deni Arsanov, along with his 35 murāds, after he had attempted to broker a peace agreement between the warring parties. This tragic episode led to a further escalation of violence. In December 1917 the members of the Cēcēn National Council were forced to flee from Grozny, which had fallen into the hands of revolutionary workers and soldiers, most of whom were of Russian or Ukrainian backgrounds. This event led to the isolation of the capital from the rest of the country and the emergence of two parallel power structures, the Russian-dominated Sowet (councils of representatives of workers and soldiers) and the one which was controlled by traditional Cēcēn leaders, such as shaykh 'Ali Mītaev and the former chairman of the Cēcēn National Council, Ahmad-Khān Mutuğhev, both of whom were affiliated with different branches of the Kunta Hāждjf tartūk. Into this complex and near-chaotic political landscape came former officers of the "Wild Division" of the Tsarist army, who tried to form a political alliance with the traditional Cēcēn leaders against the Bolsheviks in Grozny.

The situation grew even further confused after the collapse in late October 1917 of the Provisional Government of Russia and the seizure of power in the Russian capital by the Bolsheviks and their radical political allies. In the Caucasus, the power vacuum created by the change of guard in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) was filled in the early months of 1918 by a series of short-lived "unions", "congresses" and "councils", which were usually organised by ethnicity. All these political bodies proved to be extremely fractious and incapable of reaching consensus on any given proposal or policy. Under the circumstances, leftist political parties, such as the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, and Social Revolutionaries, which had been cemented by a strict party discipline and decades of struggle against the Russian imperial government, turned out to be the only viable alternative to the authority of the traditional religious leaders of mountaineer society. Steeped in the arts of political agitation and revolutionary demagoguery, the leftist parties soon gained the upper hand in the struggle to win over the masses. Their clear and catchy political slogans, promising social and ethnic equality and an equitable distribution of land, resonated with the aspirations of the impoverished Russian and mountaineer classes. To enhance their influence even further, in January 1918, a group of representatives of the leftist political parties of the northern Caucasus agreed to form the so-called "Socialist Bloc".

After a period of political jockeying, the Bolsheviks, led by Sergey Kirov, succeeded in wresting the leadership of the Bloc from their rivals, the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. On 4 May 1918, the leaders of the Socialist Bloc declared the creation of the Terek Peoples' Republic, with its capital in Vladikavkaz. The new republic was to be part of the Russian Federation. It included Ossetia, Cēcnya, Ingushetia, Kabarda, Balkaria, and the lands of the Kumuks and Noghay Tatars. As Russia descended ever deeper into the chaos of civil war, many mountaineer leaders began to consider the possibility of creating an independent state. In the early months of 1918, a group of politicians led by Tapa Cermoev, Vassan-Girey Džiabsig, Phemkho Kozsev and several other mountaineer leaders of a liberal slant, formed the so-called "Mountain Government" at Tiflis. On 11 May 1918, they declared an independent "Mountain Republic". The primary goal of the new state, as envisaged by its founders, was the immediate cessation of civil war on its territory and the construction of a new life on democratic principles.

This programme was, however, never implemented. Soon after the fall of the Bolshevik-dominated Terek Peoples' Republic, the country was occupied by the White Army of General Denikin. Since Denikin's political programme rested on the idea of the restoration of Russian imperial rule and revival of a "one and undivided Russia", he hurried to abolish the independent "Mountain Republic" and attacked its supporters in Kabarda and North Ossetia. When the White Army arrived in Cēcnya and Ingushetia, it unleashed a brutal punitive campaign against the local population, burning down dozens of villages and executing hundreds of their inhabitants. The protests of the Mountain Republic's leadership addressed to the Western powers, which had actively supported and
equipped Denikin, went unheeded. In the meantime, the Bolsheviks of the Terek Peoples’ Republic went underground. Many Bolshevik ministers (commissars) found refuge in the remote mountains of Ickeriya (Čećnya). From there, they directed a campaign of sabotage and agitation against the Whites. Their calls to resist the White Army and expel it from the country found an eager reception among the mountaineers, who had realised that Denikin’s victory would lead to the restoration of the oppressive Russian imperial rule over their lands. Playing on such fears, the Bolsheviks made a pact with the local religious leaders, such as the Kădirī šaykh ‘Ali Mītāev and the Nakăhbašdī elder šaykh Sugaip-Mullă, who enjoyed wide support among the mountaineer masses. The Bolsheviks did not hesitate to promise their allies, in the case of victory, full political autonomy and freedom to practice their religion and to implement the rule of the Šārī’a.

In June 1919, the popular Čecen revolutionary Aslanbek Sherīpoğlu and the Dăghestān leader Uzun Ḥājdīyī agreed to form a unified front against the occupying White Army. In September, Uzun Ḥājdīyī proclaimed himself imām and military commander (umlī) of the “North Caucasian Emirate” with the capital at Vedeno (Vedan), the Čecen village that some 80 years earlier had served as a headquarters of Shamil’s imāmate. Simultaneously, Uzun Ḥājdīyī declared a “holy war” (ghażāra) against the White legionsniers. Uzun Ḥājdīyī’s headquarters became the recruitment point of mountaineer fighters from all over the northern Caucasus, especially Kabarda, Balkaria, Ingushetia, and Dăghestān. Many volunteer detachments were led by Šūfī šaykhī, who often arrived in Venedo accompanied by their murīds. Some of them were given ministerial posts in the Emirate government. The leaders of this new state, which they classified as a “Šārī’a monarchy” (Rūs. šarhattayskaya monarkhия), declared their primary aim to be full independence from Russia under the rule of the Šārī’a. The territory of the Emirate was divided into seven provinces that were administered by Uzun Ḥājdīyī’s na’ibs. In addition, he sent his ambassadors to the neighbouring states, such as Adharbadγān, with which he maintained close ties throughout his political career.

Impressed by Uzun Ḥājdīyī’s influence on the mountaineers of different ethnic and tribal backgrounds, the Bolsheviks endeavoured to secure his support in the struggle against their common enemy, the Whites. On 4 February 1920, the Bolsheviks formed a special “committee for the restoration of Soviet rule in the Northern Caucasus” under the chairmanship of Ordžonikidze with Kirov as his chief lieutenant. They succeeded in convincing the mountaineer leadership of the necessity to join forces against the White Army. From then on, the Caucasian Red Partisans and the Fifth Red Army led by the Bolshevik commander Nikolai Gikalo fought alongside the murīds of Uzun Ḥājdīyī and of other local wīlds. Some members of the Čim Mirzā wīld of the Kunta Ḥājdīyī tărīka even decorated their sheepskin hats (pupalibas) with red bands to demonstrate their solidarity with the Bolsheviks.

In March 1920, after having suffered a series of crushing defeats at the hands of the Muslim-Bolshevik coalition, the White Army abandoned the major cities of Čećnya and Dăghestān and began to withdraw to the coast of the Caspian Sea. The city of Darband was liberated after a nineteen-day, street-by-street battle, giving the Whites no alternative but to put their entire army on ships and sail from the port of Petrovsk.

Their departure ushered in a new stage of the war, during which the former allies soon found themselves locked in a life-and-death struggle for control of the country they had just liberated. This, however, did not happen overnight, as the Soviets initially did not feel strong enough to turn against their Muslim comrades-in-arms. A cable from Vladimir Lenin addressed to the Bolshevik Revolutionary Committee (rekom) of Grozny instructed its members to respect the mountaineers’ desire for religious and political autonomy and independence. This was, however, apparently only a temporary tactical manoeuvre that was to be supplanted by a more aggressive strategy on the part of the Bolshevik party leadership, which was determined to bring the entire Caucasus under communist rule.

The death of Uzun Ḥājdīyī in May 1920 did not lead to the dissolution of his Emirate. His functions as head of a theocratic state were taken up by a number of authoritative religious leaders, such as the Šūfī šaykhī ‘Ali Mītāev, who had about 10,000 followers in Čećnya and Ingushetia. Like Uzun Ḥājdīyī, Mītāev maintained close relationships with Nadim al-Dīn Gotsinskii, who was generally recognised as the current “chief Shāhī” of the Anti-White Coalition in many parts of Dăghestān and Čećnya. They were fuelled by the highhandedness of the Red Army’s commanders and political commissars, who were ignorant of the customs, religious beliefs and social institutions of the local populations and tended to dismiss them as contrary to Communist ideology. Steeped in atheistic propaganda, they viewed the mountaineers’ attachment to the Islamic religion as a “reactionary superstition” that had to be discouraged, if not uprooted altogether. The constant influx of fervent revolutionary propagandists and atheistic-minded political representatives (gōnomsenniki) from Rostov and other cities of southern Russia added to the growing discontent with Soviet rule among the mountaineers and their leaders. The defected political groups established their base in the rugged mountainous areas of western Dăghestān, from where they attempted to orchestrate resistance to the Bolshevik authorities.

In August 1920, Nadim al-Dīn Gotsinskii and Colonel Kaitmas ‘Alīkhānōv convened an assembly at the remote village of Gidial, during which ‘Alīkhānōv was proclaimed “war minister” of the newly formed “Šārī’a Army of the Mountain Peoples”. The uprising spread quickly among the mountaineers of Avarستان and the Andy range. The area’s rugged terrain made it a natural fortress for the rebel army. In a matter of weeks, Soviet rule in Upper Dăghestān was effectively eliminated and replaced by authorities loyal to Imām Šāhīl, who had joined the rebellion at Gotsinskii’s invitation, Colonel ‘Alīkhānōv, a few traditional leaders affiliated with Šūfī frak, and some former officers of the Tsarist army, including Colonel Dja’farōv, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the rebel military forces. Food and supplies were provided by the local population, but each fighter had to have his own weapons. The army was divided into 100 strong infantry units, supported by
small cavalry detachments. Throughout the rebellion, the rebels suffered from shortages of weapons and ammunition and had to rely heavily on the supplies captured from the Red Army. This disadvantage was counterbalanced in part by the rebels' intimate knowledge of the local terrain and their mastery of the art of mountain warfare.

The Bolsheviks' initial reaction to the rebellion was ineffective and confused. Their detachments stationed in the area suffered heavy casualties and had to abandon their base at Botlikh, which was occupied by the rebel troops. In less than six weeks, most of Upper Daghistan on the border with Cecnya was cleansed of Red Army units and their local allies, the Red Partisans, and fell under the control of the rebels. The only Red Army units that still remained in Upper Daghistan were trapped within their fortresses. To relieve them, during the first two weeks of October 1920, Red Army reinforcements were sent to Temur-Khan-Shiraz from Adharbaydjan. Upon arrival, they were dispatched to the rebel-controlled areas with the orders to occupy the strategic village of Arakany (Harakan). As a 700-strong Red Army expeditionary force led by the head of the Daghistan Cheka ("Committee for Struggle Against Counter-Revolution, Sabotage and Speculation") was approaching Arakany, on 30 October 1920, it was enticed into a narrow gorge by the rebel levies under the command of Shaykh Muhammad of Balakhany and massacred to the last man.

Following this military disaster, which was a re-run of many similar ones suffered by the Imperial Russian army in the 19th century, the Bolshevik military command of the Caucasus began to prepare a massive military expedition into the mountains of Upper Daghistan with the mission to crush the rebellion once and for all. The new Red Army force under the command of Todorski was supported by the pro-Russian and pro-Bolshevik mountain fighter (Red Partisans), who had distinguished themselves in the struggle against the White Army of General Denikin. The Red Partisans took an active part in the ensuing hostilities and were instrumental in relieving the Red Army garrisons besieged at Khunzakh and Gunib. Intent on quelling the rebellion at any cost, the Red Army command continued to pour more reinforcements into Daghistan. They were deployed against the rebel army at Ghimrah (Gimry), Botlikh and Arakany, which counted some 3,500 fighters among its ranks.

The Red Army detachments continued to suffer heavy casualties (almost 400 men) at the hands of the rebels throughout November 1920; during that month the Red Army garrisons were effectively reduced to holding their positions at Gunib and Khunzakh. Their occasional punitive forays into the mountains failed to suppress the rebels, instead arousing the hatred of the population, which actively supported the rebels. The loss of the elite "First Model Revolutionary Discipline Rifle Regiment" near Botlikh in late November 1920 was a dramatic evidence of Red Army's inability to achieve its strategic objectives as well as the counterproductive nature of its scorched-earth policy against the civilian population. On the other hand, the reversals suffered by the Red Army infused the rebel forces with confidence, and gave them much-needed supplies and ammunition. In the end, the Red Army regiments led by Nadjam al-Din Samurski were forced to seek refuge in their last remaining strongholds at Gunib and Khunzakh. Their siege by the rebel army lasted for two months, during which the Red Army fighters suffered terrible deprivations. At the end of 1920, the Red Army command made another attempt to quash the rebellion. Fresh Red Army divisions from Russia and Adharbaydjan were dispatched into the region with the orders to turn the rebels off from their supply base in Cecnya, to punish the local population for their co-operation with the rebel force, and to surround and eliminate the enemy force. Valley after valley was occupied by the fresh Red Army troops and a renewed scorched-earth policy applied to the conquered villages, forcing the rebels to withdraw ever deeper into the barren mountains. Supported by armoured vehicles, the Red Army scored an important victory in early January 1921 at Khoobal-Makhi. The remaining rebels, some 1,000 men, retreated to the ad of Gergebil, where they took their final stand against the superior Red Army force. In the course of the all-out advance that began on 7 January, the Red Army forces suffered heavy casualties, and were still unable to capture the well-fortified ad until 26 January 1921.

In the course of the siege, the Red Army units lost a total of 877 men, with the rebels' casualties probably twice, if not more than that number. The remaining rebel forces evacuated the area around Gergebil and retreated to the ad of Arakany (Gimry). Arakany was captured by a Red Army unit on 16 February 1921 after a fierce hand-to-hand street battle, leaving most of Upper Daghistan under Soviet control. Gimry, an almost impregnable mountain fortress and the birthplace of Shamil, remained the last rebel stronghold. Due to its natural defences, it could only be forced to surrender by around-the-clock artillery fire. Within a week, 90% of the buildings in the ad were reduced to rubble. The rebels responded by lightning night raids against the artillery units positioned around the village.

After the capture of Gimry on 17 February 1921, its surviving defenders withdrew to western Daghistan. The Soviet victory was due in part to the fall to the Soviets of the independent Georgian Republic in late February 1921, which left the rebel forces exposed to Red Army attacks from Georgian territory, now firmly under Soviet control. The last rebel detachment led by Colonel Dja'larov counted some 250 to 300 men, including a few surviving leaders of the rebellion, such as the "war minister" Colonel 'AliKhânov and lieutenant Abakarov. They assembled at the ad of Gizard, the birthplace of their resistance movement, in April 1921. The ad fell in May after several days of fierce fighting. Some rebel commanders managed to escape, only to be hunted down, captured and executed by the Soviet interior troops within the next few years. Of the principal figures of the Daghistan rebellion, only Sa'id-Beck, great-grandson of Imam Shamil, was able to make his way to Turkey.

The war between the Soviets and their Muslim opponents was accompanied by atrocities on both sides. The bodies of the fallen Red Army combatants were routinely mutilated by the rebels in response to their indiscriminate violence against the population of the adu suspected of supporting the guerrillas. As a result of several years of hostilities, most of Daghistan lay in ruins; it took more than a decade of strenuous effort to rebuild the country. The brutal suppression of Daghistan's bid for independence was a legacy of mutual hatred between the local population and the Soviets. This hatred manifested itself in the series of small-scale uprisings that continued throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s.

n. "Class struggle" and Communist purges in Cecnya and Ingushetia, 1920-38

In Cecnya and Ingushetia, now firmly under Soviet
control, the Muslim population was in no position to participate actively in the Daghistan rebellion, although some minor disturbances did take place on the border between Čečena and the rebel-controlled parts of Daghistan. In Čečena, the role of traditional leaders and pro-Communist elements came to the fore in the course of public debates over the future of the Autonomous Mountain Soviet Socialist Republic, which was proclaimed on 17 November 1920. It included the territories of present-day Čečena, Ingushetia, Ossetia, Kabard–Balkaria, and Karačay.

The government of the infant republic was dominated by revolutionary-minded intellectuals, who had supported the Bolsheviks from the early days of the February Revolution in Russia and were willing to co-operate with the Soviets in return for domestic autonomy. Under Lenin, the Russian political leadership was ready to accommodate their nationalist agendas and grant them independence vis-à-vis the Bolshevik régime in Moscow. The secularised revolutionary leaders of the Mountain Republic faced opposition from the more religiously-minded political factions, whom Bolshevik sources described as “supplanters of the Mountain Republic faced opponents eventually triumphed over the supporters of the shirāṣ, a branch of the Kunta Mitaev, founder of the Bamatgirey. His efforts were rewarded with the appointment of the “ulama class, he was to be kept under close police surveillance.

That year witnessed the dismantling of the Soviet Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow. That act triggered a series of new persecutions against the members of the implicated party and of fomenting an armed rebellion against the Soviet authorities of Čečena and Ingushetia. Among those implicated in the “anti-party activities” was ‘Ali Mitaev. He was enticed into a trap by OGPU operatives, arrested and executed in 1925. The OGPU also arrested the prominent Naqibbādi elder and Islamic scholar Sugaip–Mullā Gaysumov. His life was spared, due in part to his old age and his active role in the struggle against the White Army. However, as with most members of the “ulama class, he was to be kept under close police surveillance.

From that time on, the OGPU pursued a relentless campaign to isolate and neutralise the Muslim “clergy” of Čečena, Ingushetia and Daghistan as well as other sectors of the Islamic intelligentsia in the northern Caucasus. Many prominent local scholars versed in Arabic and Islamic culture were arrested on trumped-up charges of conspiracy, espionage or membership in the parties and factions that had been condemned by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party as “deviant” or “dangerous”. Later, in 1926, the local party cadre, including the President of the Central Executive Committee of Čečena, Taşqūmir “Etkhānūmov and his several aides, were accused of sympathising with the “reactionary clergy” and “bourgeois nationalists” and removed from their offices. They were replaced with Russian party apparatchiks, such as Ivanov and Cernoglaz, whose wanton disrespect for local customs and beliefs and fervid implementation of anti-religious policies triggered several small-scale uprisings, which were brutally suppressed by the Soviet interior troops. Many participants of these movements, including those responsible for the assassination of Ivanov and Cernoglaz, were arrested 300 Čečens, Ingush and Daghistsāns, including 39 religious leaders, and accused of plotting an armed rebellion under “religious and nationalist banners”. Simultaneously, the Soviet administration of the northern Caucasus sought to undermine the economic foundations of the “ulama class by confiscating local religious endowments and prohibiting the collection of the zakāt [zakah]. These measures, combined with the introduction of the hated kol’khoz and crackdown on the kul’aks (wealthy peasants) by the Soviet authorities, provoked a wave of local uprisings and unrest that continued throughout 1929-30. Some of the uprisings were led by the former Red Partisans.
such as Şhita İstamulov and his brother Hasan of the village of Shali in Cecnya. On 5 December 1936, the Cecen-Ingush Autonomous Region (əblās') was “upgraded” to the status of an autonomous republic. This act was accompanied by another wave of reprisals against local communities. In the process, the NKVD (the Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs) forces rounded up and imprisoned thousands of men and women. Most of the arrested were tried under Article 58 of the Soviet criminal code, which envisaged punishments by death and hard labour for such crimes as treason, espionage, fomenting an armed rebellion, sabotage, terrorism, anti-Soviet propaganda, etc. Hundreds of mountaineers were executed; others were sent to Siberia or concentration camps. Some Cecen and Inguş men escaped into the mountains, from where they launched revenge attacks against NKVD operatives and Communist Party functionaries. A decade of political purges left the Cecen and Inguş population demoralised and exhausted by the unequal struggle against the Soviet state and its giant apparatus of political repression. The ranks of the traditional religious leaders were decimated, while those who survived the horrors of Stalin's extermination campaigns—men, women, and children—were either forced underground or placed under the close surveillance of the Communist secret police.

- World War II and the mass deportation

Against all odds, resistance to Soviet rule continued throughout the 1930s under the leadership of some members of the Soviet-educated intelligentsia, whose goal was to free their country of the Soviet yoke. Inspired by the Red Army reversals during the Finno-Soviet war of 1939-40, a former Cecen writer and party official, Hasan Israilov, started an armed insurrection in the remote mountain area of Galiânoz, near Shatoi. His movement received a new impetus after Nazi Germany began a large-scale military operation against the Soviets on the eastern front and in the Caucasus. In February 1942, when the German troops approached the Russian city of Taganrog, approximately 350 miles from the Cecen-Ingush Republic, another rebel group headed by Mairbek Sheripov joined Israilov's insurrection. To suppress it, the Soviet military command resorted to an indiscriminate bombing of Cecen villages in the areas under rebel control. In 1943-4, Stalin and his Politburo, accomplished what some Russian military rulers (General Ermolov) and radical politicians (Pavel Pestel, a leader of the "Decemberist" movement) had only dreamed of a century earlier—a massive expulsion of the "hostile" mountain population to Russia and Siberia. The intention of eradicating its resistance to Russian rule was justified by the fact that the population of these republics had not only "co-operated" with the Nazis, but also "invited" them to conquer their lands and promised them full support. While the German troops had indeed occupied briefly the lands of the Karacays—men, women, and children—were rounded up en masse by special Red Army detachments, placed in freight cars and transported to Central Asia. Only three-quarters (some say 50%) of the deported Cecens and Inguş are said to have reached their destination. The rest died en route of disease, crowded conditions and starvation. The survivors were placed in special settlements where they remained under the close surveillance of the forces of the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs until the end of exile in 1957. Those few Cecens and Inguş who were able to escape into the mountains, continued an abrek-style resistance to the Soviets by assassinating Red Army and police officers, robbing and burning down the farms of new settlers from Russia and neighbouring republics, engaging in sabotage, etc.

Deprived of the benefits of culture and education, many members of the exiled nations turned to Islam for consolation and guidance. For many, Islam became a badge of honour and the powerful source of identity and resistance to the Communist regime's attempts to erase any distinguishing ethnic and religious characteristics of its subjects. As a result, during the years of exile, the position of traditional religious leaders, which had been undermined by two decades of Communist rule and by competition from secular nationalists, was reinforced. This is especially true of the exiled Cecens and Inguş, among whom the traditional Şiffi ābdams remained active throughout the period of exile. Moreover, a new ūmil named after Vis (ūmā) Hāţdjî, a branch of the Cüm Ṣîrā Hāţdjî əsilã, is said to have come into being during this period. Şülim survived also among the exiled Karaçays, many of whom were affiliated with the local branch of the Nakşbandîyya taşka. At the same time, there is no evidence to support the oft-repeated claim that, in the 1960s, after the return from Central Asia, from 90% to 95% of the Cecen and Inguş believers were affiliated with a Şiffi taşka. Given the fact that this period coincided with Khrushchev's campaign to cut down on "religious superstitions" in all Soviet republics and that leaders of the atheist campaign tended to provide grossly inflated statistics in order to secure additional resources from the Communist Party authorities, such statements have to be treated with extreme caution.

The exile lasted for thirteen years for the Cecens and Inguş and fourteen for the Balkars and Karaçays. In January 1957, the Twentieth Communist Party Congress, presided over by Nikita Khrushchev, declared the "rehabilitation" of the four deported mountain nations along with the other victims of Stalin's terror, namely, the Kalmuks, the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans. The Cecens, Inguş, Karaçays and Balkars were allowed to return to their native lands and their autonomous republics were re-established by the Soviet government. Upon arrival, many exiles found their lands and houses occupied by the people who were resettled there on Stalin's orders. This created a fertile ground for conflicts and turmoil between the new settlers and the returning indigenous population. Thus in Ingushetia, the lands that had been vacated by the exiled Inguş population were occupied by the settlers from neighbouring North Ossetia. With the weakening of the Soviet state in the late 1980s, the long-standing conflict between these
two ethnic groups escalated into violence and bloodshed to the extent that the Soviet government was forced to send regular army units to the area in order to separate the combatants. In Cēcaña, the majority of new settlers were Russian Cossacks from the neighbouring Stavropol’ region (krai). The Russo-Cēcan military conflicts of 1994-6 and 1999-2002 led to an upsurge of Cēcan nationalism and anti-Russian sentiment. As a result, many Cossack families were forced to flee to Russia along with thousands of Russian and Ukrainian families that had resided in Cēcaña’s urban centres, especially in Grozny and Gudermes.

The developments in the Caucasus following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991 cannot be detailed here, especially since many aspects of local social and political life are still in flux and require a careful analysis. In the absence of precise data and opportunities for on-site research, any general conclusions are at best premature. The old biases and stereotypes of Soviet historiography are now being replaced by new ones. They spring from the proliferation of nationalist mythologies associated with the process of nation-building and forging new religious and national identities. Unfortunately, despite the opening up of the area to Western scholars in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet regime, the ongoing warfare and continuing hostage-taking in various parts of the Caucasus, most notably in Čechnya, Ingushetia, Dagestan, Karabagh, Abykhazia and Ossetia, make research trips to the area extremely dangerous. In many senses, the Caucasus has all the typical characteristics of the so-called “post-Soviet” political, social and economic space, i.e. general political instability, massive unemployment and crime rates, a steep decline in industrial and agricultural output, high unemployment and crime rates, a feeling of nostalgia for the stability and certainties of the late Soviet era, corruption at all levels of the state apparatus, etc.

Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the political landscape of the area has been determined by several military conflicts, of which the two Russo-Cēcan wars, the war between Abykhazia and Georgia and the struggle for [Nagorno-]Karabagh [z.g.] between Armenia and Aghardarbaydjan, deserve special mention. In all these cases, religion plays an important role, at least on the rhetorical level, as the parties to the conflict adhere to different religious traditions, i.e. “Christian” Russia versus “Muslim” Cēcaña; “Muslim” Abykhazia versus “Christian” Georgia; “Christian” Armenia versus “Muslim” Aghardarbaydjan. As the political space in the new ethnic formations is being contested by multiple forces and factions, Islam has come to serve as a powerful source of rhetoric and legitimacy for the participants. Furthermore, different political factions uphold different interpretations of Islam, which further complicates the local discursive landscape.

So far, the most prominent and consequential divide has been between the supporters of “traditional” Islam and the so-called “Wahhābīs”. The former emphasise loyalty to the local version of Islamic religion as explained and maintained by mountaineer ‘uddadīs and Sufi elders (wastā’īs). The “traditionalists” encourage the reverence of local saints, the continuing use of the local customs (uddad), participation in Sufi rituals and respect for the traditional clan structure. The “Wahhābīs”, who style themselves salafyīn [see salafīyya], claim to follow the teaching of Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb [z.g. and its modernised version upheld by ‘uddadī-based scholars. They are particularly active in Čechnya and Dagestan. In 1996-9, in the Buynak region of Dagestan, several local “Wahhābīs” groups attempted to create small enclaves of Shari’a rule. Their leaders declared their independence of the official Dagestani government at Mahazal’-khe [z.g.]. In late 1999, they fought against Russian troops, which had been sent to suppress them, alongside the Čechen Wahhābīs led by the field commander, Amrī Shamil Basayev. According to the Caucasian “Wahhābīs”, their teaching represents the “pure and simple” Islam of the primaeval Muslim community. They demand that their followers and Muslims at large strictly adhere to their version of the “Islamic” dress code (described as “Arab” by its opponents) for men and women, carefully observe the basic Muslim rites and restrictions and participate in dhikr against the “enemies” of the Muslim community worldwide. The supporters of Caucasian “Wahhābīs” reject as bid’a [z.g.] many key elements of “traditional” Caucasian Islam, namely, belief in the supernatral and intercessory powers of Sūfī shaikhs and wastā’īs, the practice of dhikr and the use of the local ‘uddad alongside the Shari’a.

To what extent “Wahhābīs” can be seen as a mere foreign import (as argued by its detractors), deliberately introduced into the Caucasus by missionaries and volunteer fighters (mudjdhīdun) from Su‘udi Arabia, the Arab states of the Gulf, Afghanistan and Pakistan, and cultivated through an elaborate system of material incentives and sophisticated propaganda, remains unclear. One cannot deny that “Wahhābism” has found a wide following among the Čechen and Ingush youth, as well as some middle-aged men and women, whose lives have been shattered by the brutality of the Russo-Cēcan wars. By infusing its followers with a sense of camaraderie and common cause that goes beyond the immediate goals of nationhood and independence, “Wahhābism” serves as a powerful source of identity and mobilisation that renders it especially well suited for the trying times of war. At the same time, by its sweeping rejection of local customs and practices, Caucasian “Wahhābism” inevitably creates a rift between different groups of mountaineers. Often, but not always, this rift is generational in its nature. The fact that “Wahhābism” has been embraced by the younger generation of Čechen military and political leaders (Shamil Basayev, Mowladu Udugo, Arbi Barayev, etc.) in opposition to the “Sūfī” Islam of the supporters of President Maskhadov may indicate that the former are eager to free themselves from the traditional sources of legitimacy and authority in order to enter into a dialogue with, and perhaps secure assistance from, the Muslim community worldwide.

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in a global context); A. Fadeev, *Rossia i Kavkaz v pervoi treti XIX v.*, Moscow 1960 (a general overview of the history of the Caucasian until 1840 that emphasises the role of European powers in supporting and perpetuating mountaineer resistance to Russian conquest); V. Degoev, *Imam Shamil: eficial trade relations between the Terek Cossacks, in D. Brower and E. Lazzerini (eds.), *Russia's Orient, Bloomington and Indianapolis 1997, 227-48 (an illuminating study of the mutually benefic trade relations Between the Terek Cossacks and the mountaineers); V. Degoev, *Kavkazskii taip (rod) v period ego razlozheniya*, Grozny 1973 (a detailed account of the impact of the Crimean War on the Caucasus, which emphasises the role of the local population in thwarting the Ottoman advance and condemns the “plotting” of British agents in Circassia); V.N. Ratushniak et al. (eds.), *Kazachskaya voina: usokii i sovremennost*, Krasnodar 1995 (an attempt to reassess the history of the Caucasus in the light of the political and ideological agendas of post-Communist Russian society); D. Makarov, *Officialny i neoficialny islam v Dagostane*, Moscow 2002 (an attempt to examine the current political situation in the north Caucasus through the prism of the conflict between the Saafis and Sufis in post-Soviet Daghistsan); M. Mamakava, *Chekenskii taip (rod) v period ego razlozheniya*, Grozny 1973 (a detailed account of the role of the local population in the Caucasian conflict and its causes is not realised in the subsequent narrative).
east of Nishāpūr at the southern edge of the Kūh-i Bīnālād (lat. 36° 07' N., long. 59° 00' E.). It is locally famed as a ziyārat or place of pilgrimage, since the Eighth Imām of the Shī'a, 'Alī al-Riḍā [q.v.], is said to have halted there and left the imprint of his foot on a stone, henceforth to be regarded with reverence; see Bess A. Donaldson, *The veil unraveled. A study of Muhammadan magic and folklore in Iran*, London 1938, 59, 148-9.

The concept of sacred imprints on rocks, on the roof and walls of caves, etc., is widespread across the Old World, certainly from the Middle East to South and South-East Asia (in the latter regions, with e.g. footprints of the Buddha, as at Adam's Peak, Ceylon). In the Islamic lands, imprints of the Prophet Muhammad's foot are early found all over the Arab lands, and subsequently in Ottoman Turkey, and are especially objects of veneration in Muslim India (as likewise are imprints of holy men in non-Muslim India); see Kadam Sharif and also Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger. The veneration of the Prophet in Islamic piety*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1985, 42-3.

There are in fact numerous similar kadamgāhs or shrines of saints and holy men, often not but always 'Alīds, apart from the one mentioned above near Nishāpūr, throughout Eastern Persia, Afghanistan and Northern India; among the larger places of the caliph 'Alī b. 'Abī Tālib at the (Sunni) shrine of MazārdārSharif [q.v.] in northern Afghanistan. One should also mention pandajgāhs, "places of the [imprint of the] palm of the hand", impressions of the hands of holy men. Thus in Kābul, to the east of the Bāla Hisār above the city, is the shrine of the Pandja-yi Shah ("Lord of Manhood", i.e. the Prophet Muhammad) mentioned by the traveller Charles Masson (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Punjab*, London 1842, ii, 236, iii, 95; and cf. R.D. McChesney, *Wofg in Central Asia*. Four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480-1889, Princeton 1991, 226).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

KĀDĪ-ZĀDE RUMĪ, ŚALĀH AL-DĪN MOṢAḤ b. Muhammad b. Maḥmūd al-Kādī-zāde, usually referred to as Kādī-zāde al-Rūmī or Muṣaḥ Kādī-zāde al-Rūmī, lived ca. 760-ca. 835/1359-1432, dates derived from an early work written in 784/1382-3 and from his having outlived Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī (d. 832/1429 [q.v.]), noted astronomer/mathematician from Bursa who played a substantial role in the Samarkand observatory [see marāṣaṯ] of Ulugh Beg [q.v.] and whose commentaries were used extensively as teaching texts for mathematics and astronomy. After studying for a time in his native Bursa, where his father Maḥmūd was a prominent judge at the time of Sultan Murād I, Kādī-zāde travelled to Persia to pursue an education in the philosophical and mathematical sciences. There he studied with the famous theologian al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī [q.v.], probably at the court of Timūr in Samarkand; this was, however, an unhappy experience for both parties with al-Djurdjānī complaining of the student's infatuation with the mathematical sciences while Kādī-zāde made it known that his teacher was deficient in those subjects. After Timūr's death, Kādī-zāde found both a student and patron in Timūr's grandson Ulugh Beg, also in Samarkand. He became the head of the large madrasa there and Ulugh Beg himself sometimes attended his lectures. Sometime later, ca. 823/1420, he collaborated with Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī under the directorship and patronage of Ulugh Beg to build the famous Samarkand observatory and undertake its observational programmes. After al-Kāshī's death in 1429, he no doubt assumed additional responsibilities. By then he was assisted by the talented young 'Alī Kāshīḏī [q.v.], who continued the observational programme after Kādī-zāde's death. Kāshīḏī's daughter would marry Kādī-zāde's son Šams al-Dīn; a grandson of this union was the famous Ottoman astronomer/mathematician Mīrīm Čelebi (d. 931/1525).

Kādī-zāde was not noted for his innovations or creativity, and his works reflect this. He was most famous for his commentaries on al-Djarmīnī's [q.v.] astronomical compendium al-Mulakākhās fi 'l-hay'a (814/1412) and Šams al-Dīn al-Samarkandī's [q.v.] geometrical tract Aḏġālāt al-la'tāsī (completed 815/1412); the large number of extant manuscripts of both commentaries indicates their enduring popularity as teaching texts. A work on determining the value of Sin 1° is heavily dependent on the more mathematically accomplished al-Kāshī. His supercommentary on Aṯḡīr al-Dīn al-Abhārī's [q.v.] *Hidāyat al-bīsma* seems to be his only philosophical or theological work, though he did intend to write a refutation of parts of al-Djurdjānī's famous commentary on al-Jīdī's *Mawdūkīf*.

The common contribution to Kādī-zāde's observatory is Medicea Laurenziana or. MS 271, a commentary on Naṣr al-Dīn al-Tūsī's astronomical work *Tādhbīr*, incorrect; it is actually by al-Djurdjānī.


KAFAN (A.), "shroud".

In the Islamic world, a dying person was often forewarned of imminent death by a dream, or by a dream that an inhabitant of his town had had during the preceding days, to the effect that the Prophet or some other great figure like Abu Bakr, 'Umar or 'Alī, was waiting for him and he should get ready for the meeting. Since death is the natural goal of life, its approach should be managed calmly. When the death agony is imminent, the dying person pronounces the shahāda or profession of faith, while raising one finger of the right hand to re-affirm for the last time his belief in the unity of God. If he is too weak, someone close to him murmurs in his ear just as his father murmured to him at his birth. The corpse is washed, unless the dying person has washed himself in preparation, and then wrapped in three cloths, white shrouds, or cloths of any other colour except red, fastened very tightly. A professional embalmer, kaffin, takes charge of this process using cloths woven by an askinī. The shroud has often been mentioned in the preceding days, to the effect that the Prophet or some other great figure like Abu Bakr, 'Umar or 'Alī, was waiting for him and he should get ready for the meeting. Since death is the natural goal of life, its approach should be managed calmly. When the death agony is imminent, the dying person pronounces the shahīda or profession of faith, while raising one finger of the right hand to re-affirm for the last time his belief in the unity of God. If he is too weak, someone close to him murmurs in his ear just as his father murmured to him at his birth. The corpse is washed, unless the dying person has washed himself in preparation, and then wrapped in three cloths, white shrouds, or cloths of any other colour except red, fastened very tightly. A professional embalmer, kaffin, takes charge of this process using cloths woven by an askinī. The shroud has often been mentioned before....
value could increase considerably. At his death, the Fatimid vizier Ibn Killis [q.v.] was buried, at the expense of the caliph al-Mustazhir, in fifty perfumed shrouds and cloths of various fibres, with a total value of 10,000 dinars [see al-Makrizi, Ittihād al-maḥfūz, ed. D. Shavdi, Cairo 1387/1967, i, 268; see also the story of Fatimid shrouds mentioned by al-Musabbih, Akhbār Mur, ed. A.F. Sayyid and Th. Bianquis, Cairo 1978, 107]. The fibres used in spinning these costly shrouds, and also the inscriptions on them—a politico-religious content in Fatimid Egypt, and often poetical, on the theme of the inevitability of death, in Būyid Trāk—have been studied by both archaeologists and museum specialists (R. Gayraud, al-Qādī al-kabīr, décrire demure des Fātimides, in M. Barrucand (ed.), L’Égypte, son art et son histoire, Paris 1999, 433-64; bibl. and characteristic texts in E. Garcin, Le textile dans l’histoire, et son histoire, Paris 1999, 443-64; bibli. and characteristic texts in E. Garcin, Le textile dans l’Islam médiéval, productions byzantines et fātimides, diss. DEA, Lumière-Lyon 2 [1999], unpubl., 59-60).

The corpse was borne, on the same day, but rarely at night, on a simple bier, naṣīb (l.id-humila naṣīb hu ’lā yād) [q.v.], by men who would sometimes run: “If I am good, bear me speedily to God, and if I am bad, get rid of me quickly.” A prayer was pronounced over the corpse near a mosque. Everyone would stand as the corpse passed by, for the corpses of Jews and Christians (it was usual to be present at the funerals of important members of the other religious communities), out of respect for the angels accompanying it. It was even more meritorious to bear a corner of the bier. Sometimes the dead person was borne along without a bier, like a package wrapped in a white shroud, or conversely, the corpse could be carried in an open wooden coffin (sandûl, haddiyya, sandûl meaning cenotaph). The chroniclers mention this fact as a sign of respect felt for someone of a distinguished social group.

The corpse, wrapped in the shroud, is lowered into a tomb dug out for this purpose (see the detailed description of the types of Muslim tombs in Y. Raghib, Structure de la tombe d’après le droit musulman, in Archéologie, xxxix [1992], 395-403). The shroud is then loosened so that the dead person can be at his ease, and the face is turned towards Mecca (archaeologists have found skeletons with post mortem fractures of the cervical vertebrae). Three handfuls of earth are thrown over the corpse, whilst pronouncing the words “We created you with this [earth], we give him back to it, and We will resurrect him anew” (cf. the myths of ancient Mesopotamia and Kūnân, XXII, 5, XXX, 19, etc.). The cavity is filled with earth and pebbles, with an orifice left for the deceased to get water. From this point onwards, and until the palms planted on the tomb become dried up, the deceased is given over to interrogation by the angels of death preparatory to the Last Judgement [see ‘ADĪR AL-KABIR].


KAFAES (A. t.) “cage”, the popular term in Ottoman Turkish usage for the area of the harem of the Topkapi palace in which Ottoman princes of the blood [sheh-zadeler] were confined from the early 17th century onwards.

In a more abstract sense, historians apply the same term to the system whereby the rights of claimants to the Ottoman throne were determined, as opposed to the “law of fratricide” which it was gradually superseding during this period. In the sources, the term is of late usage only (d’Ohsson uses the word in the plural; Tableau de l’Empire ottoman, vii, 101; ‘Aṣīm, Tārīkh, Istanbul n.d., ii, 32). Earlier and more widely attested, however, is the appellation Şimşirlik (or Çimşliylık “the box shrub”) or Şimşirlik (or Çimşirlik) odası (“the boxwood chamber”), a reference to the little courtyard planted with box, at the north-east corner of the courtyard of the Wâlide Sultan (Silahdar, Tārīkh, Istanbul 1928, ii, 297; Uzuńçarşı, Sosy, 91; Raidijd, Tārīkh, Istanbul 1282/1865-6, ii, 2-3; Necipoğlu, Topkapı Palace, figs. 94, 168, 178). It consisted of a set of pavilions (twelve, according to d’Ohsson, who presents each as “comprising several rooms and surrounded by a high wall”), surmounted by cupolas, fitted with chimneys and windows which, for the preservation of sexual segregation, did not overlook the harem. Some were decorated with the mural tiles of the 17th century and with marble niches (Necipoğlu, 178). Similar arrangements existed in the palace of Edirne: the princes were transferred thither when the Sultan made it his residence.

Adult sheh-zadeler lived in the innermost [esnād] of Topkapi from the time, in the second half of the 16th century, when the practice of entrusting them with provincial governorships in Anatolia was partially and then totally abandoned. This then became the exclusive path of the reigning sovereign. On the other hand, on the accession of Ahmed I, while still a minor (1603), the leading dignitaries of the state allowed his younger brother Mustafâ to live installed in a niche within the palace. Furthermore, on the death of the same ruler (1617), they preferred this brother to succeed him rather than his eldest son Othmân, who was still very young (Peczewi, Tārīkh, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, ii, 360-1; Kâbit Çelebi, Mifḥileke, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, i, 305). Having thus emerged from his confinement, Mustafâ I was deposed after an initial reign of three months, on account of mental disorders; he “returned to his former apartments” (Na’inma, Tārīkh, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, ii, 163). He was brought out once again to be restored to the throne after the insurrection which resulted in the assassination of his nephew Othmân II (May 1622). No more successful than the first, this second reign lasted only sixteen months and Mustafâ returned to his prison, where he died in 1639.

These events were the harbingers of important changes: henceforward, despite continuing attacks mounted by Othmân II and Murâd IV against their respective brothers—outdated practices denounced by public opinion—the brothers of reigning sovereigns were allowed to live, but were politically neutralised by rigorous seclusion in the most secure and secret area of the Palace. In parallel, despite the inclination of numerous sultans to promote one of their sons to the succession, the principle of seniority, made possible by the survival of the sultan’s brothers, led, by gradual stages, to the establishment of a successorial system in the Ottoman dynasty: in the early 18th century, the chronicle Râşid presents the eldest of the brothers of Mehemmed IV, Süleymân II, who succeeded the deposed sultan in 1687, as “the august person who in his turn took charge of the sultanate
potential rivals. The anxiety which could be thus intriguing sultan who, while stringently kept apart from any company of their pages, their eunuchs and Tdrikh, shared his prison (Silahdar, ii, 298). Reduced khdît-i humayun ante...wearing an old robe and shod in heavy cavalry boots; Silahdar, Tdrikh, ii, 298). More generally, in the course of time a progressive humanisation of the kifes is observable, associated no doubt with the individual personality of certain sultans, but especially with the stabilisation of the new successorial system; during his 39 years on the throne, Mehemmed IV (1648-87) made no further attempts to harm his two brothers, and even with the outside world were not entirely severed: “Sultan Soliman, brother of the current emperor, has acquired universal esteem throughout the empire . . . and his renown has induced all ranks of the militia to declare themselves his protectors,” Bobovius noted (122-3), with regard to the future Suleyman, disparaged as he was in other respects. Worth noting, on the other hand, is the energy displayed by Ahmed II when, on emerging from 43 years of the kifes he inaugurated his brief reign (1691-5) played by Ahmed II when, on emerging from 43 years of the kifes he inaugurated his brief reign (1691-5) Worth noting, on the other hand, is the energy displayed by Ahmed II when, on emerging from 43 years of the kifes he inaugurated his brief reign (1691-5) Worth noting, on the other hand, is the energy displayed by Ahmed II when, on emerging from 43 years of the kifes he inaugurated his brief reign (1691-5) Worth noting, on the other hand, is the energy displayed by Ahmed II when, on emerging from 43 years of the kifes he inaugurated his brief reign (1691-5) Worth noting, on the other hand, is the energy displayed by Ahmed II when, on emerging from 43 years of the kifes he inaugurated his brief reign (1691-5)
was to allow a free hand to his brother Abd-iil-'AzIz his nephews, having two of them accompany him on his journey to Paris and London in 1867 (Alderson 34-5).


**A/-KAFF** (a.), verbal noun of the verb kaffa in the sense of "to abstain, desist [from s.th.]," and "to repel [s.o. from s.th.]." (see WADAS, 1, 192-9), in a religious-political context, refers to the quiescent attitude of some Khārījīte [q.v.] groups in early Islam, called ka'da "those who sit down", i.e. stay at home, in abstaining from overt rebellion and warfare against the ruling authority. See further KFUD. (Ed.)

**KĀHĪ** (late 9th century-988/late 15th century-1380), the tahkīla [q.v.] or pen-name of an Indo-Muslim poet, Naṣīm al-Dīn Abu l-Kāsim Muḥammad, who wrote at the courts of the Mughal emperors Humāyūn and Akbar [q.v.]. According to most writers he was born in Transoxania at Mīyankīl, a district situated between Samarkand and Buhārā, but stayed a long time in Kābul, whence he is also known as Kābulī. When fifteen years old he is said to have visited Djāmī (d. 889/1492 [q.v.]) at Harat, and spent some seven years in the poet's company. Subsequently he went to India on two separate occasions, once in ca. 936/1530 and then in 961/1554. In his first visit he travelled to Bhaikār in Sind to meet the Sufi mystic Shāh Dihāngīr Ḥādzīm (d. 946/1539-40) of Kirmān, a poet of the Persian mathnawī Mazhar al-dīghār, and lived in Gudjarat writing for Bahādur Khān and Muhammad Khān, to whom he is attributed. In 956/1549 he returned to Kābul and entered the service of prince Akbar. It was as a member of Akbar's reign, noted for his poetry as well as other attainments. Besides writing mathnawī and ghazals, he displayed special skill in composing chronograms and riddles. He is also said to have written a mathnawī on the model of Sa'dī's Būstān entitled Gul-āfgān. His other accomplishments included the study of Kurānic exegesis, scholastic theology, music, astronomy and mysticism.

this difficulty is the fact that very few of them have been rigorously studied. Their typology is based mainly on adding as evidence the various types of the Arabic alphabet and, additionally, on examining the distinct and homogeneous zones of their distribution. It is further not very easy to give a name to the various groups of graffiti at present recognized, since the identity of their authors is unknown. At an early stage, specialists isolated two groups, called Sufaitic [q.v.] (from the Djabal al-Safa to the southeast of Damascus) and Thamudic [q.v.], making a connection with the ancient tribe of Thamud [q.v.]. But it soon became apparent that the Thamudic ensemble, in which were grouped all the non-classified graffiti, was a vast hold-all term for an extremely heterogeneous group. A first tentative step to devise a new order for them was made by F.V. Winnett, who added five sub-groups, each defined by a variety of the Arabian alphabet, A, B, C, D and E. Later researches by this same author, continued by those of M. Macdonald and G. King (Macdonald-King, 2000), have shown that two of these sub-groups belong to particular regions, Hismā [southern Jordan and northern Hidjaz] and the district of the Tayma' oasis, whence the names Hismaic (former Thamudic E) and Taymanitic (former Thamudic E) have been proposed.

There remains to classify the numerous other Thamudic graffiti, notably those found in the region between the Hidjaz and Yemen, these being especially numerous in the regions of Nadjdān [q.v.] and Karyat al-Fāw [see faw] (the latter 280 km/165 miles to the northeast of Nadjdān (Jammé, 1973). For these, the terms “Southern Thamudic” (see Macdonald-King, 2000, 44) or “Kāhtānīte” (Robin, 1978, 106-7) have been proposed, but these terms remain provisional whilst a typology of the whole ensemble remains to be sketched out. The task is difficult because a number of these graffiti recall the proximity and prestige of the South Arabian states by mixing together, in varying proportions, the regular South Arabian script letters and those reflecting local graphic forms.

This name “Kāhtānīte” stems from Kāhtān, the ancient eponym of the South Arabs, according to the purveyors of traditions on the beginnings of Islam (see especially Ibn al-Kalbi’s Dhabarat al-nasr). The name of this eponym probably comes from a tribe established at Karyat al-Fāw (the ancient Karyat[w] dhih Kahl [q.v.], sc. “the Karya of Kahl”, Kahl being the name of a god of the oasis). Two inscriptions mention this tribe. The first, found at al-Fāw, is the tombstone of “Mu‘āwiyah, son of Rabī‘at, of the line of M. . . . [the Kāhtānīte, king of Kāhtān and of Madīḥq]”; from the style of writing, this would date from the 1st century A.D. (Anṣārī-Qurayt al-Fāw 2/1-2). The second inscription, stemming from the temple of Ayyūm at Ma‘rib in Yemen, has a dedication to the Sabaean god Almaqah in which the writer evokes an expression of universal conquests by the Turks and the universal triumph of Islam. Little is known of his life, but he seems to have been in easy circumstances and to have lived most of his life in Sarajevo [q.v.], where he was born by 1039/1630. He was apparently an adherent of the Kādīriyya tariqa, and ḥulūl of the tekke of Sinān Agha in Sarajevo, and he dedicated poems to the founder, ‘Abd al-Kadr al-Dižānī. He seems to have left Sarajevo towards the end of his life, perhaps driven out of the Sarajevo rebellion of 1093/1682 and to have lived in Zvornik, where he died and where he has his ṭūbr. He is the author of two Dīwāns in Turkish, the first one of mystical poetry and the second, smaller one of ḵafṣa only called Wādātī ("incoming, gains"), the whole comprising several thousand verses, extant in a hundred mss., mostly copied in the 19th century. In the Wādātī, he touched upon political events, such as the long campaign by the Ottomans for the conquest of Crete from the Venetians, a war which also affected Dalmatia and its coastal towns. In the first ḵafṣa of this Dīwān, comprising 174 beyts, he correctly foretold the date of the end of the war (1079/1669), giving him great celebrity; and much of the enthusiasm for copying Kāmī’s works arose after 1878 when the Austrians extended their protectorate over Bosnia and Hercegovina, since the poet had alluded to universal conquests by the Turks and the universal triumph of Islam. Modern Bosnian scholars, on the other hand, have claimed him as a Bosnian patriot (although the concept of “patriotism” did not exist in his time) or even as a proto-Marxist; at most, one can note his evident love for Bosnia and, especially, for Sarajevo. Kāmī also wrote alhamiado poetry, including an
“ode against tobacco”, written when Murād IV banned the use of tobacco [see TUTUN] in the Ottoman empire, and a second, shorter ode on the Cretan War in addition to the one in Turkish.


**KÂ‘IN**, conventionally Qayen, etc., a town of eastern Persia (lat. 33° 43′ N., long. 59° 06′ E.), now in the administrative province of Khūrāsān but in mediaeval Islamic times falling within the region known as Kūhīstān [q.v.]. It lies on the road connecting the urban centres of northern Khūrāsān (Mashhad, Turbat-i Haydārīyā, etc.) with Birdjand, Persian Sfstan which flourished as an emporium (tdk) in Rome 1931, 12, 53). In the 4th/10th century it appears in the urban history of the 8th century Armenian (tdk), and in early Islamic times it continued to link the towns thus (Moujahed-Zadeh, 431; al-Mukaddasī, 321; Ḥudaydā al-tīlīm, tr. Minorsky, 105). Nāṣīrī Khūrāsaw passed through it in 444/1052 and found it a large, fortified town he marvellled at the great arch (tdk) of its mosque (Safar-ndma, ed. M. Dabīr-ṣīyāḵ, Tehran 1335/1956, 127, tr. W. M. Thackston, New York 1986, 102). In the ensuing Salajgī period, Kā‘īn and fortresses in its surrounding district became known as haunts of the Ismā‘īlī; an Ismā‘īlī presence, including within the town of Kā‘ūrāsān, has persisted until today (see F. Dastārī, *The Ismā‘īlīs, their history and doctrine*, Cambridge 1990, 341, 387, 543; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ismā‘īlīs of Qāṣimīya and the Maliks of Nībārīya; or Sīstān, in Dastārī [ed.], Medieval Ismā‘īlī history and thought*, Cambridge 1996, 221-9; and ḵᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛventus). It has often been assumed that the name of the Persian principality Tanawīn mentioned by Marco Polo is a conflation of Kā‘ūn and the town of Tūn [q.v.] and some 18 farsakhs north-north-west of it (see Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, 1, 83, 86, 127-8); certainly, Bābur, two centuries later, continued to link the towns thus (Bābur-ndma, tr. Beveridge, 296, 301). Two generations or so after the time of Marco Polo, the town was still large and flourishing, on the evidence of Ḥamd Allah Mustawff; he mentions how most houses had cellars from which they could tap into the adjacent subterranean kanāts and how the men all carried arms and were ready to use them (Nuzhat al-kulūb, 1454, tr. 144).

The subsequent history of Kā‘īn is substantially that of its traditional boundaries of Kā‘ūn and Sīstān as far as Maḥāḏ and Harāt in the north and Persian Bāličīstān in the south (1748-53). In the Kādjar period, the family continued as guardians of the eastern frontier of Persia against the Qāna, the Balūcs, described by Īsmā‘īlī, al-Muk ‘Alam Kān Ġīān (d. 1891) as “probably the most powerful subject of the Persian crown” (Persia and the Persian question, i, 200), and C.E. Yate, who was at Kā‘īn in 1894, met his second son Shawkat al-Mulk Muhammad Ḥāmī Kān, who became Īsmā‘īlī, al-Muk ‘Alam (Khuṣūs and Sīstān, Edinburgh and London 1900, 66 ff., 76-7). The Khuṣūz family adopted the family name of ‘Alam when Rūd Shāh Ḥāfīẓ introduced this requirement in the 1930s, and Ṣadād Allāh ‘Alam (d. 1978) had a distinguished career under the last Shāh, Muhammad Rādī, beginning with his appointment as the youthful governor of Sīstān and Bāličīstān in 1945 and ending as Minister of the Imperial Court in 1966-77; his memoirs, published in English as Ṣadād Allāh Ḥāfīẓ, *The Shah and I*, London 1991, are a prime source for the later years of the Shāh’s reign. See for the history of the family and its role in the political and military history of Persia’s eastern frontiers, Firouz Moújahed-Zadeh, *The Amirs of Ka’inat, the borders and Eastern Iranian bounces*, London 1995.

The region of Kā‘ūn’s of recent times corresponded largely to the ancient Kūhīstān, but was in the 1937 administrative reorganisation subdivided into two ṣuḥrastāns, that of Kā‘īn or Kā‘ūnāt and that of Bīrājānd [q.v.]. This was modified in the 1980s under the Islamic Republic, when three ṣuḥrastāns were formed: Kā‘ūnāt, Bīrājānd to its south; and Nībārīya in the further south, adjoining Sīstān and Kirmān. Thus the town of Kā‘ūn is at present the chef-lieu of its ṣuḥrastān (which contains a single bakhsh, the Bakhshī-Markāzī, and eight dīwāns). The population of Kā‘ūn itself was in 1986 15,955, and that of the whole ṣuḥrastān 122,149 (Moujahed-Zadeh, 50-5; this information on administrative arrangements replaces that given in the arts. bīrājānd, in Vol. I, 123b, and Kūhīstān, in Vol. V, 355b).


**KĀ‘AR**, a Gharaḵwī Pāshūn tribe concentrated in southeastern Afghanistan and Pakistanī Bāličīstān. Though not prominent among Afghān [q.v.] groups migrating to India during the early Dihī Sultūnī [q.v.] periods, Khāṣb Khān Kākar, patron and collector of materials for Nīmar Allāh’s *Makkān-i Afghānī*, demonstrates Kākar participation in Mughal literary production. Kākarjastān designates territory on and between the Tūla and Sulumān mountain ranges, including the microregions of Būrī, Pīšūn, Sībī [q.v.] and Ẓōbī/ Ẓōb [q.v.]. Within this area Kākars incorporated non-Pāshūn minority groups such as Gadūn and Watnsī speakers in many dependancy relationships, and there is a lack of consensus about whether other local Pāshūn groups, including the Panīr and Nager, are Kākars. Surrounding Afakzay, Ghayzay [q.v.], Tarīn and Ważīr Pāshūn and various Balūc [q.v.] communities form the social boundaries of Kākar territory, which is economically linked to the greater Indo-Islamic world through the markets of Khandārā, Kwatta, and the Dērāgāt [q.v.].

(KALANUUWA. KALUSWA (a), the name for a cap worn by men either under the turban proper or alone on the head. The word, from which verbal forms are derived as denominative verbs, is apparently of foreign origin; while it was used to be commonly connected with the Latin calatha (for which, however, the term calatha is difficult to quote and besides, it means a head-covering for women), Fraenkel wished to derive it through the Aramaic *la* (< Arabic kallus, kâli, Dony, Supplement, ii, 395) from Hebrew *kalah* (< Arabic kalaswa; kallusa the Coptic priests of modern Egypt and is there called kalluses; kallusa the name of the root plant, which seemed to represent a human head with a high cap. Kalansuwa was also the name of a fortress near al-Ramla in Palestine, see G. Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, London 1890, 476.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Dozy, Dictionnaire detruit de nom des oûm-ment chez les Arabes, Amsterdam 1843, 365-71; idem, Supplement, ii, 395, 401; S. Franekel, Die aramäische Fremdwörter im Arabischen, Leiden 1886, 33-4; H. Lammens, Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l’arabe, Beirut 1894 (supposes an influence of the word kalansuwa on Fr. calotte); A. Mez, Die Renaissance des Islams, Heidelberg 1922, 26, 45-6, 130, 217, 348-9, 367; Yedida Stillman, Arab dress: a short his- tory, Leiden 2000, index and pis. 4, 14, 26, 44; and see further, LĪBĀS. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

KALIKAT, locally KOLIKOODU (interpreted in Malayalam as “cock fortress”, see Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, London 1903, 148; conventionally całikat and, in modern Indian parlance, Kozhikode, a town of the Western Deccan or Peninsular Indian coastland (lat. 11° 15’ N., long. 75° 45’ E.) in what was known in pre-modern times, and is still known, as the Malabar coast [see MĀVAR]. In British Indian times it was the centre of a sub-district (ullâk) of the same name in the Malabar District of the Madras Presidency, later Province; it is now the centre of the District of Kozhikode in the Kerala State of the Indian Union.

In pre-Muslim times, the region around Kalikat fell within the powerful Hindu kingdom of the Cola. The commander of the Khâdżi sultans of Dihli, Malik Kâfr (q.v.), broke through the Deccan to the Malabar coast for the first time in the opening years of the 8th/14th century, although this success was short-lived [see MĀVAR]. It was, however, probably as a result of Muslim knowledge of the region that the traveller Ibn Bâjûtî was able ca. 739/1338 to visit the Malabar coast and, specifically, Kalikat (which he spells as Kalkânî). He describes the ruler there as an infidel having the title of Sêmârâ, a rendering of Malayalam sâmârî or sâmâtî, a vernacular modification of Skr. sâmâtra “sea king”, which the Portuguese subsequently rendered as Samorin or Zamorin. There was already a substantial community there of Muslim traders, who
had commercial connections with the Maldives Islands, Ceylon, Java and China. There was a šāykh[^1] or head of the Muslim merchant community miṣrī in the ruler, called Ibrahim, who came from Bahrain, and also a šāhi and the šaykh of a Shīʿite ḥawza or irshad in the town. Ibn Battūta noted a large number of Chinese ships in the busy harbour, and it was in one of these junks that he then embarked for China (Rīḥārā, iv, 88-94, tr. Gibb and Beckham, iv, 812-14, cf. Yule-Cordier, Cathay and the eastern isles, London 1914-15, iv, 24-6; on the Chinese presence at Kalikat, see Yule-Cordier, The Book of Ser Marco Polo, London 1903, ii, 391-2 n. 5).

In 1370 the Malabar coast passed into the general control of the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar[^2] and remained under non-Muslim rule with the exception of a short period towards the end of the 17th century when the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb overran the Deccan. As in Ibn Battīṭa’s time, Kalikat itself remained under the rule of its Zamorins till the 18th century.

Another Muslim, the historian ʿAbd al-Razzāk[^3] al-Samarkandī, was sent as an envoy to the Zamorin of Kalikat by the Timurid Ṣāḥīḥ Rakh in 846/1442, and mentions seeing ships from the Horn of Africa and Zanzibar in its harbour; the numerous local Muslim community had two mosques and a Shāfiʾi šāhi and kādi. It was just after this, in 1444, that the first European to visit Kalikat, Nicolò Conti, came from Cochin. The Zamorins extended their authority with the help of the Muslim traders, and in the 15th century Kalikat became the most important town on the Malabar coast. Malabar was also a part of India where the Portuguese endeavoured to establish forts and trading factories, with Covilhā at Kalikat in 1480 and Vasco da Gama there in 1498. A factory was set up in 1500, but immediately destroyed by the local Muslims, whose monopoly of trade was now seriously and, in the end, fatally challenged; a fort was built in 1511, but evacuated in 1525, the end of Portuguese activities at Kalikat. European settlements were more successful at Cannanore and Kannānāṭ[^4] and at Cochin, whose Rājās were enemies of the Zamorins, hence sought European help and support.

The English first appeared at Kalikat in 1615 when three ships under Captain William Keeling arrived. In 1664 the English East India Company opened a factory; in 1698 the French Company opened one; and in 1752 the Danish did likewise. The extensive trade in cotton cloths exported from Kalikat—Marco Polo mentions the fine textiles of Malabar—was the origin of the English term calico (see Yule and Burnell, Hakōn-Jabon, 147-49). By the later 17th century, the power of the Zamorins was in decline, but they continued to be hostile to foreigners. Kalikat suffered badly in the Mysore Wars of the later 18th century, being sacked by the Muslim armies of Ḥāydar ʿAlī[^5] of Mysore in 1773, and those of his son Ṭipū Sultan[^6] in 1788, who tried to establish a rival capital in Malabar on the south bank of the nearby Beypour river. In 1790 Kalikat was occupied by East India Company troops, and by the Treaty of Seringapatam of 1792, the town passed finally under British control.

A significant proportion of the town’s population remained Muslim, under their Hindu and then British rulers, being part of the Mappila community of Muslims on the Malabar coast (see MAPPILA). In the 1901 census, they formed 40% of Kalikat’s 77,000 population, with over 40 mosques, including the Sheikkinde Palli, with the shrine and tomb of Shaykh Mīnu Kōyā, said to have come from Egypt to Kalikat in the 16th century. In 1970 the town had a population of 330,000, and in 2003, 453,700.

Bibliography: C.A. Innes, Madras District gazettiers. Malabar and Aryan, Madras 1900, ii, 389-95; Imperial gazetteer of India, v, iii, 289-91. For the present article see the history of the Malabar coast and the European presence there, see the Bibl. to MABR and MAPPILA. (C.E. Bosworth)

**KALIMANTAN**

PULAU KALIMANTAN, or KLEMAN, one of the pre-colonial names of the island of Borneo[^7] in suppl., one of the larger Sunda Islands in present-day Indonesia and Malaysia. The name is officially used in Indonesia for the whole island, whereas in Malaysia the term Borneo derived by the Portuguese from the name of the old and once powerful sultanate of Brunei[^8] in suppl. in the north, is still in use. About three-quarters of the island is part of the Indonesian Republic, being divided into four provinces: West, Central, South and East Kalimantan. The northern states of Sarawak and Sabah[^9] are part of the Federation of Malaysia (since 1963), while the Sultanate of Brunei re-obtained its independence from British protection in 1984.

The present article deals essentially with the ethnic and social structures of the whole island, for the Indonesian part of the island specifically, see BORNEO, in suppl. The whole island covers an area of ca. 755,000 km². As most of the area is, or was, covered by tropical rain forest growing partly on swampy ground, particularly in the vast plains in the south, the population density was very thin; an average of 22 people per km² was counted. Bigger settlements are usually found on river shores not too far away from their mouths, thus presenting themselves as strategic places for rule and commerce. The people used to live in villages or longhouses on the shores of the huge rivers that, until recently, together with their tributaries, were almost the only ways of communication for most parts of the island, except in the mountainous areas where rapids and ravines made shipping almost impossible.

Ethnologists usually divide the indigenous population of Kalimantan into two major groups: the “Malays” and the “Dayaks”. These terms, however, should not be taken necessarily to denote ethnic, or even cultural identities. In both groups, a large variety of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and tribal entities exist. In very general terms, “Malay” denotes those individuals or groups who masak Islam (“became Muslims”) and therefore either considered themselves to have taken over “Malay” religion and adat (custom), or who were considered by their former kinsfolk to have left their old relationships and adopted a new and strange identity, namely, the Malay one. “Dayak” then covers all those indigenous tribes and groups who did not become Muslim but either kept to their traditional religious and cultural identities or, later, became Christians.

Such “ethnic switching” of the “Malays” was not a general rule, however, as sometimes is taken for granted. Some of those groups who turned to Islam still maintained a number of their traditions, e.g. living in longhouses, or continuing their own nutrition habits. Thus, e.g. the Bakumpai in the south Barito districts in South Kalimantan did not take over Malay habits, although they became strong propagators of Islam to the Dayaks in the interior. Other tribal entities maintained parts of their traditional social structure and habits after converting to Islam, e.g. the Bajau on the west coast of Sabah and the Bajau Laut...
(Sea Bajau) in the Tawau region (who may, however, originate from the Southern Philippines). The Islamic Malay who were transplanted from the island of Madura and Eastern Java to West Kalimantan by the Indonesian army after 1965 and settled there on land owned formerly by Chinese refugees living there since the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644, met with the unanimous hostility of the Chinese (now partly Protestant, Catholic or traditional Chinese), the Dayaks (partly Christian or traditional), and the “Malays” from the former sultanate of Sambas. After the collapse of President Sukarno and the power of his army who had sheltered them, they suffered a severe series of massacres.

The first strongholds of Islam on Kalimantan were those settlements that were already established as harbour and military watch stations under the Maritime Kingdom of Sri Vijaya which had its centre near Palembang [15] in south Sumatra, and which vanished in the 14th century (particularly in West Kalimantan, like Sukadana, Sambas), or by the Javanese Empire of Majapahit which decayed at the gua franca [16]. Dutch, attempted to promote their trading interests.

...b. Husayn al-Nabhanl, seems to have lived in Kufa...
the Ottoman Empire, tr. N. Tindal, 2 vols., London 1734-5; Systema religione et statu Imperii turcici (Systematicum seu intromixtoria religiae mohammadanæ), tr. V. Cândea, Bucharest 1977; Kâid-i lynn-i musiki 'ali weghi ul-harâtî, ms. Türkütat Institütü Y. 2768.


KAPLAN MUŞTAFA PASHA
(1603/1609). Ottoman vizier and kapudan pasha. Educated in the palace school at Istanbul, he made his early career in the private household of the sultan or ederin. Launched afterwards into a military and administrative career, Kaplan Muştafa Pasha was appointed beglerbeg of Damascus before 1076/1666. From 6 February 1666 to April 1672, he served as Grand Admiral (kapudan pasha). Under the Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief Fadlî Ahmed Paşa Köprülü, he commanded the main squadron during the War of Candia (Gerâr Seker [see li rritos: kandvâ]. In 1077/1666 his fleet of 47 galleys served to transport men and materials to Crete. On 30 October 1666, the Grand Vizier boarded the admiral’s flagship (başgördû) and joined his fleet, before 975/1667. From 1089/1678, Mustafa Pasha fought before Cehrin (Cyhyryn), the leader of the Crimean Tatars, and reconquered that fortress on 2-3 Redâbi 1089 (2-3 December 1680) while cruising the Archipelago.


KARAM (A.), the qualities of nobility of character, magnanimity, generosity, all the virtues making up the noble and virtuous man (see WbKAS, Letter Kâf, Wiesbaden 1970, 142-3). For a discussion of honour and nobility, see ’rück, Mûra’A and şirâf.

KARMANLIDIKÂ [see Turks. II, vi, in Suppl.] KARA'IYAT [or KARAY] (or IZ'IZ AL-KHâZIÎNÎR), an author of the Mamlûk period about whom very little is known.

His name would seem to indicate that he was a mamlûk of a Khâzâînîr or treasurer. Three fragments of his chronicle, called Ta'tîrîk al-Nawâdir minâmâ dâjdî li ’llawâ’il wa ’llawâjkân, have been preserved, the most interesting being that covering the years 6268/1228-90 (Gotha A 1655), in which the author says that he was writing between 1293 and 1341. This latter part is not free from faults (chronological errors, anecdotes which are hard to verify, and legends mixed with real events), hence should be used only with care, but its interest lies in the fact that it transmits oral sources contemporary with the author, certain information stemming from highly-placed personalities of the final years of the Asüûbîd period, such as Djâmal al-Dîn Ibn Ma'rûf [q.v.], and likewise some fragments of the abridged, and little-known, history of al-Nâşir Kâlâwûn’s reign composed by the kâdî Sharf al-Dîn Ibn al-Wâhid. The author was, moreover, largely inspired by the well-known chronicle of Ibn Wâsîf [q.v.] and may have used a source common to himself and Ibn al-Dawâdî [q.v.].


KÂSIM ARSLÂN (5995-1587), Indo-Muslim poet, court panegyrist of the Mughal emperor Akbar [q.v.] in the late 16th/17th century.

Details regarding his life and career are scanty. According to Muntakhab al-tawârikh, he was originally a native of Tūs; but most other writers refer to him as Mâghâdî, which would indicate that he might have lived in Mâghâd. He was brought up in Transoxania and went to India during Akbar’s reign. It is related that he took Arslân as his pen-name because his father claimed descent from Arslân DJâdî, a military commander of Mahmûd of Ghaznâ. Kâsim Arslân is described as a man of broad religious views, enjoying a witty, sociable and generous disposition. Apart from his status as a poet, he was known in his time as a skilled calligrapher, specially in the naskh style. His ālâm, which is rare, comprises various kinds of poems. One of his āsâd, which is addressed to the Eighth Imam Allî al-Rida, expresses the poet’s devotion to the Shî‘î leader. His ghazals, mostly short, describe amatory feelings in simple speech. His chronograms, for which he is especially noted, are useful in providing dates of certain historical events. He died, according to most accounts, at Lahore in 955/1587.


KAŠR (a), pl. kāsār, most probably from Grk. kastron, Latin castrum, has the general sense of “a fortified place”, hence “residence of an amīr or ruler, palace, or any building on a larger scale than a mere house”.

1. In the central and eastern Islamic lands. See for this, sārār, and note also that in the Persian lands, a synonym for this in early mediaeval usage (e.g. in Narseh-ḵāy, Bayḥāḵ, Dīḏāḏdīr) is often kāḥī (MP kāḥū, yielding Eng. and Ger. kāsh, Fr. kasque).

2. In the Maghrib.

Here, from the vocable changes frequent in Maghribi dialects, we often find the pronunciation kasr, pl. kāšār. The term has here various semantic strata that have to be illuminated by close examination of the various texts available and by archaeological investigation, and in the light of the complex material factors concerning the Maghribi habitat from mediaeval times until modern times as such. It is here: (a) a palace, a place from which political power is exercised, or an aristocratic residence; (b) a fortified place, a small fort or a full-scale fortress; (c) a fortified complex for community habitation; and (d) a collective granary or store house.

A. The evidence of mediaeval texts

The palace. The term is usually used in the texts to denote a palace, a place of residence for a person wielding authority, such as the kasr al-ğultrim which the Aghlabid amīr Ḫurābī I had built in 184/800, on the site of the princely town of al-Ḫabbāṣiyah, not far from al-Kayrawān (q.v.) (al-Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 328; al-Bākīr, al-Masālīl, wa l-ḵamāslīl, ed. and tr. de Slane, repr. Paris 1965, 26/64), or the places (kāšār) built in 263/876 by the amīr Ḫurābī II in his new princely residence of Rakkāda (q.v.) (al-Bākīr, op. cit., 27/62, 147/135; Ibn Ḫāḏhir, i, 289). Al-Mahdīyyah (q.v.), the first royal residence founded by the Fāṭimidūs in Iṣrāyīlī, additionally included the palaces of Ḫubayd Allāḥ and Ḫabū Ḫāṣān (Ibn Ḫawāq, 71/67; al-Bākīr, op. cit., 30/67-8).

In the far Maghrib, the fortress built by the Almoravids at the moment of the foundation of Marrāḵuḵ (q.v.) was called the Kasr al-Ḥadjar (Ibn Ḫāḏhir, iii, 20). The term served to designate at one and the same time palaces, including the governmental headquarters or princely residence, and also the residences (kāšār) of the Almohad leaders, each of which comprised houses (dūyār), gardens (ḥasāṭārīn), a bathhouse (khamāmān) and stables (iṣṭābārī) (al-Ḵumārī, Masālīk al-ḥāfi ḵī lamāslīk al-āmṣar, B.N. Paris ms. No. 5868, fol. 67b, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 179).

Fortresses, places for garrisons and the fortified community habitats. Although frequently used in texts from the mediaeval period, the term kasr has no homogenous geographical distribution. It is rare in the western regions, from Tilmīš/Tlemcen to the Atlantic, where toponyms like ḥīṣn and kāla are very clearly predominant, but places denominated as kāšār are numerous from Tripolitania to the region of Ṭāḥart, passing through Iṣrāyīlī, where they often correspond to fortresses whose construction goes back to Byzantine times (al-Bākīr, Masālīl, 31/69, 50/108; al-Ḡīrīsī, Maghrib, 157/144-5). However, in their grouping, the fortified sites thus described as kasr or kāšār do not appear to be, above all, places for garrisons but rather centres for population, a role that certain fortresses dating from Byzantine times already played at the time of the Arab conquest (Ibn Ṭābul-Ḥakām, Futūḥ, 224, 228, 239; al-Bākīr, op. cit., 13/34). In Iṣrāyīlī, as in the far Maghrib, the term thus denotes a village or a fortified town (ibid., 47/101, 159/292), or a fortified place where the surrounding people come to take refuge when necessary (al-Tāḏīnī, Rihla, Tunis and Tripoli 1981, 56, 119). Corresponding to an agglomeration on a more important scale, the term finally denotes nuclei of people, and these may be of a pre-urban or an urban nature. Thus Ṭāḥart was in origin made up of several kāšār (B. Zerouki, L’emmanuel de Tahart, premier état musulman du Maghreb, i, Paris 1987, 132-3); it was probably similarly the case at Sidjīmās (ibn Ḫawāq, 91/89).

B. The pre-modern kāšār in the Maghrib

The fortified villages of the Saharan wastes. In North African toponomy, Arabic kāšār frequently replaces its Berber equivalent qāwran (pl. qāwrān) when applied to the fortified villages characteristic of a type of habitat peculiar to the ante-Saharan zones: in Morocco, in the valleys of the Zīr, Dādès and Draa, from the Sīn in the west to Taṭīfālī in the east, and from the Atlas from north of the Draa to the south; and in Algeria, the term kāšār (q.v.) is frequent in the region of Suppl. and that of Mażāb (q.v.). In its “completed” form, i.e. pre-modern one, such as one still finds in Morocco, the kāšār appears as a fortified village with a rectangular plan, surrounded by a protective wall flanked with towers and with angled bastions; the space thus circumscribed, with a dense network of contiguous houses, is criss-crossed by several narrow streets whose pattern is based on more or less orthogonal axles. The regular form depends on the topographical conditions of the site; if the kāšār of the plains of southern Morocco most often show a regular pattern, the mountain villages are made up of houses huddled together and presenting a continuous front view, whilst in the Algerian Sahara, the overwhelming majority of kāšār simply consist of an agglomeration with a dense and complex pattern whose general contours attest an organic pattern of growth. As an economic centre and place of refuge, and as a nucleus for sedentarisation, the kāšār forms the basic political unit of these regions. In the southeast of Morocco, the management of the internal affairs of the kāšār is confided to two distinct political entities: the chief (ṣaybāḵ or amḏar) elected once a year is seconded by the chiefs of the quarters or the great families (mḥnag or amīr) in order to avoid power being gathered up into the hands of a single kinship group. These balancing factors, which make up a small council (al-ṣaybāḵ, q.v.), are guarantees of a social order that is expressed by means of prescribed forms and customary rules, often set down in writing.

The collective granary in the eastern Maghrib. In southeastern Tunisia, the term kāšār further denotes a collective storehouse where the local people, living in the valleys near to cultivated fields, come to store their grain. The mountainous Tunis-Libyan arc and its outliers, some 150 km/95 miles long, contains a hundred or so of these kāšār, with similar ones in Algeria, in the region of Gourara. Built on a hilltop with escarpmented slopes, the kāšār here generally has a quadrangular plan, with its protective wall formed by the placing together of narrow rooms (khirāna) with cradle vaulting, sometimes placed above each other on two or three levels, access to them being by an improvised outside ladder. Although nobody lives there,
the ksar is nonetheless a focus for the social life of peoples living a dispersed or troglodytic way of life. Sometimes it provides shelter for some artisanal activities, and it forms the point near to which an important market may on occasion be held. Likewise, one sometimes finds the mosque or masjid (q.v.), sometimes with a cemetery associated with it, at some distance away from the ksar yet at the same time associated with it.

The overall view. It is extremely difficult, for reasons both historical and methodological, to trace the evolution of the habitat which finally contributed to the emergence of the "completed" form of the ksar, the fortified village of the high plateaux of the Moroccan steppelands, more characteristic of certain regions which are in majority Berberophone than really "typical"—as has often been said—of a certain "Berber style of architecture". Various influences have been suggested in this regard: that of Africa, put forward at the time of the first exploratory travels, has speedily been forgotten, even if Terrasse perpetuated it in a certain manner by finding in the ksar an imprint of Pharaonic Egypt. The geometrical disposition of the Moroccan ksar, above all the presence of a principal axis which serves the groups of dwelling places, has generated as many arguments in favour of the thesis of an influence from the Roman-Byzantine castel-lum, whilst the brick decoration which often ornaments the whole ensemble has raised the question of connections with the East and with Hispano-Moresque art. Suffice it to say that these suggestions still today do not go beyond simple formal or stylistic likenesses.

The problem of tracing the origin of the type is further exacerbated by the difficulty of dating these groupings, given the very fragmentary historical data and the absence of archaeological remains which can be firmly dated. Thus, although the Moroccan ksar has for a long time been considered as an example of a "traditional" and "archaic" form of architecture, and therefore of an undatable nature, its existence is not attested by any sure material piece of evidence before at least the 17th and 18th centuries. The uncertainty over the dating—or at least, over the relative chronology—of these fortified villages has given rise to two postulates: (1) the present dating of those with regular plans shows an organic growth compared with those with geometrical plans—ksar with regular plans are considered later than those which, in Tuwät and elsewhere in the Sahara, show in their plans no concern for symmetry; and (2) terre pisée was substituted for stone—the ĵén or constructed of baked earth is seen as the end product of a process of change from the more ancient fortresses built in stone. These theories, even if they cannot be regarded as totally invalid, must, however, be approached with great prudence because of their neglect for the socio-economic and topographical considerations which brought about the conditions for the construction of these sites, and because of the a priori definition of a linear evolution of the construction techniques which they presuppose.

Studies on the typologies involved, supported by the most rigorous possible surface explorations, are required to understand the phenomenon of the ksar in all its breadth, geographical and chronological. J.-Cl. Echallier has accordingly made an exploratory and investigative effort of over 300 ksar in the Gourara-Tuwät region. Starting from formal criteria, he proposes classifying the ensemble of these sites into six main groups, ranging from storehouses used as refuges on rocky peaks (type I) to regular walled enclosures in unfired brick, displaying a sense of care in the organisation of the interior spaces (type VI). In southeastern Tunisia, some inscriptions on plasterwork placed on the arceding of the entrance vaulting, from which access leads into the ksar, bear a date. A. Louis has studied and published the account of a granary which served as a place of refuge, the Ksar Djo'ama, which in this case dates to 475/1082-3, whilst at the Ksar Djo'ama, an inscription dates either the building or the restoration of this part of the building to 1178/1764-5. The gap between these two dates indicates the degree of uncertainty which still reigns in the studies on the evolution of these forms of habitation in the Maghrib.

Often placed in connection with the general phenomenon of a crisis which ruptured the complementary relationship between two types of economy, the nomadic and the sedentary, and which led to periods of conflict and change, it seems that the ksar of southern Morocco and southern Algeria, like the communal storehouses of southeastern Tunisia, can be placed, in a more global and more nuanced way, in relationship to a situation of transition between nomadism and sedentarisation. This particular form of a place for keeping commodities and for refuge, or as a place for habitation, would thus form a nucleus for sedentarisation around which the territory of a given human group becomes organised. The ksar, so characteristic of certain North African landscapes, is an architectural form on the verge of disappearing because of the major changes of recent decades in social relations and techniques. In these regions, it is now the village which has succeeded the ksar as the basic element of social cohesion.


KA SR ABĪ DĀNIS, a settlement of Islamic Portugal, revealed by archaeological excavations on the ancient site of Salacia, to the south of Lâbion, and on the site of the present convent of Arcaceoi, the modern Alcácer do Sal.

It dates from the 3rd/9th century, when coastal defences were being erected against the Viking attacks which had begun in 230/844 [see al-Majtās]. The fortress occupied a major strategic site, up-river from the mouth of the Tagus, and on the site of the present convent of Arcaceoi, the modern Alcácer do Sal.
KASR ABÍ DÁNIS — KASTAL

capital of a kāra and grew into a prosperous centre. Ibn Abí 'Amir [sec Al-MAŠṌR bi 'LÁH] made it into an important naval dockyard for attacking the shrine of St. James of Compostella in 387/997. As the main maritime outlet for the Aládíd [q.v.] of Badajoz, Kasr Abí Dánis retained its role as a dockyard and arsenal and was also, according to al-Idríší, a prosperous commercial port. After the fall of Lisbon in 542/1147, the town was first taken by Afonso Henriques, but recovered by the Almohad caliph al-MAŠṌR in 587/1191 before its definitive fall in 614/1217. Immediately after this, Muslim Alácer declined in favour of Setubal.

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KASR AL-MUSHÁSH, an Umayyad period archaeological site in Jordan located 40 km/25 miles southeast of 'Ammán. The core of the site consists of a kāṣr, a water reservoir and a bath, surveyed by King in 1980-1 and excavated by Bisheh in 1982-3. The kāṣr measures 26 m/85 feet square and consists of rooms around an open central courtyard, without any corner towers, and could accommodate up to 40 people. Re-used in one wall is a stone with a Kufic inscription asking for the forgiveness of the sins of an unknown Radja b. Bashshar. Nearby is a plastered cistern 4.8 m/16 feet in diameter once roofed with drinking water. At 400 m/1,312 feet west of the kāṣr is a plastered cistern 4.8 m/16 feet in diameter once roofed and could accommodate up to 40 people. Re-used in one wall is a stone with a Kufic inscription asking for the forgiveness of the sins of an unknown Radja b. Bashshar. Nearby is a plastered cistern 4.8 m/16 feet in diameter once roofed with drinking water. At 400 m/1,312 feet west of the kāṣr is a plastered water reservoir measuring 25 m/82 feet square. The excavated bath house was a simple structure with four rooms: an apodyterium, frigidarium, tepidarium and caldarium with a furnace. The bath has none of the lavish decorations characteristic of Kusayr 'Amra or Hammán al-Sahrāḥ [q.v.]. Other uninvestigated reservoirs, cisterns, walled enclosures and barrages dot the site. The potter’s site is predominantly Umayyad. The function of the site, without a sizeable resident population, was to serve as a watering stop for caravans travelling between 'Ammán and the northern Arabian Peninsula via the Wādī Sirýán. Reduced traffic along that route after the 'Abbasid revolution soon led to the abandonment of the site.

Bibliography: G. King, C. Lenzen, and G. Rolf-

KASR ṬÚBÁ, one of the so-called "desert castles" in Jordan, is located ca. 100 km/60 miles southeast of 'Ammán. Since it is unfinished, information on the intended design of the elevations and the decorations are limited. The enclosure walls and the foundations were built of limestone, the remaining parts of brick. The building has a rectangular shape, measuring ca. 140 m (east-west) by 70 m (north-south) and is flanked by five semicircular towers on the south side, two on the east and west sides. There was a round tower at each corner. In the north the arrangement is different (see below). The structure consists of two individual and identical halves, divided by a wall and connected with each other by a small passage. Each of the two buildings has a central courtyard of ca. 30 m by 30 m with rooms and/or smaller courtyards built around it. Entrance is given to each of the buildings by a gate flanked by square towers in the middle of the northern façades. Between the two gates, a semicircular tower projects from the northern façade. Behind the gate, passages, ca. 6 m deep, lead into the courtyards. In each of the corners of the courtyards, traces of typical Umayyad kubs, i.e. two rooms flanking a central hall or courtyard on two sides, are to be found. This feature, in addition to the use of brick, the vaulting technique and the few decorations preserved, shows that the building must have been built in the late Umayyad period. Most authors consider al-Wádh II [q.v.] as the patron of this building.


KASTAL, one of the so-called Umayyad "desert castles", now in the Kingdom of Jordan. It lies ca. 15 km south of the centre of 'Ammán. Its existence became known only at the beginning of the 20th century, following a publication by Britnów and von Domaszewski (see Balk.).

Until the 1970s, the period of its construction remained speculative, but since then there is little doubt that this desert castle was built in Umayyad times. The site consists of a palace and a mosque, the latter lying north of the palace. Changes in the construction as well as ceramic finds indicate that the place was used in the Ayyubid-Mamlûk period as well as in later Ottoman times. The palace is a square construction of ca. 59 x 59 m (without counting the towers), made of ashdars with cast work between the surfaces, with round corner towers and three semicircular intermediate towers on the northern, southern and western sides each, while the entrance was on the eastern side. The latter has four semicircular intermediate towers, two of which can be considered as part of the wings of the main entrance. Through a ca. 2 m-wide gate one enters into a space inside the tower, which is ca. 16 m deep and leads to an inner court of ca. 28 x 28 m. Around the inner court was a peristyle, behind which lay six groups of rooms, arranged bay-wise (four on the eastern and western sides, with adjoining rooms in the corners, two on the northern and southern sides). Remains of an upper storey, which formerly surrounded the entire building, are only found in the neighbourhood of the tower room. The building thus
resembles other Umayyad sites, the palace at Djibal Saysa [q.v. in Suppl.], Kharana and Kašr al-Hayr al-Sharqi [q.v.] in particular.

A few metres off the western part of the northern palace wall lies a construction which originally was interpreted as a praetorium, but which is undoubtedly a mosque. Preserved are the remains of a rectangular surrounding wall of ca. 21 x 18 m, which encloses a courtyard and a prayer-house. Its northwestern corner encloses a round tower with a diameter of ca. 6 m. From the southern side of the court a door leads to a rectangular prayer-room with a deeply vaulted mihrab [q.v.] in the middle of the southern wall. The mosque clearly shows three construction phases. The masonry of the earliest phase is the same as that of the inside constructions of the palace. It belongs to a mosque, which probably had a saddle roof. To this mosque also belonged the round tower, beyond all question one of the earliest minarets in the area.

From the southern part of the courtyard a flight of steps led to the roof, always vulnerable from the sea, was not only reinforced, and the original roof replaced by a barrel vault. In late Ottoman times, the mosque was deepened and vaulted in the middle of the south-ern wall. The mosque clearly shows three construction phases. The masonry of the earliest phase is the same as that of the inside constructions of the palace. It belongs to a mosque, which probably had a saddle roof. To this mosque also belonged the round tower, beyond all question one of the earliest minarets in the area.


KATHIRI, a South Arabian tribal group and sultanate, the latter eventually becoming part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate prior to the departure of the British from South Arabia in 1967. Their origins were in the area of Zafr [q.v.] on the Indian Ocean, now within the Southern Region of the Sultanate of Oman [see 'UMÂN], and they appear suddenly on the stage of history in the 9th/15th century. By the time the Eastern Aden Protectorate collapsed in 1967 after the departure of the British, the Kathfrfs sultanate was made up of the centre and eastern end of the Wadâf Hadramawt, tribal lands to the north of the Wadî towards the Empty Quarter [see AL-RUB' AL-KHALI] and to the south in the eastern and northwestern region towards the sea, although by this time they had no access to the sea. Their main towns were Sayâ'n [q.v.], the capital of the sultanate, Tarîm [q.v.], the intellectual centre, al-Ghuraf, Bûr and al-Ghurfa, all within Wadî Hadramawt.

The Kathfrî tribe was of Zanâna (sometimes written Danna in the Arabic sources) and, according to al-Shihârî (Adwâr, 234), Kahtanfs of Saba', and not of Hamdân. Al-Shihârî adds (352) that Zanâna are believed to have come from Muscat (Mašqat) and Zafrâ.

The Kathfrîs first took Zafrî in 807/1404 (al-Allawi, Ta'rîkhî, ii, 684). They took the important port of al-Shihâr [q.v.] from the Tahirids [q.v.] in 867/1462. The port, always vulnerable from the sea, was not only the emporium of Indian trade in the area but also handled the traffic of the pilgrims bound for Kafr Hûd in Wadî Hadramawt (Serjeant, Portugal, 25 and see also his Ha'dî). Both trade and the pilgrimage traffic were huge sources of revenue. The exact situation is not clear, however, and it seems that the Kathfrîs on occasion held al-Shihâr as governors of the Tahirids.

The expansionist policies of the Kathfrîs are associated with the famous Badr Bî Tuwayrîk (r. 922-77/1516-70). He fought the Mahra [q.v.] tribes to the east of al-Shihâr, and endeavoured to keep the Portuguese and the Turks at bay as far as he could, playing them off against each other. He was able to pursue campaigns into Hadramawt, using Turkish-Portuguese rivalry to his own advantage. Badr even made use of the Turks and the Portuguese: with the aid of the former in 926/1520 he took Sâhibîm, and with Portuguese musketeers he made gains in Wadî Hadramawt in 945/1539 (al-Kindî, Ta'rîkhî, i, 164; Serjeant, Portugal, 28). His successes in Hadramawt may well have been because of his access to firearms introduced by the Turks in the expedition against Sâhibîm. He had no strong religious sentiment against the Portuguese, but this earned him the resentment of many Hadramîrs who urged holy war against him (Serjeant, Portugal, 27-30, 57). Al-Kindî in his Ta'rîkh provides a whole catalogue of Kathfrî activities in mediaeval times in Hadramawt and on the coast. In 926/1520, for example, Badr went on to take both Tarîm and al-Ghurfa. In 934/1527, he struck coins in al-Shihr. Under the year 942/1535, the killing of a number of Portuguese is reported, others being shackled and plundered. The Kathfrîs were also in touch with the Turks and the Egyptians. In 943/1536, Badr began the building of the fortress of Gâl al-Bâ, Wadî Hadramawt. The year 944/1537 marked the arrival in al-Shihr of a Turkish galley to assist Badr against the Portuguese. It was announced that the khutba was to be pronounced in the name of the Ottoman sultan, Suleyman Bâ Yazid (i.e. Suleymân the Magnificent). After Badr's death in 977/1569, there was less stability in the Kathfrî house. Reports for the following years reflect internecine squabbles (al-Kindî, Ta'rîkhî, i, 164, 165, 180, 182, 185, 215, 216 and passim).

The struggle in 1064/1653 between the two Badrs of the Kathfrî family, Badr b. 'Umar and Badr b. 'Abd Allah, brought the Zaydiy [see ZAYDIYYA] of the Yemen into the affairs of Hadramawt (al-Wâzîr, Tahabit al-halwâ, 135 ff.). Badr b. 'Umar al-Kahtîrî, lord of Hadramawt, al-Shihr and Zafrâ, having already embraced the Zaydi rite, had the khutba pronounced in the name of the Zaydi Imam al-Mutawakkîl (r. 1054-87/1644-76 [q.v.]). His nephew, Badr b. 'Abd Allah al-Kahtîrî, had Badr b. 'Umar arrested and imprisoned at Sayân (Serjeant, Oman naval activities, 28). Al-Mutawakkîl reacted swiftly to Badr b. 'Abd Allah's action against his uncle. Much correspondence passed between him and the Kahtîrî, and the latter finally submitted, although Badr b. 'Abd Allah was resentful of the Imam's intervention and his submission was clearly a sham. Badr b. 'Umar was obliged to flee Zafrâ, where the Imam had secured his governorship as part of his agreement with Badr b. 'Abd Allah, and finally arrived at the Imam's court in Samân [q.v.] in 1069/1659. This state of affairs now brought about a full-scale Zaydi military expedition into Hadramawt under the command of Sâfi 'l-Islâm Ahmad b. Hasan and accompanied by Badr b. 'Umar. Sâfi 'l-Islâm was able to subdue Hadramawt itself, but then experienced difficulties in supplying his large Zaydi army. He was thus unable to deal with the problem of Zafrâ, by this time under an 'Umâni amîr. He returned from Sayân to Zafrî (Serjeant, Oman naval activities, 78-80). By about 1080/1670, Zaydi influence in Hadramawt had declined and the Kathfrî sultans were in independent control there (ibid., 84).

Once again, sources provide a rather confused and lengthy catalogue of Kathfrî activities: military movements, battles, tribal problems and agreements, these involving also the Yâfi'îs [see YÂFI'], who had entered the area, on occasion the Zaydis, and from the mid-19th century onwards the Ku'ayîfs.
The Government of Bombay's *Account of the Arab tribes*, compiled at the beginning of the 20th century, indicates (123) that Kathfiri territory had originally been carved out of 'Awda'ji lands in the west and Mahra in the east, and included al-Mukalla on the coast, until 1891 when it passed to the Ku'aytis and the Kathfiri. The Kathfiri sultanate lost much ground to the Yafi'is and Ku'aytis in the latter half of the 19th century. The *Account*, reporting on the Kathfiri, also reports a total of 7,000 fighting males. Many Kathfiri subjects were scattered over parts of India, Java, Singapore and East Africa, engaged in trade.

In 1883, Sultan 'Abd Allah b. Sahl al-Khatfiri visited the British Resident in Aden to assess the attitude of the British to his seizing al-Mukalla and al-Shihr from the Ku'aytis. The British answer was firm and to the point: if the Kathfiri attacked the ports, the British would come to the aid of the Ku'aytis. The British Resident in Aden later recommended (123) to the British Government that the Kathfiris be armed and given a gunboat. The Kathfiri continued to smart at ports, the British would come to the aid of the Ku'aytis.

'The sultanates, the Kathfiri signed no 19th-century formal treaty of protection with Britain (Account, 130). They are, however, listed (154-5) among those states "having relations with Aden Residency". Their annual revenue is quoted as 24,000 rupees, although there was no stipend from the Residency. The sultan in 1906 when the *Account* was published was Mansur b. Ghilabi.

It was only during the 1930s that relations between the Kathfiri and the British became closer, the rapprochement occurring in the wake of the famous "Ingrams Peace", when the first British political officer in Hadramawt, Harold Ingrams, brought about a general peace between the years 1937-40 in the tribal lands of both Ku'aytis and Kathfiris (Ingrams, *Arabia, 10-19*). This resulted in the political, social, agricultural, educational and medical development of both sultanates, including the completion of a road from Tarin in Wadi Hadramawt to al-Shihr on the coast, and the increased British involvement in their affairs, culminating in the separate British administration of the Kathfiri, Ku'aytis, Mahra and Wa'idiyya [q.v.] sultanates as the Eastern Aden Protectorate. In March 1939, a treaty between the Kathfiris and the British was finally signed (Smith, "Ingrams Peace", *Hadramawt* 1937-40, see Bahl; for the terms of the treaty, see *Records of Aden*, 2:29-40).

The sultanates of the Eastern Aden Protectorate never entered the Federation which was formed and fostered by the British in the Western Aden Protectorate. At the time of the withdrawal of the British in 1967, the Kathfiri sultanate became a part of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. In 1990, with the unity of north and south Yemen, the whole of what had been the Eastern Aden Protectorate became a part of the Yemen Republic [see *Al-Yaman.* 3(b)] with its capital at San'a'.


*AL-KATIFI, IBRAHIM b. SULAYMAN, Imam Sh'i jurist of the 9th/10th/15th/16th centuries.* He is most famous for his acrimonious dispute with his supposed classmate (or teacher), the influential 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Al-i al-Karakr (d. 940/1534 [q.v.]). Al-Katif maintained that in his supposed classmate's influential *Kdti'at al-laajdaj*. The dispute is mostly inspired by his personal and religious animosity towards al-Karakr. Al-Katif accused him of egotism and legal chicanery aimed at personal enrichment. Such accusations can be found throughout al-Katif's most famous work *al-Siraj al-wwahhidi*, a detailed refutation of al-Karakr's *Kitab al-ladidaj*. The debate here concerned the legitimacy of land-tax (*kharij*) payable to the ruler. Whilst al-Karakr, benefiting personally from *kharij* revenue, argued that it was a permitted tax during the occultation (*ghayba* [q.v.]) of the Imam, al-Katif maintained that Safawid rule was legally speaking illegitimate; no Safawid tax could be legitimated and no gifts bestowed by the Shii could be accepted. In one incident in Karbalah, al-Katif publicly refused to accept a gift brought by al-Karakr from Shii Ta'nkh. Most of al-Katif's works remain in manuscript, and nearly all appear to be refutations of al-Karakr's views on subjects such as the *djamila* prayer, fastering and fasting. Some have linked al-Katif to the emerging *Khatibi* school [see *Khatibiyya*, in Suppl.], but his juristic reasoning, though conservative, appears within the mainstream of *Shi'i* jurisprudence. His date of death is unknown, but he is reported to have been alive as late as 951/1544.
(R. Gleave)

KAWĀ‘ID FIKHIYYA (Ka.), legal principles, legal maxims, general legal rules (sing. kawā‘id), these are madzhab-internal legal guidelines that are arrived at by the methods of similar cases in various fields of the law, whereby the legal determinations (akhām) of these cases can be derived from these principles. They reflect the logic of a school’s legal reasoning and thus impart a “scaffolding” to the “case-law” (furū‘).

Historically, general rules can be found already strewed throughout early furū‘ works. They were first collected by Ḥanafīs like Abu l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. 340/952), but under the title of furū‘ rather than kawā‘id. (As a result, the term asl acquires, minimally, a fourfold meaning: (1) an act that has already been legally determined and now serves as a “model” for similar cases; (2) a scriptural pronouncement (Kurān or Hadith) that is considered decisive for the legal determination of a given act; (3) a legal principle, under which several individual cases are subsumed; (4) a source of the law, such as the Kurān.) But this early start hardly bore fruit, and it is only around the 7th/13th century that all the legal schools began to produce books on kawā‘id (predominantly with this term in the title of their books), except (!) the Hanafīs. This strange gap in the latter’s record is probably not to be attributed to a loss of their works, because the Ḥanafī scholar, Ibn Nudaym (d. 970/1563), complains about the fact that his school has nothing to compete with against the Shāfī‘īs in this respect (Ashbīh, 15)—a situation that he tries to redress by writing a kawā‘id book on the model of the Shāfī‘ī Tājī al-Dīn al-Suhbī (d. 771/1370) work. Some of the most influential kawā‘id works of the later period bear the title al-ʿAṣbīh wa-naʿzūrî, such as those of the Shāfī‘īs Ibn al-Walkī (d. 716/1317), Tājī al-Dīn al-Suhbī, and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), as well as that of the Ḥanafī Ibn Nudaym. According to the editor of Ibn al-Walkī’s book, Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Ankārī, ʿAṣbīh refers to cases that are alike in appearance (ṣabīh) and legal status, while naʿzūrî denotes cases that are alike in appearance, but differ in legal status. Whether this is generally true remains to be seen. Look-alike cases of the latter type are dealt with in the furū‘ literature, the furū‘ being the decisive difference that brings about a different legal determination (ḥukm). Since sections on furū‘ do occur in ʿAṣbīh wa-naʿzūrî works, one may consider such works an umbrella genre that comprises both the kawā‘id deduced from truly similar cases and the furū‘ indicating the differences between outwardly similar cases. Logically, and probably also historically, the establishment of similitudes among cases precedes the formulation of legal rules/maxims based on them as well as the recognition of furū‘ as obstacles to the subsumption of cases under a single rule.

However, with regard to the kawā‘id, this picture is too simple. Although generally valid rules (al-kawā‘id al-kulliyya al-fikhiyya) do exist, they are outnumbered by rules that are only “preponderant” (al-kawā‘id al-dā‘ī al-fikhiyya al-ṣiḥṭīyya). In the Idāh al-masūlah tālā kawā‘id al-imām Mīkhāl al-Wangharī (d. 914/1508) (p. 3), the relationship of the two types is 17 to 101, and a number of legal scholars assert that legal rules, as opposed to other rules, are always preponderantly valid. The generally valid rules are couched in maxims, the preponderantly valid ones in double questions, thus e.g. dar ʿalā “l-maṣūlah” makādan “‘alā ʿalā “warding off corruptions has the priority over bringing about benefits” is a kā‘ida kulliyya, whereas al-zan‘ hal yuṣnakh bi-t-zan‘ ʿām la “can a presumption be canceled by [another] presumption or not?” is a kā‘ida ʿalā al-kulliyya. The term ʿalālīk refers to the fact that the non-subsumable cases are看不到 “exceptions” to the rule, rather than constituting a competing kā‘ida.

The unmistakable blossoming of kawā‘id literature from the 7th/13th century onward expresses several tendencies:

(1) The focus of the ʿukā‘ah is madzhab-internal, not independent, ʿiṣbīhî (i. mutlak). A good command of the kawā‘id will qualify the jurisprudent as a muqaddhī al-fikri, someone who can issue a legal opinion on the basis of the kawā‘id of his school.

(2) The school-specific kawā‘id were collected from the furū‘ works or, where the imams and other earlier authorities had not been explicit about their principles, were arrived at by induction from their furū‘ decisions (kawā‘id istiṣqā‘īyya). Ibn al-Walkī (d. 716/1317) and Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Makkārī (d. 758/1357) are said to have done their own istiṣqā‘ of the major Shāfī‘ī and Mālikī sources respectively (see al-Bāḥūṣayn, Kāwa‘id, 324 and 328).

(3) There is a certain competitiveness among the schools to reduce the kawā‘id to the lowest possible number. The generally valid rules, as a result, are the “Major Principles”, to the number five may be reduced to the number two, and so on. Particularly famous are the so-called al-kawā‘id al-khams “Five Principles”. Attested since the 8th/14th century, they are the following (there are variations in wording and sequence):

(1) al-umur bi-muṣâra al-didha “Things [acts] are what they are through the intentions that bring them about”;
(2) al-dinna wa-dar bi-maṣūlah “Harm shall be removed”;
(3) al-dinna wa-dar bi-maṣūlah “Costum is made the arbiter”;
(4) al-siṣṣa wa-la-maṣūlah “‘Hardship brings about facilitation”;
(5) al-yaqīnī la yāzīl bi-‘l-yakīn “Certainty is not erased (superseded) by doubt/uncertainty”.

Restricting these principles, also called al-kawā‘id al-kabriyya, the “Major Principles”, to the number five may result from a desire for balance; an attendant saying goes: bannya ʿl-muṣāra ʿalā ʿl-khams wa-naʿzūrī ʿalā ʿl-khams “Islam has been built on five [sc. the aqāla] and so has jurisprudence.”

As for the position of the kawā‘id literature within legal studies, one may quote the Shāfī‘ī al-Karāfī (d. 684/1285), who says at the beginning of his furū‘ work that there are two kinds of usūl: usūl al-furū‘ and al-kawā‘id al-fikhiyya al-kulliyya (al-Furū‘, i, 2), and the Ḥanafī Ibn Nudaym who made the shocking statement that the kawā‘id are the real usūl al-furū‘ (al-ʿAṣbīh, 15). While the latter statement seems exaggerated, it is clear that the kawā‘id were considered an important third “player” alongside the usūl and the furū‘.

It should be mentioned that the usūl formulated hermeneutical principles that were called kawā‘id usūlīyya, these are at times not carefully separated from the kawā‘id fikhiyya.
KAYSUM (modern Turkish: Kaysun; Grk. Kaison; KAWIR, DASHT-I [see IRAN. I. 3]).

**Description**

Kaysum is now the Kazakstan Republic includes what was in parts of the country, while the northern part is largely the Russian Federation of States, on the east with (formally, Kazakstan Respublikasi) is the largest state of Central Asia; it borders on its north and west with the Caspian Sea. The capital since 1997 has been Astana, which is mentioned up to 1177 and a Jacobite one disappeared. During this Frankish occupation, Kaysum was re-occupied by the Byzantines and at the end of the 11th century became the capital of the Armenian patriarch for a few years. All this indicates that there was living there an important Christian population.

**Bibliography:**


**KAZAKSTAN,** conventionally KAZAKSTAN, a region of Inner Asia lying essentially to the south of Siberia and north of the older Islamic Transoxania [see MA WARA AL-NAR]. The southern part of what is now the Kazakstan Republic includes what was in medieval Islamic times rather vaguely known as Moghollistan [q.v.]. The modern Kazakstan Republic (formally, Kazakstan Respublikasi) is the largest state of Central Asia; it borders on its north and west with the Russian Federation of States, on the east with China and on the south with Kirgizistan [q.v. in Suppl.].

**1. Topography and climate.**

Kazakstan covers an area of 2,724,900 km² and stretches from almost the lower Volga and the Caspian Sea in the west to the Altai and Tien Shan Mountains in the east. Deserts occupy the central and western parts of the country, while the northern part is largely covered by steppes. The highest point is Khantangirî peak (6,995 m/22,944 feet) in the southeast. Main rivers are the Sar Darya [q.v.] which flows into the Aral Sea, the Eritis (Irish [q.v. in Suppl.]) and Išim (Išim) which join the Ob river, the Ile [q.v.] which empties into Lake Balkaš (Balkhash [q.v.]), and the Oral (Ural [see YAYIK]) river which drains into the Caspian Sea.

The average January temperature rises from -17°C in eastern modern Turkey on the Keşalyan-çay, an affluent of the Suriçay-çay, in the upper valley of the Euphrates. Considered in the 9th century A.D. as one of the marches of the Byzantine frontier, it commanded a col on the Besni road. Its fortress served as a base for the revolt of Nasr b. Shabab [q.v.] but was dismantled after Nasr's submission to al-Ma'mun in 208/824-5.

Kaysum was re-occupied by the Byzantines ca. 958, and at the end of the 11th century became the capital of the Armenian lord Gogh Vasil (d. 1112). The Franks annexed it in 1116 and it became part of the lands of the lord of Mar'ash. Baldwin of Mar'ash (d. 1146) rebuilt the fortress in stone, but this has now disappeared. During this Frankish occupation, Kaysum was the seat of a Latin bishopric. An Armenian biblio- graphic is mentioned up to 1177 and a Jacobite one till 1174. It was even the place of residence of the Jacobite patriarch for a few years. All this indicates that there was living there an important Christian population.

Between 545/1150 and 568/1173 the Saljuqs of Rûm and Nur al-Din b. Zangi occupied it alternately. During Ayyubid times it came within the territory of Aleppo, but its strategic role declined, and after the passage through it of the Mongols in 1260 it is mentioned only as a village under Armenian domination.

**Bibliography:**

in the north to 0° C in the south, and the average July temperature increases from 19° C in the north to 28° C in the south. Annual precipitation levels are generally low, ranging from about 100 mm in the deserts to between 250 and 400 mm on the steppes, but higher levels are observed in the foothills and mountains: e.g. in Almati at the foot of the Alatau Mountains, it is 640 mm.

2. Demography and ethnography.

According to the results of the census in 1999, Kazakhstan has a population of 14,953,100, giving it an average population density of 5.5 persons per km². The proportion of the urban population is the highest among the Central Asian states (56%). The proportion of the urban population is the highest among the Central Asian states (56%).

Kazak is still spoken in rural areas, particularly by the elderly and those who have recently returned to the countryside after working in cities. The language is also taught in some schools and universities, and there are numerous Kazakh-language publications and media outlets.

Kazak history and culture are closely intertwined with the development of the state of Kazakhstan. The country has a rich cultural heritage, including music, dance, literature, and art. Kazakh culture is also known for its hospitality and traditional values.

In 1991, Kazakhstan declared independence from the Soviet Union and became a republic of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Since then, the country has made significant progress in areas such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure.

5. History.

From ancient times, present-day Kazakhstan was the territory of various nomadic tribes and states: the Sakae, the Usun, the K'ang-yiieh, the West Turkic Khaganate, the Turgesh, the Karakhanids, the Karakhitays, the K'maks, the Kipcak, etc. Based on the Soviet theory which stresses the "autochthonness" of ethnogenetic processes, most Kazak historians think that all these tribes are the "autochthones" of ethnogenetic processes, most Kazak historians think that all these tribes are the "autochthones" of ethnogenetic processes, most Kazak historians think that all these tribes are the "autochthones" of ethnogenetic processes, most Kazak historians think that all these tribes are the "autochthones" of ethnogenetic processes.
KAZAKSTAN — KHWAĐAGAN

After they increased their power, they returned to the Dash-i Kipčak and replaced the Özbek, who moved to the south of the Sir Daryá. Their dynasty is known as the Kazakh Khanate, but its government structure and territory were unstable, and there is a dispute among Kazakstán scholars on whether the khanate can be called a “state” or not. In any case, there is scant evidence of the ethnic consciousness of its inhabitants, and it is not clear whether the word “Kazakh”, which originally means a “dependent man” or a “wanderer”, meant at this time a distinctive ethnic group.

In the late 17th and the early 18th centuries, fierce battles occurred between the Kazaks and the Oyirads or Oinats (Kalmaks [see Kazakh], of the so-called Dzungar Khanate (western Mongolia). This confrontation, on the one hand, consolidated the Kazaks’ ethnic identity, and on the other hand, induced some Kazak khojs in 1990, was known as a pragmatic and power in the Middle and the Junior Djuz, and started Anna Ivanovna, though in practice they remained first secretary of the Communist Party in 1989 and USSR collapsed. Nursultan Nazarbaev, who became increased the power of the president and restricted independence. In the 1820s, Russia abolished the Khan’s power in the Middle and the Junior Djuz, and started to rule directly most parts of Kazakhstan. The territory of the Senior Djuz, which was under the rule of [g.v.] Khanate, was incorporated into Russia by the 1830s.

During the 1917 October Revolution and the ensuing civil war in Russia, Kazakh intellectuals established the Alash-Orda autonomous government. After it collapsed, the Autonomous Kazakhstan (mistakenly called “Kirgiz” in Russian usage until 1925) Socialist Soviet Republic was formed inside Soviet Russia. After receiving and abandoning some territories in 1925, it was in 1936 upgraded to the Kazakh SSR, one of the fifteen constituent republics of the USSR.

The 1920s and 1930s were especially hard times for Kazakhstan; purges, mass collectivisation and forcible sedentarisation killed a large number of politicians, intellectuals, nomads and peasants. But at the same time, the Soviet government started the industrialisation of Kazakhstan, which was accelerated during World War II, when factories were evacuated from Central Russia. The ethnic Kazakh cadre grew, especially since the 1960s under Dimmukhamed Konaev, who served as first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan for 25 years. When he resigned under pressure from Moscow in December 1986, Kazakh youths in Almati and other cities held demonstrations, which were suppressed violently.


Although the leadership of Kazakhstan actively advocated maintaining and renovating the USSR, it declared independence in December 1991 when the USSR collapsed. Nursultan Nazarbaev, who became first secretary of the Communist Party in 1989 and president in 1990, was known as a pragmatic and semi-democratic reformist. But in 1995 he took drastic measures to concentrate power in his own hands; the parliament was suddenly dissolved, the constitution of 1993 was abolished, and the new constitution increased the power of the president and restricted the functions of the parliament. The opposition’s sphere of activity is very limited, though it has not been physically liquidated as in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan.

Although the country is undergoing economic hardship, Kazakhstan has rich natural resources (especially oil and metals), which have not yet been fully exploited. Kazakhstan’s resources, as well as geopolitical importance, have drawn the attention of many foreign countries, and it maintains basically good relations with all neighbouring countries including Russia and China, as well as with the United States, Japan and European countries.


Kelantan, a state of northeastern Malaysia.

Lying on the coast adjoining the Malay areas of southern Thailand, Kelantan has long been a centre of devout Islamic scholarship and education, of Malay cultural creativity, and assertive forms of Malay-Islamic politics. Kelantan’s traditional religious boarding school academies (pondok [see pesantren]) and their more illustrious teachers were well known throughout the Malay world; together with Malay from the Karen or Oinats (Kalmaks [see KALMUK]) of the so-called Djdwa or Southeast Asian Malay community in 19th century Mecca. By the early 20th century, Kelantan was an important centre of publication of religious and Malay vernacular works and the site of important innovations in the collection and management of religious taxation (zakat and fitrd) through its state religious council (Majlis Ugama Islam). With its people intensely committed to their own local variants of the Malay language and culture, Kelantan has over time elaborated a powerful sense of its own distinctiveness within the wider Malay-Islamic world. It resisted Thai domination in the 19th century, succumbed to British rule in the first half of the 20th, and achieved independence in 1957 as part of the Federation of Malaya, later Malaysia. Since 1959 it has been the stronghold of PAS (Parti Islam Se-Malaysia [g.v.]), an avowedly Islamist party which, while playing a leading opposition role in national politics, has held power at the state level in Kelantan for much of the post-independence period (1959-78, and 1990 to present).

Since the 1980s, and especially since its return to power in Kelantan in 1990, PAS has promoted a strongly “Sherifian-minded” neo-traditionalist Islamism. Since 1993, Kelantan has mounted a powerful challenge to the ascendancy of Malaysia’s ruling multi-ethnic coalition by questioning the national government’s Islamic credentials, most notably through its efforts to secure constitutionally-required federal assent to implement the Sharis law, including the hudud punishments, in Kelantan state.


C.S. Kessler
KHWAĐAGAN, a Sufi brotherhood of Central Asia.

520 KAZAKSTAN — KHWAĐAGAN
The movement of the Khwādghagan belongs to the proto-history of the Nakshbandiyya order, which often combines the two groups as the Khwādghagan-Nakshbandiyya. This movement, whose first figure is Abū Ya‘qūb Yusuf Hamadānī (d. 535/1140), took over a Sūfī tradition going back to the Prophet through Bāyāzīd Bistāmī, Sahāmī al-Fārizī and the caliph Abū Bakr. This Sūfī tradition was at first known as the Tarīkāt-i baksara (“Abū Bakr’s way”) or Tarīkāt-ī Siddikīsī, and then at the time of Bistāmī, as the Ṣaddjādīsī (from another name of Bistāmī). The main representatives of the Ṣaddjādīsī were Abu ‘l-Ḥasan Ḥaraharānī, Abu ‘l-Ḡāsim Ṣawī and Abū ‘Alī Fārmādī. It is only with Hamadānī, a pupil of the last-named, that the Ṣaddjādīsī assumed the designation of Tarīkā-ye Khwādghagan ("way of the masters").

Yusuf Hamadānī, having studied fiqh at Baghdad and being connected with the Naḥaṭī law school, spent his time between the cities of Merv and Harrāt in Khūzestān. He was initiated into Sūfism by Abū ‘Alī Fārmādī and a family of eastern Anatolia, originally from Ghurtūn in the Bukhara oasis, and studied in Bukhara. He soon evinced an interest in silent dhikr, to which he was initiated in a dream by the prophet Khwādghagan. The great merit of Ghudjduwānī was to have stated succinctly and codified, in the form of the eight adages or rules called "Holy Sayings", kalimat-i wakfiyya, the essentials of Khwādghagan doctrine and thought. Bahā’-dīn Nakshbandī enriched these eight rules with new ones, the whole making up his famous "Eleven Rules" of the Nakshbandiyya, adopted and made the subject of lengthy commentaries by adepts of the order right up to the present day.

At the time of Abū al-Khitāb, the "Holy Sayings" had the following eight rules which, if followed, enabled the Sūfī to concentrate his attention and to organise for himself the contemplative life. Abū al-Khitāb seems to have given preference to four of the rules, and these were the subject of a special commentary by such a Nakshbandī author as Ahmad Khwādghagan Kāsānī (d. 949/1542; see his Risāla-yi ṣahāli kalima, ms. 501/XVI, Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies, Tagkent). The four rules were: (1) "assuming awareness in breathing", ḥikr dar ādam; (2) "observation of one’s steps", nazar dar kadam; (3) "journeying in the homeland", safar dar vostāv; and (4) "taking up a position of retreat within society", khānwāt dar omdānum. The remaining four rules were: (5) "retaining in memory", yād kard; (6) "return [to God]", bāz gash; (7) "maintaining awareness", nāzih dāgh; and (8) "keeping in mind", yād dāgh.

Nevertheless, the Khwādghagan movement had no doctrinal unity or agreement regarding the mystical exercises, and far from remaining united, Ghudjduwānī’s disciples split into several rival groups after his death. One of these groups became known as the Abū al-Khitābinī, "the founder’s partisans". The main Khwādghagan who figure in the Nakshbandī order’s silsila after Ghudjduwānī are: Ārif Riwāgarī (d. 649/1251); Mahmūd ʿAdīr Faghmawī (d. 710/1310); Allī ʿĀzīzī Ramīnānī (d. 716/1316 or 721/1321); Muḥammad Bābā-yi Sammānī (d. 755/1354); and Sayyīd Amīr Kulaī (d. 771/1370). Despite the importance laid on it by Ghudjduwānī, to be likewise stressed by Bahā’-dīn Nakshbandī, silent dhikr was not followed by all Khwādghagan circles. These circles developed a strong criticism of Sūfī movements contemporary with themselves and which they used to describe as corrupt. Above all, the Khwādghagan held fast to a strict regard for the traditions of Islam, as reported in the Qushqāhāʾ ʿayn al-hiyāt, where it is stated that Ghudjduwānī encouraged his disciples to study Islamic law and the Ḥadīth, to avoid ignorant Sūfīs (ṣafadīn-i dhāʿ).
14th century and the Manākh of Khu`ada ‘Ali ‘Azzān-ı Ramitani (cf. D. DeWeese and J. Paul, below, in Bibl.), which are, at the present time, the two main sources on the practices and doctrines of the Khwaja ‘Adjağān before Baha` al-Dîn Nakşband. The Khwaja ‘Adjağān were mainly divided by the questions of ginâ and桩m retreat (khāwan). In Bâhâ al-Dîn the group was headed by ‘Arif Rifwâtîyî had good relations with that headed by Awdîyâ Kaybi, but these deteriorated after the death of the former because his successor, Mâbûd Angîr Faghnaîi, made the group adopt the open, vocal ginâ. The sources also tell us that Baha` al-Dîn Nakşband, who had been initiated into ginâ khâf of ‘Abd al-Khalîk Ghudjîwândî in a dream, came into conflict with his own master, Sayyîd Khûlîî, who was personally a proponent of ginâ ginâ. Ghudjîwândî’s followers practised ginâ during which they held their breath, whilst concentrating on their yanqî’s heart, keeping their eyes closed, lips pressed together and tongue up against the palate. Amongst certain of the Khwaja ‘Adjağān, music and dancing were not formally proscribed. Likewise, khîlîkî, rejected by ‘Abd al-Khalîk as also rejected, later, by Baha` al-Dîn Nakşband, was nevertheless adopted by some members of the order; it was done in a darkened cell, where the adept had to struggle with his self by means of a physical expression attributed to ‘Abd al-Khalîk, “close your door to khîlîkî, but open it to spiritual companionship (sukha)”, shows the position of the early Khwaja ‘Adjağâns on this subject and further reveals that ‘Abd al-Khalîk attributed a major importance to sukha, mystical discourse with the spiritual master, which was to become an essential feature for the Nakşbändîyya. Like ‘Ali ‘Azzân-ı Ramitani, ‘Abd al-Khalîk was opposed to the institution of Sûfî communal life par excellence, the khâlah, but it is known that there existed amongst Sayyîd Amîr Khûlîî’s disciples a form of association, whose precise nature is not clear, a djâmâ’a at-khâna “house for social gatherings”.

The Khwaja ‘Adjağâns nevertheless remained essentially united in face of the other Sûfî currents in Central Asia, against the Kalandars [q.v.] and, in particular, against the Yasawî groups, whom they castigated for their lack of respect for the precepts of Islam. In sum, everything which symbolised Sûfî community was rejected from a khâlah to the derwîsh cloak (khîrak).

The Khwaja ‘Adjağâns were little attracted by asceticism, even if some of them preached abandonment of the secular world, tark-i dânp, and encouraged khîlîkî, and Ramitani went so far as to recommend that the Sûfîs should have a trade (hiya), a feature later found amongst the Nakşbändîyya. In fact, a famous formula popularly attributed to Baha` al-Dîn Nakşband, “the heart should be with God and the hand with some piece of work”, dil ba-yâr ub dast ba-bân, seems to have been inherited from a very similar maxim which one group of Khwaja ‘Adjağâns held as a “Fifth Holy Saying” added to the four first ones: “the heart should be with God and the body in the market”, dil ba-yâr wa tan ba-bân. Another criticism of the Sûfîs on which they were united was rejection of the hereditary succession of shaykhs. This explains why, after the deaths of ‘Abd al-Khalîk and Baha` al-Dîn Nakşband, their communities of disciples split into several groups. In the 8th/14th century, Baha` al-Dîn was unable to unite the various Khwaja ‘Adjağâns groups and was only the master of one group out of many. Even if he did succeed in giving a more homogenous form to the doctrines and practices taught by ‘Abd al-Khalîk, and in retaining as vital principles for his own communi-
Transoxania and came to Altishahr at an unspecified moment (between 990/1582 and 999/1591) where he stayed for some years; he died in Samarkand in 1007/1599. He left behind an already powerful organisation that was to become the Black Mountain faction [1102-1125]. Very much like their counterparts in Transoxania, the representatives of Khwādja Ikhwān acted as intermediaries between the Caghatayid rulers and between the rulers, the begs and their subjects. They acquired considerable wealth (pious foundations, waqfs, and donations, miazmand) on which their influence rested as well as on the communal affiliations of settled and nomadic communities. Almost from the start, they were active promoters of Islam among the still shamanistic Khirgiz [q.v.], and Kazaks [see KAZAK] (J. Fletcher, Confrontations between Muslim missionaries and nomad believers in the late sixteenth century: notes on four passages from the 'Diyâ' al-qulūb', in Tractata Altera, ed. W. Heissig, Wiesbaden 1976, 167-74). These endeavours must have gone on throughout. Later on, the White Mountain faction was instrumental in spreading Islam to China proper, beginning in the middle of the 17th century. (Fletcher, The Naqshbandiya in northwestern China, in his Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia, ed. B. Manz, Variorum, Aldershot 1995, no. XI, 1-66; this book also contains reprints of other relevant published texts by Fletcher).

It was unusual that a ruler came to occupy an elevated position in the spiritual hierarchy. This was, however, the case with Muhammad Khān (r. 999-1018/1591-1609), who is even said to have been the Axis (kutb) Shāh Mahmūd Čūrās, Tārīḵ (Kronika), ed. O.A. Akmuqghin, Moscow 1976 [Pamantani pis-memnosti sostoka, 45]). But apart from this, leadership in the Black as well as White Mountain group seems to have been hereditary, this principle extending even to the khwādja and sometimes to affiliations as well. The spiritual organisation adapted itself to the strongly localised political system of Altishahr: a city oasis governed by members of the ruling family or leading men of certain clans, with sometimes only nominal overlordship of the paramount khan. The cities all had their khwādjas. Whereas the centre of the Black Mountain faction was at Yarkand [q.v.], where the khan also had his capital, the White Mountain faction centred on Kashgar [q.v.].

The Ishakīya Khwādjas did not achieve a monopoly of spiritual guidance, however; at least in the north and northeast of Altishahr and beyond in the area where the Caghatayid rulers held sway, other (sometimes local) groups were also active (in Kuljā: see Masami Hamada, De l'autorité religieuse au pouvoir politique: la révolte de Kūta'i et Khwādja Raghatan, in M. Gabornieau, G. Vemstein and Th. Zarcone (eds.), Naqshbands. Cheminement et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman, Paris-Istanbul 1990, 455-89, in Turfan, the local shrine of Alpātā/Alfātā; see Akmuqghin, op. cit., 165). To what extent other brotherhoods were active in the region remains open to question.

The Ishkīya supremacy did not last long. Sometime before the middle of the 17th century, another descendant of Makhdūm-i Aqmān made his appearance in Altishahr in the person of Muhammad Yusuf (d. 1618/1619), son of Muhammad Amīn, the elder son of Makhdūm-i Aqmān. He was able to gain a foothold in Kashgar and soon became influential with the Caghatayi khān. As a result of the rivalries that surrounded and followed his death, his son Hidżāyat Allāh, better known as Khwādja Alīkh ("Master of the Horizons", whence the name by which the White Mountain faction was also known, sc. Afkārīya) was compelled to take flight. The influence he had gained may be seen from the fact that he was given a Moghul (although not Cingisid) princess in marriage. Alīkh then succeeded in persuading Quldan, the Zunghar khān, to mount a campaign against Altishahr. Alīkh was only beginning his career as a conqueror. The report of Muhammad Sādīk that this was achieved due to a letter from the Dalai Lama (the Zunghars had by then become Lamaist Buddhists) should perhaps also be seen as indicative of the view that spiritual leadership should prevail over military (Muhammad Sādīk, Tədrisxan-yi khwādjaqīn, epitome by R. Shaw, A history of the Khogas of Eastern Turkestan, in JASB [1897], extra number, pp. i-xi and 1-67, at 36-7; German version by M. Hartmann, Ein Heiligenstaat im Islam. Das Ende der Caghatiden und die Herrschaft der Chogas in Kalganen, in Der islamische Orient. Berichte und Forschungen, vi-ix, Berlin 1905, 195-374, at 210-2). The Zunghars conquered Altishahr and reinstated Khwādja Alīkh as their viceroy (r. 1090-1105/1679-94). The White Mountain faction now ruled with a degree of independence, but acknowledged Zunghar overlordship, paying them tribute (a comparatively heavy one, according to Fletcher's figures, unp. 16-37, 149-51) and accepting that members of their family be held as hostages. The area under this kind of Khwādja authority cannot have extended much over the four cities of Khotan, Yarkand, Kashghar and Aksu, the Orot Zunghars having established their rule over the northeastern regions already in 1659. Nor had Caghatayid rule come to an end, and even if the newly appointed khan 'Abd al-Raquīd (who married his daughter to Alīkh, who thus became tied to the Cingisid house) was a puppet of the Zunghars, he was influential enough to build a faction together with the ousted Black Mountain followers; his attempt at a Moghul-Black Mountain revival was, however, worsened in 1682-3, and he was replaced by his brother. The White Mountain faction then set out to destroy their Black Mountain opponents, and after the Caghatayid figurehead had died in 1103/1692, they tried to make do without a Moghul khan. In the ensuing strife, the deciding force in the southeastern part of Altishahr came to be the Kirghiz, but it was still a Moghul who called back Khwādja Dāniyāl of the Black Mountain faction. Dāniyāl established himself with Khirgiz help, and until 1125/1713, when the Zunghars re-established their rule under Tsawang Rabtan, the oasis cities were under different nomad-Khwādja coalitions. After Dāniyāl had died ca. 1142/ 1730, the cities of Yarkand, Khotan, Kashghar and Aksu were divided up between his sons, thus furthering localisation. The next turn was induced by an attempt of the Black Mountain faction to break loose of the Zunghars, countered by their appeal to the White Mountain group (1166/1753); fights ensued between the two Khwādja factions, some Khirgiz begs, urban local begs, the nominal Zunghar ruler and his opponent Amursana, who was backed by the Chinese. As a result, the Zunghar empire was taken over by the Manchu Emperors, who consequently also came to be overlords of the Tarim [q.v.] basin as well.

The Khwādjas failed because they were unable to build up a unified leadership, but more importantly still was their failure to gain a military basis of their own, not easily achieved under the circumstances. The resources available in the sedentary oasis economy could hardly support a state apparatus for revenue raising, and revenue was inadequate for building enough military strength to keep the nomads out.
Therefore, throughout this period, military power rested not with the urban-based Khwajas, but essentially with their mainly nomadic Zunghar overlords and, as far as the region itself is concerned, with various Kirghiz groups.

It might appear that after the Chinese conquest of Altishahr, the fate of the Khwajas was sealed, but this was not the case. After the first attempts at restoring White Mountain power had been crushed by the Manchus and their representatives in Altishahr (Amin Khadja of Turfan [q.v.], whose spiritual affiliation is not altogether clear), a period of relative stability ensued, which came to an end in 1820. By this period, the Khokand [q.v.] Khânate had consolidated itself in the Farghana basin, serving as a platform for repeated Khwaja incursions, the last of which occurred as late as the 1820s when Buzurg Khân, together with Ya'kub Beg [q.v.], invaded Kângharia. It was only after the short-lived state of Ya'kub Beg had been crushed in 1878 that the region was incorporated into the Chinese empire under the name of Sinkiang (1884). The Chinese conquest of Syria, in which they collaborated by going over to the Ottomans at the decisive battle of Marjî Dâbîk [q.v.] (25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516). This act of treachery won him his final and supreme promotion, when Selim, before leaving Cairo on 13 Sha'bân 923/ 24 August 1517, appointed him viceroy of Egypt. He held this position until his death on 14 Dhul-Qa'da 928/5 October 1522 and, although he kept up something of the state and usages of the defunct Mamluk sultans, he remained ostentatiously loyal to his Ottoman suzerain. His viceregalty began with the capture and execution of Kâsim Bey [see Kâsim, 4], a grandson of Bâyezîd II, to whom Kânsawâl al-Ghawrî had given asylum. When Süleymân became sultan in 926/1520, and Dânîbîrdî al-Ghazarî [q.v.], the governor of Damascus and his former accomplice at Marjî Dâbîk, rose in revolt, Khârî Beg studiously kept aloof, and prevented disaffected Mamlûks from joining him. Within Egypt, Khârî Beg’s viceregalty witnessed the restoration of stability. The terrorisation of the defected Mamlûks was reversed; they emerged from hiding, and resumed their traditional dress. Relations with the Ottoman troops, who envied their better pay and rations, were naturally uneasy. Although the former hierarchy of rank and office had fallen with the Mamlûk sultane, the old administrative system largely survived, to be codified and perpetuated in the kânûnî-nîme of Egypt, three years after Khârî Beg’s death. Presiding over a crisis of transition in Egypt, Khârî Beg was thus one of the most successful survivors of the old regime.


KHÂRÎ BEG (Khâyîr or Khayîr Bey), the last Mamlûk governor of Aleppo, subsequently first Ottoman viceroy of Egypt. He was the son of Malbây b. ‘Abd Allâh al-Djarjâsî (sic), a Muslim Abaza trader in Circassian lands. He was born at Samsun (on the Black Sea coast within the Ottoman Empire), and his father presented him, although not a slave, with his four brothers to the Mamlûk Sultan al-Ashraf Kâ‘îr Bây [q.v.]. He was enrolled in the Royal Mamlûks, and was formally “emancipated” by the grant of a steed and uniform. He became an amîr of Ten in 901/1495-6, and subsequently an amîr tabîkhânî, making his first contact with the Ottoman court as an envoy in 903/1498 to announce the accession of al-Nâṣîr Muhammad b. Kâ‘îr Bây to Bâyezîd II. He was promoted amîr of a Hundred by al-Ashraf Dânîbîrât [q.v.], who was appointed governor of Aleppo, where he was regarded as a severe but capable administrator. He was very wealthy, and maintained a large manlûk household as his power-base, significantly including a company of arquebusiers “as in the Ottoman

man armies” (kâmî fi ‘asâkir al-mamlakâ al-râmîyâ: Durr, i/2, 607). To Kânsawâl he must have seemed an overmighty subject, and the sultan unsuccessfully attempted to poison him. His governorship of Aleppo ended with Selim I’s conquest of Syria, in which he colluded by going over to the Ottomans at the decisive battle of Marjî Dâbîk [q.v.] (25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516). This act of treason won him his final and supreme promotion, when Selim, before leaving Cairo on 13 Sha’bân 923/24 August 1517, appointed him viceroy of Egypt. He held this position until his death on 14 Dhul-Qa’dâ 928/5 October 1522 and, although he kept up something of the state and usages of the defunct Mamlûk sultans, he remained ostentatiously loyal to his Ottoman suzerain. His viceregalty began with the capture and execution of Kâsim Bey [see Kâsim, 4], a grandson of Bâyezîd II, to whom Kânsawâl al-Ghawrî had given asylum. When Süleymân became sultan in 926/1520, and Dânîbîrât al-Ghazarî [q.v.], the governor of Damascus and his former accomplice at Marjî Dâbîk, rose in revolt, Khârî Beg studiously kept aloof, and prevented disaffected Mamlûks from joining him. Within Egypt, Khârî Beg’s viceregalty witnessed the restoration of stability. The terrorisation of the defected Mamlûks was reversed; they emerged from hiding, and resumed their traditional dress. Relations with the Ottoman troops, who envied their better pay and rations, were naturally uneasy. Although the former hierarchy of rank and office had fallen with the Mamlûk sultane, the old administrative system largely survived, to be codified and perpetuated in the kânûnî-nîme of Egypt, three years after Khârî Beg’s death. Presiding over a crisis of transition in Egypt, Khârî Beg was thus one of the most successful survivors of the old regime.


KHÂL’ (a’), the verbal noun from the verb khal’a “to take off (a garment), to remove, to discharge from an office, to depose” (sc. ‘an ‘amâlihî, Lane, i, 2, 790a), “to dethrone (e.g. a ruler),” is the technical term for deposition. The modern Arabic term is khâla’t min al-sâlîr or tâla’a min al-marânah.

(i) Historical development. There are many cases of deposition or forced abdication throughout the course of Islamic History, e.g. in the Umayyad period (cf. Mu’tawwiyî I, 6/684 and Ibîrîhîm, 126/744) and especially in ‘Abbasîd times. During this period, about a quarter of the rulers were deposed or forced to abdicate, pressured by the de facto ruling military leaders, after years of military disaster and misrule through favourites who had amply demonstrated the incompetence of the caliphs. The unstable caliphs, many of whom had something of a genius for making bad situations worse, inevitably stimulated the claims of usurpers. After the war between the brothers al-‘Amin and al-Mâ’mûn, who each declared the other deposed [see Sâmîrî, (Vol. IV, 940a)], the situation culminated in the anarcistic period of Sâmîrî and continued under Bûyîd rule (529-447/932-1055) and that of their
successors, the Saldjuk sultans of Irak and western Persia (447-590/1055-1194), in whose hands the caliph was but a mere tool. The majority of the 'Abbāsid caliphs were forced to abdicate, e.g. al-Musta'za in 252/866 and his two successors, the Saldjuk sultans of Irak and western Persia (447-590/1055-1194), in whose hands the caliph was but a mere tool. The majority of the 'Abbāsid caliphs were forced to abdicate, e.g. al-Musta'za in 252/866 and his two successors, and al-Muhtadr the following year. Often the military leaders forced them, sometimes brutally, to abdicate, issuing an elaborate, sometimes falsified, document of the deposition, accusing them of treason, oath-breaking, etc., and insisting on a formal, written document of abdication. This act, considered as an essential part of the deposition process and registered officially by the judges, aimed at the nullification of the oath of allegiance. The forced abdication was accompanied by symbolic acts such as the taking off of clothes or shoes (cf. in the Old Testament, Ruth, iv. 7; see Goldräher, Abhandlungen i, 47-8), or turbans, or rings, and the anointing of the insignia. Thus deprived of the sovereign dignity, the deposed caliph had to pay homage to his tractable successor, who was speedily installed. Often kept prisoner thereafter, many rulers were murdered, usually by rivals and relatives, or installed. Often kept prisoner thereafter, many rulers were murdered, usually by rivals and relatives, or installed. The utterance fitadbir ahl al-islam, ed. H. Kofer, in Islamica, vi [1934], 349-414, vii [1935], 1-64, and [1938], 18-129, see ch. 1, § 3, and ch. 2, § 7). Other than a single passage in al-Fārābī's work on the perfect state (Mūhabbāt 'arī ‘ahl al-mutawâ al-firdās, ed. F. Dieterici, Leipzig 1894, repr. 1964, ch. 29, 63, tr. F. Dieterici, Leipzig 1900, 100, ed. R. Walzer, Oxford 1985, 258, tr. R.P. Jaussen et alii, Cairo 1949, ch. 29, 87), the sources of political theory contain no distinction in the two bodies of the ruler, the visible individual and the objective institution, as in medieval European theories; see the exhaustive study of E. Kantorowicz, Die zwei Körper des Königs. Eine Studie zur politischen Theologie des Mittelalters, 2 Munich 1994, esp. 385.


KHAL, 'ABD AL-GHAFFAR (1890-1988), Pathan leader and politician. He was born at 'Udhamzay in the Peshawar district of the North West Frontier province of British India, his father Bahram Khan of the Muhammadzay clan being a wealthy landowner and the chief Khan of his village Hashstanagar. Educated first at a Kur'an school in North West Frontier province, out of the Punjab in 1901 to strengthen border security. The problem was that the British, given the province's strategic role and
the relative backwardness of its people, were unwilling to give it the political advancement which had been given to the rest of India. To remedy this situation, ‘Abd al-Ghaffar founded in 1928 the Pakhtun, the first political journal in Paktia/Paqhta, and in 1929, the KhudaYY Khdmtgar or “Servants of God” organisation, Khudayy Khidmtgar, whose aim was the uniform of a red shirt, did both social service and political tasks. ‘Abd al-Ghaffar’s second guiding principle was non-violence. His Khudayy Khidmtgdr, though drilled in a military fashion, bore no arms and vowed to be non-violent, while he cooperated closely with India’s leading apostle of non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi; in 1940, for instance, he resigned from the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress when it rejected a pacifist stance in World War II. Not once throughout a long life of protest did ‘Abd al-Ghaffar betray this principle, a remarkable fact given the warlike and vengeful traditions of his people.

From the early 1930s onwards, ‘Abd al-Ghaffar was the most influential figure amongst the Pathans, and between 1931 and 1947 he led large numbers of them in support of the Indian National Congress. From 1931, his Frontier Afghan Dilruga [q.v. in Suppl.] became the Frontier Congress, and the Khuday Khidmtgdr, the Congress Volunteers who were the uniformed, and largely responsible for bringing Congress ministries to power in the Province between 1937 and 1947. But why did these Pathans, staunch Muslims to a man, support the Congress which revealed, on occasion, strong elements of Hindu revivalism? The great personal influence of ‘Abd al-Ghaffar and his close relations with Gandhi and Nehru played some part. The power of the Congress in India played the major part, however: it offered the best chance of promoting Pakhtun, Afghan interests—of winning provincial autonomy, of establishing a Pathan state, Pakhtunistan, although this idea was never seriously proposed.

Within Pakistan, ‘Abd al-Ghaffar fought for the establishment of a Pathan state, Pakhtunistan, although the area which it should include, and the degree of autonomy which it should have, remained ill-defined. He was not able to publish the Pakhtun, the Khudayy Khidmtgdr organisation was banned, and he spent most of his remaining days either in prison or in exile. In January 1988 he died at Peshawar but was buried in Sâmarra’. He was nominated by the former tutor of the caliph al-Mu’tazz [q.v.], with eight other scholars, for judgehips. But they were accused by palace personnel of being members of secessionist groups, so the caliph ordered their expulsion to Baghdad, and al-Khassaf was attacked by a mob (al-Tabari, iii, 1685). Following the deposition of al-Mu’azz in 255/869, and the start of the brief rule of al-MuhtadT (255-6/869-70 [q.v.]), al-Khassaf was brought back to the caliphal court as the court lawyer. It was during this period that he wrote a book about khordaj [q.v.], which unfortunately has been lost. Other books were also lost when his possessions were plundered following the murder of his patron, al-MuhtadT.

Ibn al-Nadmir, tr. Dodge, i, 509, says that al-Khassaf advocated the doctrines of the Djamhiyya [q.v.]. Since it is known that some Hanafis advocated these doctrines, it is not unreasonable that al-Khassaf was one of them.

In the descending order of seven ranks of Hanafi jurists in the practice of idbiht [q.v.], al-Khassaf has been placed in the third, following the first rank of Abi Hanifa and the second rank of Abi Yusuf and Muhammand b. al-Hasan al-Shaybani [q.v.]. Jurists of the third rank elucidated problems (ma’as’i) not previously covered by jurists of higher rank (see Tahqiv al-yazidy, Tahqiv al-‘ihsani, Mawlid 1954, 8-10). His books, according to Ibn al-Nadmir, included the following: (1) K. al-Khordaj, which has been lost. (2) K. al-Hijay wa i-makhdarij. This book, which deals with legal devices and stratagems, was edited by Schacht, Hanover 1923, but Schacht thought that the book was written in the 4th/10th century and retrospectively attributed to al-Khassaf. An earlier printing appeared in Cairo in 1314/1896. (3) A. Khâlam al-‘asatidî, Cairo 1322/1904, and a later and authoritative treatise on usul. (4) K. al-Najjabî, ed. Abu ‘I-Walî’ al-Afghani, Haydarabåd 1349/1929 and Beirut 1404/1984. (5) K. Abad al-kâdi, which has been the subject of no less than ten commentaries (Hadjjdî Khaliﬁa, i, 72-3) including the commentary by Ahmad b. Alî al-Djasâs, ed. Farhat J. Ziadeh, Cairo 1978, and that by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azîz b. Maza, ed. Moust Hâlâl al-Sirhî, Baghdad 1978. Other works mentioned by Ibn al-Nadmir, and not yet discovered/edited, may be looked up in Ibn al-Nadmir, tr. Dodge, i, 509-10.


AL-KHA’SSAF, Abd BAKR Ahmad B. ‘AMIR (‘Umar) b. Muhayr (Mahr? also Mîhrân and Mîhrwân) al-Shaybânî al-Khâsâf (d. 261/874), famous Hanafi jurist in the practical fields of wakiî, hijîal [q.v.], or legal stratagems and devices, and abad al-kâdi, or laws of procedure and evidence. The sources speak of him as an expert also in the law of inheritance. He transmitted the doctrines of the Hanafi school from his father, who had transmitted them from Hasan b. Ziyád (d. 204/819-20) and Abî Yusuf [q.v.], the students of Abî Hanifa. He was also known as a student and transmitter of hadîth from no less than twenty scholars.

His family background, as well as the names of his father and grandfather, cannot be definitively determined, although the possible names of his grandfather suggest a Persian ancestry, as a client of the Arab tribe of Shaybân [q.v.]. In early life he must have worked as a cobbler (khassaf), since most sources say he lived off this calling. His scholarly endeavours nevertheless attracted the attention of the ‘Abbasid court, then in Sâmarra’. He was nominated by the former tutor of the caliph al-Mu’tazz [q.v.], with eight other scholars, for judgehips. But they were accused by palace personnel of being members of secessionist groups, so the caliph ordered their expulsion to Baghdad, and al-Khassaf was attacked by a mob (al-Tabari, iii, 1685). Following the deposition of al-Mu’tazz in 255/869, and the start of the brief rule of al-MuhtadT (255-6/869-70 [q.v.]), al-Khassaf was brought back to the caliphal court as the court lawyer. It was during this period that he wrote a book about khordaj [q.v.], which unfortunately has been lost. Other books were also lost when his possessions were plundered following the murder of his patron, al-MuhtadT.

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KHATMIYYA [see MIQDÂNHAYYA]

KHA’TT vi. In Chinese Islam.

The evolution of the calligraphic art over almost a millennium amongst Chinese adherents of Islam (those now called the Hui) reflects the history of the implantation of Islam in China and its Sinicisation. During the first centuries of its presence in China,
when this new faith was the achievement of merchants and of emigrants, temporary or permanent, coming from the Near East, Central Asia, Persia and India and mainly settled on the southern coasts of China, the texts written in Arabic, Persian or Chinese are the found inscriptions and literary works. Some date from the 12th century, but most are from the 13th and 14th centuries, the period when the Mongol rulers of China recruited foreigners for governing their Chinese subjects. They are first of all in an ornamental Kufic and, later, in rounded characters—specimens of what one might call muhakkak, or rasmi, or rihân (see the corpus of some 200 examples existing in southeastern China made by a Chinese Islamic scholar, Chen Dasheng, and by an Arabic epigrapher, French by adoption, Ludvik Kalus, Corpus d'inscriptions arabes et persanes en Chine, I. Province de Fujian, Paris 1991). But from the 15th century onwards, funerary inscriptions are in Chinese, bearing witness to the integration of foreigners within the enveloping Chinese environment.

However, it was inevitable that, in a land where, in association with poetry, calligraphy was par excellence the art of cultivated persons, the Muslims should develop a personal calligraphic art there, if they were in possession of their own literature. They themselves characterise their calligraphic hands (see [in Chinese]
Ch’en Chih-hui/Chen Jinbui, Shih-lun al-a-lo-sa-fu-tsoi Chung-kue Mu-szu-lun-ch’ung te ch’uan-yo yu fu-ch’uan/Sihun, aloho shufai zai Zhanggongshin Muslim zhonghe chuwan yu fazhan ["On the dissemination and development of Arabic calligraphy among Chinese Muslims"], in Shih-chih tiang-chao yün-chia/Shijie zhongguo yanjiu, 1994, no. 2, 96-9) in terms of the actual instrument used for writing, whether it was bamboo reed or, more often, a brush made from the hairs of various animals, or in terms of a style inspired by Kufic, nastîfli, thulût or "Persian" (i.e. probably nastalîk). But these styles are, in fact, so strongly marked by Chinese influence that they speak of a "Chinese style" of their Arabo-Persian calligraphy, whence a cursive script which imitates the Chinese writing "of grass" (t’ien-liu-ch’ien2), one almost unreadable for the uninstructed.

Another, more realistic, classification, operates substantively in terms of support for the writing and, consequently, of its destination. Books entirely in Arabic or Persian are extremely rare, Islamic literature being generally written in pure Chinese. Nevertheless, the Mission d’Ollone, which explored Western China during 1906-9, reported from the strongly Islamised region of Kansu [q.v./] that the existence of some ten manuscripts in Persian, locally written and in a good nastâ’î hand of the 18th or 19th century, and two in nastalîk (see Mission d’Ollone, Recherches sur les musulmans chinois, Paris 1911, 284-93, or in RMÉ, viii-ix [1909]). Of a wider distribution, there are, from the 19th century, cheap, bilingual publications, in which the Arabic words, glossing the Chinese words and themselves accompanied by an approximate phonetic "transcription" in Chinese characters, are in a clumsy script (arising from the difficulty that Chinese engravers find in preparing plates for impression in the Arabic alphabet and, probably also, because of an imperfect education in local Kur’ân schools). Books where the Chinese characters are in a deformed state in imitation of Arabic characters are especially curious.

The type of calligraphy of which the Chinese Muslims are excessively fond, in the 1900s more often than not, is a stylised, decorative calligraphy in which "calligraphy and design make up a single whole (shu-hua he-i-shu-hua heyi)" and which plays a role at the same time both propitiatory and displaying identity. These may be on paper, at the head of certain publications; or, above all, in the form of the so-called "designs of Kur’ânic letters" (chung-tzu-hsin/jingzhuan), with a composite Sino-Arabic technique and model, often found in vertical decoration (causing an extreme distortion of the Arabic script) or in a band in the centre of the prayer room, either in two parallel bands here and there in the mosque’s mihrâb [q.v.] or the prayer corner in a private house, or else in four bands put together on screens. In passing judgement on a piece of decorative calligraphy in Arabic characters, the believers are unconcerned about the form of the letters or the deformations necessary to fit them within a geometrical figure or to form the silhouette of an auspicious Chinese character; they make, rather, a general judgement using the same ideas with which they would judge a piece of Chinese calligraphy. Hence they recognise the use of the "northern style" for what is vigorous, and the more supple "southern style", of the northwest being the most distinguished. In China, calligraphy, however Arabic it may be, forms an undeniable role in making up the Chinese culture of believing beings.


FRANÇOISE AUBIN

KHAWLA BT. ḤAKIM b. Umayya b. Ḥārīğa al-Sulaymîa, an early supporter of Muḥammad’s cause at Mecca and an associate of his.

She was the daughter of a man of Sulaym [q.v.] who had come to Mecca and had become a confederate there of ‘Abd Manâf, and of a woman of ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manâf; hence Khawla was related maternally to the Prophet himself. She was an early convert to the new teaching, in company with her husband, the ascetic ‘Uṯmân b. Maṣ‘ūn [q.v.]. When he died in 3/624-5, Khawla is said to have “offered herself” (wababat nafsah) to Muḥammad, but the latter “put her off” (anjarahab). She plays a role in Muḥammad’s liturgy as the person who looked after him when Khâlid al-Ju’fârī [q.v.] died and who counselled him to marry the child virgin Ṭashīa and the widow Sawda b. Zam‘a [q.v.].

Khawla b. Ḥakîm flourished in the early Aḥnûdîan period in post-Alamût Nizârî history, when the Nizârî da’în and literary activities had begun to revive under the direct leadership of the Nizârîs themselves. In fact, Khawla b. Ḥakîm represents the second most important literary figure, after Ṭabîb Bischârî, in the contemporary Nizârî Ismâ’îlî community; and his works are invaluable for understanding the Aḥnûdîan revival in Nizârî Ismâ’îlism and the Nizârî doctrine of the time.

KHAYRKHâ‘I—HARÂTî, MUHAMMAD RIDA b. SULTÂN HUSAYN, Nizârî Ismâ’îlî dâ‘i and author. Born into a leading Nizârî Ismâ’îlî family in Ghûrîyân near Harât, in present-day Afghanistan, towards the end of the 9th/15th century, Muhammad Rida b. Khâdîja Sulṭân Husayn Ghûrîyânî, better known as Khayrkhâ‘I—Hârâtî, died not long after 960/1553, the latest date mentioned in his writings. Thus Khayrkhâ‘I—Hârâtî flourished in the early Aḥnûdîan period in post-Alamût Nizârî history, when the Nizârî da’în and literary activities had begun to revive under the direct leadership of the Nizârîs themselves. In fact, Khayrkhâ‘I represents the second most important literary figure, after Aḥbâb Isâkî, in the contemporary Nizârî Ismâ’îlî community; and his works are invaluable for understanding the Aḥnûdîan revival in Nizârî Ismâ’îlism and the Nizârî doctrine of the time.
A cheap production, from Shantung/Shandong in 1874, in which the Arabic gloss (comprehensible by turning the book through 90°) has a supergloss of a transcription of the Arabic with the help of Chinese characters the Chiao-k’uan chiai-yao/Jiaokuan jieyao ("Quick résumé of the articles of the Faith") by Ma Po-liang/Ma Boliang, 1678.
A small Qur’anic manual from 1912, in which the Chinese script tries to resemble Arabic writing.

Examples of different types of artistic calligraphy made, as is stated in the lower part of the illustration, by the imām (ahong) Chang Kuo-chiin/Zhang Guojun, of the mosque of Yang-ch’i’ao-chen/Yangqiaozheng ("town of the Yang bridge"), in the sub-prefecture (hsien/xian) of Chien-ch’iian/Jianquan in Anhui/Anhui province. In the centre, on the left-hand side, the Chinese seal of Chang Kuo-chiin stands instead of a signature, according to Chinese custom (illustration taken from the journal of the Islamic Association of the PRC, the Chung-kuo Mu-ssu-lin/^hongguo Musilin (1995), no. 6, at p. 45.)
Written by a celebrated calligrapher of the present time, an imām (in Chinese, ahong) of Tientsin/Tianjin, Liu Ch‘ang-ming/Liu Changming (b. 1927), the Chinese character, above all auspicious, shou/shou, is formed by the upright shafts of the Arabic letters. The artist's signature is given in Arabic below, and above, with a Chinese seal (work dating from 1985).
In the autobiographical section of his Risāla, Khayrkhwāh relates how his father, a dādī in the Harāt region, was murdered by brigands whilst on a journey to see the imām in Andijān near Mahlabat. Subsequently, the Nizārī imām, probably Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1009/1600), better known as Shāh Gharbī, appointed Khayrkhwāh, then only twelve years old,general, to the position of the chief dātī or khudāinan, then more commonly designated as ḫār of Khurasān and Badakhshān. Khayrkhwāh also visited the Nizārī imām of the time at Andijān and has preserved unique details in his Risāla on how the imām managed the affairs of the Nizārī dā'a in his headquarters in Persia.

Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī was a prolific writer and his works, all written in Persian, have been largely preserved by the Nizārī Isfāḥānī communities of Badakhshān (now divided between Afghanistān and Tādzhikistān), Hunzā and other northern areas of Pakistan. Khayrkhwāh also composed poetry under the pen-name (takhallus) of Ghanbf, based on the name of his contemporary Nizārī imām. His writings include Fāṣīr dār bāyan-i ḥaqqīkāt-i imām (ed. and tr. W. Ivanow in his Ismā'ili, in Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, viii [1922], 1-49; later editions and translations of this work by L. Ivanow in Islamic Research Association series, no. 4, Bombay 1935, introd.), attributing it to Nasir-i Khusrav in order to enhance its popularity among the Nizārī communities of Persia and Central Asia. 


KHODJAS (see KHODJAS, in Supp.).

KHODJA-ZADE, Muṣṭafā al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Yūsuf, born into a well-to-do family in Bursa, was one of the leading Ottoman scholars of the 9th/15th century. Among others he studied with Khādir Beg [q.v.], and began his career as kādi in Kastāl under Murād II [q.v.]. After 857/1453 he was appointed a private teacher of Meḥmēned II and held high positions in the law administration (kādi 'askar [q.v.], kādi in Edirne and Istanbul) and in the educational system of the empire (professor at the Sultānīyun in Bursa and in Istanbul). After 1470, following intrigues at the court, he was removed to İznik. Under Bāyezīd II [q.v.] he was rehabilitated and reappointed as professor and mufti [q.v.] in Bursa, where he died in 893/1489.

Most of his works have been lost, but those which have survived show the high level of his knowledge as well as of the educational system at the Ottoman universities in the 9th/15th century. Among the works that have survived are publications on the following subjects: (a) Grammar: a commentary on al-Zanjānī's al-'izzī fi 'l-tasni' (evidently composed as a textbook for Meḥmēned II); (b) Fikr: 1. Glosses to al-Taʿfāz̄ānī's commentary on Maḥbūbīn's Tānārī. 2. Glosses on al-Djurjānī's glosses on al-Idījī's commentary on Ibn al-Hādījīn's maqāṣīd al-ʿādām; (c) Kalām: 1. Commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's Tawāṣ̄ūl al-anwār; 2. Glosses on al-Khayālī's glosses on al-Taʃṭāz̄ānī's commentary on al-Nasā'īn's ʿĀkāla; 3. Glosses on al-Djurjānī's commentary on al-Idījī's muḥākaf (this last work of Khodja-zade, apparently unfinished, is critical of al-Djurjānī); (d) Philosophy: 1. Glosses on Mawātīnī-zade's commentary on al-Abhāhīn's Hīdāyat al-hikmā. 2. Commentary on al-Urmāwīn's Muṭtābil al-anwār.

Khodja-zade's fame here is above all based on a work called Tahājūt al-falāsīfā (printed in Cairo in 1321/1903-4, together with the Tahājūt of al-Ghzālī and the Tahājūt al-tahājūt of Ibn Rushd). The work was written at the instigation of Meḥmēned II, who organised a competition between Khodja-zade and 'Alā al-Dīn Tūsī to answer the question who had been right in the dispute between al-Ghzālī and Ibn Rushd. Khodja-zade gave a politic answer. Basically he sided with al-Ghzālī but corrected the latter's views on several points at the same time, he emphasised that only the less important philosophers had made mistakes, while Ibn Rushd had a thorough command of his subject. This compromising attitude apparently carried approval, for Khodja-zade was not only proclaimed winner by Meḥmēned II, but his Tahājūt al-falāsīfā was still much read in the 10th/16th century and commented upon by several authors, among whom Kemāl-Paşa-zade [q.v.].

umma [q.v.] and its faith and for upholding the Prophetic heritage, should come from Kuraysh, a feeling later crystallised in a hadith attributed to the Prophet, "authority shall not depart from this tribe of Kuraysh."

It was Abu Bakr who first adopted the title of khalifat Rasul Allah "successor of the Messenger of God", with the implication of a necessity for the caliph to uphold and to further the Prophet's heritage; for the genesis of the title and its early development, see Khilafa (I).

The three decades of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs saw the extraordinary expansion of the small Arab Muslim community based on Medina as the mudātillu or warriors overran the outlying parts of the Arabian peninsula, Sāsamān 'Irāq and Persia, and Byzantine Palestine, Syria and Egypt. By the time of 'Ali's death, the Arabs were already raiding across the Oxus and into southern Afghanistan in the east, and Armenia or warriors overran the outlying parts of the Arabian peninsula. The military role became the requisite for full membership of the new community, creating the entitlement to share in its privileges [see 'Ā'īn; Dīwan, I]. The longer-term financial stability of the new state was ensured by the ruling authority's utilisation of a considerable proportion of the booty captured from the conquered lands for state and community purposes rather than it being shared out among the warriors and thereby dissipated [see BAYT AL-MAL; FAY'; QĀSHĀMA]. Hence by the end of the period of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, the Islamic community was no longer a purely Arabian affair but was well established outside the peninsula. Although the Muslims were for long a minority in the conquered lands, the bases were being laid for the slow transformation of the societies of the conquered lands and their religious complexes. A pointer to this new orientation of the Muslim state was 'Ali's move of the capital from Medina to the new military encampment of Kufa in 'Irāq; it was never to return to Arabia which, while remaining the locational focus for the Muslim cult, became from the political point of view, increasingly peripheral.

The end of 'Uthmān's reign and the whole of that of 'Ali's were marked by religio-political disension. 'Uthmān's murder accordingly inaugurated for the community a period of fitna [q.v.] or internecine strife, out of which eventually emerged such groups as the Khārijījēs and the Shi'ā [q.v.]. Hence the preceding part of the age of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs came in later times to be regarded through a nostalgic haze as a Golden Age of early Islam, when the community was undivided. The period was invested with the pristine virtues of piety, simplicity, justice, equality of all (male, free) Muslim believers, all the more so as later pietistic, traditionalist circles contrasted it with what they regarded as the worldly-oriented mulk of the later 'Abbāsid kalifahs, and especially Harūn al-Rashīd and al-Amin, who, in the Khilafah palace, and the latter tried to escape by water from its riverside quay when Tahir's [q.v.] b. al-Husayn's attackers were about to break into the city in 198/813 (al-Tabari, iii, 917 ff.). It suffered badly from Tahir's bombardment, and al-Ma'mūn stayed elsewhere on his first visit to Baghdad from the East in 204/819. The seat of the caliphate was moved to Sāmarrā' some fifteen years later, and the Khilafah palace must thenceforth have become completely ruinous; when, at the end of the century, al-Mut'ādīd moved back to Baghdad he occupied palaces on the eastern side. The site was only re-used when in 368/979 the Bāyād 'Aṣād al-Dawla built there his Bīrārīstān or hospital.

It was built by the founder of the new capital Baghdad, al-Mansūr [q.v.], in 158/775 on the west bank of the Tigris outside the walled Round City, possibly on the site of a former Christian monastery (al-Tabarl, iii, 273; Yakūt, Budān, ed. Beirut, ii, 382). It was strategically placed between the two great military areas of the Harbiyya and al-Rusafa on the east of Arak/Sultanabad of Kum in modern Iran (lat. 33° 38' N., long. 50° 09' E.) some 70 km/42 miles to the south-south-east of Arak/Sultanābād [q.v.]. It is unmentioned in the mediaeval Islamic geographers, but now has fame as the birthplace of the Ayātallāh Ruh Allāh Khumaynī (1902-89 [q.v. in Suppl.]). It is at present administratively in the Shahrastān of Mahāllāt. In ca. 1950 it had a population of 7,938, which in 2003 had risen to 59,300.


**AL-KHULAFĀ’ AL-RĀSHIDŪN — KHUMAYNĪ**
part of the 1930s apparently caused the local police
mentary legislation and the deeds of the monarch.
ix, 15-17). muajtahid
mical, but also in the Persian everyday sense, to extend
the muajtahids had the authority to supervise parlia-
a book written in
some apprehension. Khumayn's entry into the pub-
his formative years in Kum, where as an atypical
of clerics he never forgot nor forgave, encompassed
and in a thousand years.

In the course of the ensuing power struggle of the early 1980s among the partners in the revolutionary
cumayn first appeared on the national political
scene in A.S.H. 1342/1963 as an outspoken critic of the Shafi hierarchy and his reform program. The Shafi character-
ised his movement as "black reaction", and took
pressive measures against it. Khumayn was impris-
oned in June 1963, and demonstrations by his sup-
porters were violently suppressed. He was exiled to
Turkey in November 1964, and moved on to the Shi'i holy cities in 'Iraq. In January 1965 a group of his followers assassinated the Prime Minister, Hasan-
Ali Manşur, with a plan for setting up a "unified
Islamic government". While in exile in Najaf,
khumayn developed his theory of wilayat al-fakih as
the mandate of the jurist to rule, both in a series of
lectures in Persian, which were published in Beirut
in 1970 under the title of Wilayat-i fakih, and in a
work of jurisprudence on transactions, published in
He argued that the rule of a jurist devolves from
the Imam to the mujtahids during the Occultation of the
Twelfth Imam, and, further, that if one of them
were able to exercise that right by establishing a govern-
ment, it would be incumbent upon other mujtahids
to obey him. With this theory made public in cler-
ical circles, Khumayn began to prepare a beleaguered
Shi'i hierarchy for the takeover of a hostile, secular-
ising state. His former students played the leading role
in moving and mobilised many younger cler-
sics from humble rural and small town backgrounds
in opposition to the monarchy and to Western cul-
tural domination. As the leader of the Islamic revo-
olutionary movement, Khumayn assumed the title of
imam, a title reserved for the twelve holy Shi'i Imams
and not used by anyone else in Persian for over a
thousand years.

On the victory of the Islamic revolution, Imam
Khumayn exercised his prerogatives according to the
theory of wilayat al-fakih, in ordering the confiscation
of the property of the Pahlavi family and other indus-
trialists of the old regime as war booty, and in appoint-
ing Mahdi Bazarqan, who represented the liberal and
nationalist elements in the revolutionary coalition, as
provisional prime minister. However, he was careful
not to alienate the followers of the ayatollahs and to
bring clerics and Ideological and linguists, such as Djalal Aki-Ahmad and 'Ali Shar'i'at'i, and did not proclaim a theocratic
government at once. The wilayat al-fakih entered pub-
dic debate only when a clerically-dominated Assembly of Experts was elected, in place of a constituent assem-
ly, and bypassed the draft constitution prepared by the
provisional government to institute theocraticgov-
ernment according to Khumayn's theory. Some of
the features of the original draft were retained, how-
ever, notably the elected president and parliament
(Maqlis), and a Council of Guardians (shara-yi nigah-
bon) which was modified to increase the number and
power of its clerical jurists by giving them the exclu-
sive right to veto any Maqlis enactment they found
in violation of Islamic standards. The new Constitution
was approved by a referendum in December 1979,
shortly after the occupation of the American embassy
and the taking of its staff as hostages and the resig-
nation of the Shah.

In the course of the ensuing power struggle of the early 1980s among the partners in the revolutionary
cumayn sanctioned the violent suppres-
sion of the leftist and secular elements. Despite his
apparent initial disinclination, the Iranian state and
the revolutionary structures were brought under direct
clerical control. Once the revolutionary power strug-
gle ended with the complete victory of his support-
ers, cumayn sought to maintain unity between the
conservative and the radical clerics and their respec-
tive allies, and intervened a number of times to pre-
vent the tilting of the balance of power in favour of the
former. Meanwhile, he oversaw the constitutional
development of the Islamic theocratic republic he had
founded. The failure of a variety of principles drawn from Shi'i jurisprudence, including the distinctions
between primary and secondary commandments
(ahkam) of the Shafi hierarchy and the introduction of a new
category of "governmental (basami) commandments",
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decided to drink “the cup of poison”, and accepted a ceasefire with "Trak on 18 July 1988. Two days later, the 'Trak-based forces of the Islamic radical group, the majdhibdin i khalk, attacked western Iran and were wiped out. In the following weeks, despite the veheemous protest of the Islamic regime, the Fakhrul Islam, the 'Irak-based forces of the Islamic radical forces in 'Irak on 18 July 1988. Two days later, they decided to drink “the cup of poison”, and accepted the execution of about 3,000 Islamic radicals who had already served or were serving sentences given them by revolutionary courts. The incipient collapse of communism in the last year of his life renewed Khamayni's optimism, and in January 1989, he told the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev that he should learn about Islam as communism now belonged to the museum of history. Finally, Khamayni caused another international crisis by issuing an injunction (fatwa) that sanctioned the death of Salman Rushdie, a non-Iranian writer who lived in England.

Khamayni died on 14 Khur'dad 1368/3 June 1989. He was a charismatic leader of immense popularity. Millions of Iranians massed to welcome him when he returned as the Imam from exile in 1979, and a million or more joined his funeral procession after he died ten years later.
minors who have no father, (4) the indigent (masakin), who correspond to the "poor and indigent" of Qur'an, IX, 60 [see Zakat, 5. xj], and (5) the traveller, defined as for zakat (cf. al-Bajuri, al-Hakim 'alä Ibn Khish al-'Assir, ed. Cairo, ii, 274). After the Prophet's death, his share and that of his family lapsed according to the Hanafis, who appeal to the practice of the first four caliphs as evidence for this view (K. al-Kharaj, 19). The Hanafis do, however, give preference to indigent members of the Prophet's family under the remaining three classes, in recognition of their ineligibility to receive zakat [see Zakat, 5. xi]. The Malikis regard the classes named in Qur'an, VIII, 41, as illustrative (Ibn Rushd, al-Mukaddimah, ed. Haddjji, Beirut 1408/1988, i, 357) and treat the entire khamis as fai [q.e.] to be expended upon the needs of the Muslims as the ruler sees fit (Sahnun, al-Mudawwana, ed. Muhammad, Beirut 1419/1999, ii, 604), a view also adopted by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 652/1254 [q.e.]). They do, however, recommend that distribution of the khamis begin with grants to the Haghmîs (al-Kharsî 'alä mukhtasar Khali, ed. Beirut, iii, 129).

The obligation of paying the khamis is incumbent on Muslims (cf. al-Dardur, al-qurş 'alä al-saghr, ed. Wasfi, Cairo 1912, ii, 306), and the Malikîs, who thus regard the classes named in Qur'an, VIII, 41, as for zakat, do not apply to the expenditure of the share for the needs of the community (al-Ramlî, Qayyat al-haytn, ed. Cairo, 345).

The rules for the khamis apply specifically to ghanima [q.e.], the spoils of war taken by armed force, except according to the Shafiîs (al-Shafi, al-Umm, ed. Cairo, iv, 64; al-Mawardî, al-Hawi al-kabir, ed. Cairo, iii, 247; Ibn Kudâmâ, al-kâfi, ed. al-Shâfi, Beirut 1421/2001, iv, 183), this restriction has been said not to apply to the expenditure of the share for the needs of the community (Malikî, al-istidhâq, ed. Khalîj, Cairo 1414/1993, xiv, 192-3). The rules for the khamis apply in the first instance to moveable property, which includes the captured slaves of the non-Muslim enemy. In the case of combatants taken prisoner and captive women and children, the Malikis do not, while the Hanafis and Hanbals leave the matter of division to the discretion of the ruler. Where the division is of the booty itself, rather than of its sale price, the determination of what constitutes the khamis is made by lot, with a special designation for the khamis (li 'ilâh, li 'mâsikîh, li-raṣil Allah) (al-Wâkidî, ii, 523-4; Ibn Abî Shayba, al-Kutub al-muwaqqif, ed. Nadwî, Bombay 1402/1982, xii, 429-30; al-Ramlî, Nihâyat al-muwâfiq, Cairo 1306/ 1967, vi, 196; al-Hasânî al-Îsandrî, al-Mawdhib al-ajamî, ed. Umarî, Beirut 1416/1995, iv, 584).

There is disagreement as to what extent the ruler can avoid the application of the general rules for the division of the booty, including that of the khamis, by declaring that what each combatant takes is his as a reward (al-Nawwâr wa 'l-ziyadân, iii, 252; Ibn Abî al-Barr, al-Istidhâq, ed. Khalîj, Cairo 1414/1993, xiv, 102-3; Ibn al-Nahhâb, Mağharî al-aṣgharî, ed. 'Afî and Istanbulî, Beirut 1410/1990, ii, 1033-6). According to many Hanafis, the booty taken pursuant to such a general offer of reward (tâjjîl âmm), in the case of a detachment (sârîj), but not the entire army, dispatched from within enemy territory, is not subject to the khamis (al-Qaṣâsî, Abâm al-Kur'ân, ed. Istanbul, iii, 55; Ibn Abî Din, Radd al-muâfarî, Cairo 1386/1966, iv, 155-7; cf. Ibn Nâjiyy, al-Bahr al-râdî, ed. Cairo, v, 92; C. Imber, Ehu 'l-Salih: the Islamic legal tradition, Stanford 1997, 87 [with reference to a declaration of the Ottomans in sultane 1948/1341-2]).

The institution of the khamis appears to have fallen into neglect from an early date. The students of Malik (d. 179/796 [q.e.]) already addressed questions concerning the purchase of slave girls from sellers suspected of not having paid the khamis (al-Nawwâr wa 'l-ziyadân, iii, 215-6; Mawdhib al-âjjâmî, iv, 568-70) as well as the status of privately owned Andalusî estates on which khamis was not known to have been paid at the time of their conquest and, according to the Malikîs, irregular distribution to individuals (al-Nawwâr wa 'l-ziyadân, iii, 364-65). Even revivalist movements such as that of the Almoravids and Almohads found it difficult to ensure consistent implementation of the law of the khamis (J.F.P. Hopkins, Medieval Muslim government in Barca by the ninth century of the hijra, London 1958, 28-9; al-Tajjâjî, al-Isân al-îlâmî fi 'l-îslâm wa-tatbûkhiythu fi 'l-Maghrib, al-Muhammadiyya 1410/532

The booty subject to division does not include food consumed by the combatants or their animals (al-Mudawwana, ii, 612-14; al-Kâshânî, Baddî 'al-sarâ'y, ed. Mu'awwad and 'Abd al-Mawjûd, Beirut 1418/1997, ix, 494-6) nor, during the Prophet's lifetime, such booty as he selected as a personal prize (saft) (K. al-Kharaj, 22-3). The khamis is calculated on the total booty net such expenses as those incurred for its transport and safekeeping, and, according to the Shafiîs and Hanbalis, after subtraction of the clothing, weapons, mounts, and other personal effects (salâb) of enemy soldiers earned by the individual Muslim combatants who have killed or disabled them (cf. Schacht, Origins, 70-1). The Hanafis and Malikîs treat such claims to personal effects as rewards (rafa'), for which they require an express grant by the ruler, preferably, according to the Malikîs, after the battle has ended so as not to compromise the purity of
The burden of paying on the purchasers not being divided in accordance with the law and ceded. al-imdal-Shark Istanbul, i, 651; cf. Radd al-muhdhur, iv, 157-8.

Commonly treated by the jurists in connection with zakáát (cf. al-Zarkání, al-Sháhr ‘úlÁ muwassát al-imám Málik, ed. ‘Awad, Cairo 1381/1961, ii, 321) but regarded by the Hanafis, Málkís and Hanbalís as analogous to the one-fifth payable from booty, is the one-fifth due upon the discovery under certain circumstances unrelated to combat of pre-Islamic treasure, or occasionally mixed with gold and silver (nádhr), analogous to the one-fifth payable from booty (ghánímat). The Shafís limit this obligation to gold and silver, according to hadith (fi sáfa, as enjoined by the Shafís). The Malikis (al-Dardfr, Umdat al-kdrl, ed. al-Nadjjar and Shark ma, xxiii, 98-108 (takhmis), 1277), the Hanafís, Malikfs and HanbalTs as pure pieces of gold and silver according to (nadhr), to refer to wealth more generally. The Imam's original ownership of the world and its products (e.g. "the earth is ours, and what God brings forth from it is also ours,“ al-Kulayí [d. 1277], maldha. This made seven categories in all, hardm). The financial system of Egypt, the sale by foreign merchants of imported merchandise (e.g. "all the earth is ours, and what God, the Prophet, the near relatives, the orphans, the needy and the wayfarers). Whilst Sunni exegetes consider this verse to relate to war booty (ghánímat [q.]), Imamí and Zakdí writers associate the phrase annamd ghanímat (what you acquire”) to refer to wealth more generally. The last term, akbhr, was supported by other akbhr, e.g. "a fifth of the wayfarers). A minority of jurists refer to wealth more generally. The Imamí tradition, there are reports to support such a definition. "Everything from which the people gain benefit is ghánímat,“ the Imam al-Rídá (d. 203/818) is reported as saying. A number of akbhr refer to the Imam's original ownership of the world and its products (e.g. "all the earth is ours, and what God brings forth from it is also ours," al-Kulaíí [d. 328/939], Kháft, i, 408). The khums, therefore, was analogous to a tenant's payment of a fixed percentage of the harvest to the landowner. Since the Shafís, due to passages in the midst of a discussion of war, some exegetical effort was required to translate this verse. This normally began with a grammatical analysis of the term ghánímat and the verb gháníma (see al-‘Üsí [d. 460/1071], Mu‘add, ii, 64, where the verb means “acquiring something with the purpose of turning it to profitable use”). This was supported by other akbhr (e.g. "a fifth of the earth is ours, and a fifth of all things is ours," al-‘Üsí, Tahdhib, iv, 123). The term liable for khums were defined in both collections of akbhr and works of fikh. In the earliest works of fikh, the discussions formed part of the kiáth al-zakát or occasionally kiáth al-fayawá irt-ghanímat, a separate kiáth al-khums (located after the kiáth al-zakát) later became the norm (see e.g. Muhammad b. Makkí, al-Sháhid al-Awwal [d. 786/1384], al-Lusn a-dimámádpga, 45-6). The earliest categorisation of taxable wealth comprised booty, produce of the sea, buried treasure, minerals and maldha. The last term, obscure in reference, was interpreted through juristic reasoning and the citation of other akbhr to refer to profit (from trade, agriculture and craft), ðhámsíland bought by a Muslim and "halál goods mixed with haráms ones". This made seven categories in all (see such a categorisation in al-Muhádák [d. 676/1277], Sharh, i, 179-81). These categories, once established, remained remarkably stable in the subsequent tradition. When present, the Imamí receives and distributes the khums (though he may, it seems, appoint a representative). The khums, following Kuráán, VIII, 41, is distributed amongst the six categories mentioned (God, the Prophet, the near relatives, the orphans, the needy and the wayfarers). A minority of jurists argued that the shares of God and the Prophet were actually one (hence there are five not six recipients, of debate within both juristic traditions. The main Kurˈanic reference is VIII, 41 (“Know that what you acquire, a fifth is for God, His Prophet, the near relatives, orphans, the needy and the wayfarer”). Whilst Sunni exegetes consider this verse to relate to war booty (ghanímat [q.]), Imamí and Zakdí writers associate the phrase annamd ghanímat (what you acquire”) to refer to wealth more generally. The Imamí tradition, there are reports to support such a definition. "Everything from which the people gain benefit is ghánímat,“ the Imam al-Rídá (d. 203/818) is reported as saying. A number of akbhr refer to the Imam's original ownership of the world and its products (e.g. "all the earth is ours, and what God brings forth from it is also ours," al-Kulaíí [d. 328/939], Kháft, i, 408). The khums, therefore, was analogous to a tenant's payment of a fixed percentage of the harvest to the landowner. Since the Shafís, due to passages in the midst of a discussion of war, some exegetical effort was required to translate this verse. This normally began with a grammatical analysis of the term ghánímat and the verb gháníma (see al-‘Üsí [d. 460/1071], Mu‘add, ii, 64, where the verb means “acquiring something with the purpose of turning it to profitable use”). This was supported by other akbhr (e.g. “a fifth of the earth is ours, and a fifth of all things is ours," al-‘Üsí, Tahdhib, iv, 123). The term liable for khums were defined in both collections of akbhr and works of fikh. In the earliest works of fikh, the discussions formed part of the kiáth al-zakát or occasionally kiáth al-fayawá irt-ghanímat, a separate kiáth al-khums (located after the kiáth al-zakát) later became the norm (see e.g. Muhammad b. Makkí, al-Sháhid al-Awwal [d. 786/1384], al-Lusn a-dimámádpga, 45-6). The earliest categorisation of taxable wealth comprised booty, produce of the sea, buried treasure, minerals and maldha. The last term, obscure in reference, was interpreted through juristic reasoning and the citation of other akbhr to refer to profit (from trade, agriculture and craft), ðhámsíland bought by a Muslim and "halál goods mixed with haráms ones". This made seven categories in all (see such a categorisation in al-Muhádák [d. 676/1277], Sharh, i, 179-81). These categories, once established, remained remarkably stable in the subsequent tradition. When present, the Imamí receives and distributes the khums (though he may, it seems, appoint a representative). The khums, following Kuráán, VIII, 41, is distributed amongst the six categories mentioned (God, the Prophet, the near relatives, the orphans, the needy and the wayfarers). 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see Zayn al-Din 'Ali al-Shahid al-Thani [d. 966/1558], Musâdîk, ii, 470, but this opinion was not popular. The juristic reasoning (authoritatively summed up in the later tradition by al-Najjâr) [d. 1266/1850] commentary on al-Muhaqâkik’s Shari‘a? [d. al-Najjâr, al-Muhaddith, iv, 1-112) proceeded as follows: God’s share was clearly owned by the Prophet, and he could dispose of it as he saw fit. After the Prophet’s death, the two shares (of God and the Prophet) were, through inheritance, due to the Imâm. The share of the “near relatives” was also due to the Imâm, since they were the heads of the ahl al-bayt after the Prophet’s death. The Imâm, when present, was, then, due half the khums. The remaining shares were distributed by the Imâm. The move might indicate that the orphans, needy and wayfars were from the population generally (as argued by Ibn Hâmza [living in 566/1170] in al-Wasâlî, 718), though most jurists argued that these three categories applied to the family of the Prophet (the Banû Hašîm). A minority also argued that descendants of Hâghîm’s brother (Muţalîb) were also included (analogous to the sayyid status of descendants of both al-Hasan and al-Husayn: see Zayn al-Din ‘Ali al-Shahid al-Thani, Shari‘a al-Imami al-dimaghkiya, 57-8), but this did not become the influential position. The above commentary provided the jurists with an opportunity to link the discussion with the vexed issue of community leadership during the ghayba (q.v.). Was khums during the ghayba lapsed (sâkîf)? because the Imâm could not collect it in person (a view attributed to Salar al-Daylâm [d. 57-8]), but this opinion was not popular. The contribution of an Imam in power, the âhzâr records that the (Zaydî) Muslims must collect and distribute it themselves. The governance of an Imam does not affect the duty to distribute khums. The continued existence of a Zaydi Imam (though with limited suzerainty and disputed identity) did not encourage the discussion of delegation (nizâha) characteristic of the Imâm tradition.

The absence of the Imam through occultation provided part of the financial base for the Zaydî opposition movement in 20th-century Iran. Al-‘Ali in [d. 877/1472] and al-Shawakhâni [d. 1250/1834] elaborated on this brief explanation. The produce of the land and sea constituted the produce gained from fishing and farming (with some restrictions) as well as precious stones and metals obtained through mining. Also included was treasure (kunuz) found by the Muslim but buried during the ghâthî period. War booty encompassed the booty from wars with both non-Muslims (ahl al-harb) and non-Zaydi Muslims (ahl al-baqây). The ongoing revenue after a campaign included produce from land seized from the enemy, the khurâş (land-tax) and the djizya (the tax on non-Muslim communities living under Muslim control). It might be argued that Zaydi jurists envisaged an even larger amount of revenue as liable to khums than their Imâmî counterparts.

In Zaydi fiqh, the khums is to be transferred to the Imâm when he demands it. When there is no legitimate Imam in power, the âhzâr records that the (Zaydi) Muslims must collect and distribute it themselves. The governance of an Imam does not affect the duty to distribute khums. The continued existence of a Zaydi Imam (though with limited suzerainty and disputed identity) did not encourage the discussion of delegation (nizâha) characteristic of the Imâm tradition.

The distribution of khums, according to the Zaydîs, should be according to the established six categories of recipients. For al-Hârûnî (d. 424/1032), God’s share is to be spent by the Imam on general benefits, such as mosques and roads (muṣârâ). The Prophet’s share goes to the Imam who can spend it on his family, home and servants. The near-relatives’ share is distributed, without regard for age, wealth or sex, to the descendants of the Prophets (with a broad definition of which lines of descent are to be included). The only restriction is that the descendants must recognise the Zaydi Imam (ma’tamassî) bi ‘l-hukk li-imâm al-muslinîm. The three portions for the orphans, needy and wayfars of the Prophet’s descendants can be diverted if there are no such persons within the Prophets’ descendants. First, the portions are available for the descendants of the Prophet. If unexhausted, the portions are distributed amongst the mu‘addûn, if not, then amongst the ansâr, and if not these, then amongst the orphans, needy and wayfars of the rest of the Muslim community (al-Hârûnî, Tahrîr, i, 166). Though Zaydi thought on khums bears some resemblance to Imamî fiqh (e.g. the expansion of the definition of goods liable for khums), it avoids the contentious issues of ‘ulamâ’ authority present in the Imâmî tradition.

The Ismâ‘îlî Shi‘i tradition produced very little in terms of juristic literature, but one can conclude that, in terms of khums, it was much closer to the Sunnis than either Zaydi or Imamî fiqh. In al-Kâdî al-Nu‘mân’s [d. 363/974] edition of the Ismâ‘îlî corpus, khums is discussed in the context of the kâthî al-qâthî, mainly through citations of reports from Imam ‘Ali. The implication is that khums is only due on war booty. The resultant jurisprudence could fit well within the Sunnî hukûmat (q.v.) on the issue.

Bibliography: A. For Twelver Shi‘ism:
important source of income (see Musil, Ar. Petr., iii, 52-3).

Wallin suggested that the payments to a tribe were often related to certain payments levied by the Bedouin for certain tribesmen—tribute must have been an important source of revenue as well. 

The Bedouin look on the regions where they live as being divided into tribal territories, and Wallin suggested that the payments to a tribe were made in exchange for the right to be in the territory of that tribe and to enjoy its protection. The degree of protection offered varied greatly: a village might receive no more from its "protectors" than the temporary cessation of their depredations, while a client tribe or a caravan might receive not merely protection but also mutual assistance between an urban notable and a Bedouin shaykh. 

Tribute levied from a particular source was assigned to certain persons, or leaders of the Bedouin tribe. Some were retained by the tribe or a caravan might receive not merely protection but also mutual assistance between an urban notable and a Bedouin shaykh. 


B. For Zayd and Isma’il Shi’ism.


KHYRAFA (see [q.v.]).

KHUMS — KHUWWA

KHYRAFA (see [q.v.]).

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KIRGIZSTAN

KIRGIZSTAN (official designation: Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz Republic), is the smallest of the five Central Asian republics emerging from the collapse of the Soviet Union, with an area of 198,500 km² (77,415 sq. miles), and with boundaries adjoining China 858 km, Kazakhstan 1051 km, Tajikistan 870 km and Uzbekistan 1099 km. Kyrgyzstan is landlocked, like most of its neighbours. In 1999 it had a population of 4,832 million, its ethnic composition at various points in the 20th century being shown in Table 1 as percentages of the whole population.

Russians are concentrated in the capital and in the north, Uzbeks in the south (Osh and Djallalabad provinces). Changes in the ethnic composition of the Kyrgyz population are explained by much lower fertility among the Russians and other Europeans and massive outmigration of the “European” groups since the late 1980s. In the earlier Soviet period, the drop in the Kyrgyz population was linked to the crisis following collectivisation.

Kyrgyz, the official language, belongs to the northwestern group of Turkic languages [see TURKS. II], and for Kyrgyz literature, III. 6 (e). Russian was declared an official language in territories and work places where Russian dominates in March 1996, and is now termed the “language of inter-ethnic communication”. Uzbek is granted no official status. The capital has been called Bishkek since 1993 (750,000 inhabitants in 1999); Frunze in Soviet times since 1926, and Frunze [q. v.] before then. Other towns include Talas [see TARAZ] in the northwest and Osh and Ozkend [q. v.] in the Farghana valley. Regarding natural resources, Kyrgyzstan, as a mountainous country, is rich in water and has a high potential in hydro-electric power (Toktogul dam on the Naryn river, built 1962-73). Coal was mined for Central Asian consumption. After independence, gold has been deemed to be worthwhile exploiting (the Komtur gold field).

The country is divided into two main geographic zones, the Tien Shan mountains, with their highest peaks in the far eastern corner (Pik Pobedy, Zengish Cokusu, 7,439 m), and the Pamir Alai range. To the south, the hills slope down to the great steppe zone (northern Kyrgyzstan); migration reached its highest levels in the years immediately preceding World War I. In the Semirecye, between 1903 and 1913 about 60% (D. Brower, Kyrgyz, nomads and Russian pioneers. Colonization and ethnic conflict in the Turkestan recoll of 1916, in Jahrbücher fur Geschichte Osteuropas, N.F., xliv [1996], 41-53).

The Russian colonial period.

The Russian advance into what is now Kyrgyzstan was aided by a number of Kyrgyz delegations to St. Petersburg and to the Russian authorities in Siberia asking for help against the Khokand khânate, which, by 1830 had gained at least formal authority over the Kyrgyz tribes. In 1862, Kyrgyz contingents fought alongside Russian soldiers to take the fort of P positivity, and when Russia liquidated the Khokand khânate in 1876, all of the Kyrgyz tribes had formally submitted to Russian rule (V.M. Ploskikh, Kirgiz i kokand-skoe khânsto, Frunze 1977). The area they inhabited fell into the Governorates of the Steppes and of Turkistan, and there was continuous reshuffling of the administrative organisation. Russian rule at first did not deeply affect local affairs, but this changed soon with the influx of settlers into the Semirecye region (northern Kyrgyzstan); migration reached its highest levels in the years immediately preceding World War I. In the Semirecye, between 1903 and 1913 about 4.5 million ha were allotted to settlers, thus provoking a drop of about one quarter in livestock. Land issues, as well as ethnic conflicts and accelerated social differentiation among the Kyrgyz, are seen behind the great steppe uprising in 1916, which was triggered by a decree to recruit local people as labourers in support of Russia’s war effort. The rebellion was crushed, leaving an unknown number of Kyrgyz dead; about a third of the Kyrgyz population is said to have fled to China, partly returning after the Revolution in 1917. Again, the Kyrgyz herds decreased by about 60% (D. Brower, Kyrgyz, nomads and Russian pioneers. Colonization and ethnic conflict in the Turkestan recoll of 1916, in Jahrbücher fur Geschichte Osteuropas, N.F., xliv [1996], 41-53).

3. Scout times.

The Russian Revolution provoked the creation of new Kyrgyz and Kyrgyz/Kazak organisations; at first, locals were reluctant to participate in the institutions created by Russians. Local (“Muslim”) organisations included the Alash Orda [see KAZAKSTAN, in Suppl.], Shiri-yi islimiya (founded in Khokand in April 1917) and Bukar (from Ar. fukar “paupers”). National demands came to the fore, and federal structures were demanded in a number of meetings (e.g. the First All-Russian Muslim Conference held at Moscow in May 1917). All of them were intent on preserving local interests, above all regarding the land question, against Russian encroachments.

After the civil war, Kyrgyzstan changed masters several times. The “Turkistan Autonomy” (November 1917-February 1918) was a short-lived attempt at creating a state structure in the Farghana valley and one of the origins of the Basmachi guerilla movement, which became strong enough to pose a threat to Osh, Djallalabad and Naryn in late 1918. In the north, Alagh Orda struggled between Whites and Reds to conserve a measure of regional autonomy. But in the end, Mikhail Frunze led the Red Army to success.

In April 1918 the territory of the Kyrgyz was included into the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Only in 1922 was the question of a separate representation of the Kyrgyz raised; until then, the ethnonym “Kyrgyz” had denoted those peo-
ple whom we presently know as Kazak, whereas the “real” Kyrgyz were called either Karakkyrgyz “Black Kyrgyz” or otherwise, but in any case, were linked to the Kazak. First, some former Alash members (now within the Bolshevik party) worked for the creation of a “Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Mountain District”, arguing that the splitting of the Kyrgyz over several administrative units was detrimental to their development as a nation. The district was to include the northern foothills as well. This move was at first viewed positively by party and state organs, but quashed later in 1922. Thus, the “Kara Kyrgyz” had to wait until the national demarcation (razmezvanie) in the second half of 1924 (the date retained was the decision taken by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR—TSIK SSSR—on 27 October 1924); this process provided them, for the first time in their recorded history, with a state-like structure in the form of an “autonomous district” (avtonomnaya oblast”) within the Russian Federation (not the Kazak ASSR). Soon afterwards, the structure was promoted into an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), still within the Russian Federation (1 February 1926). Status as a full member of the Soviet Union was achieved when the new Soviet Constitution was proclaimed on 5 December 1936, which counted eleven republics, among them the Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

Until then, the country had undergone significant change in line with the general evolution (for better or worse) within the Soviet Union. For the nomadic Kyrgyz the collectivisation of agricultural land (for which a ruthless campaign was launched in 1929) meant that they were forced to settle. R. Eisener, “Kontinenzierung auf dem Lande”. Zur inneren Sicherheitslage in Mittelasien 1929/30 aus der Sicht der OGPU, Berlin 1999 [ANOR, no. 6]. This again meant a sharp drop in livestock (from 3.8 million to 2.3 million in 1931-2; sheep and goats dropped from 3.1 million in 1924 to just under 1 million in 1932; livestock reached the levels of the late 1920s again only by the 1950s or later) and widespread famine; though the Kazak steppe regions were hardest hit, Kyrgyzstan also was a disaster area. Repression was rampant; in 1932 during tax collection, more than 100 persons were shot (U istokov kirgizskoy natsional’noy gosudarstvennosti, Bishkek 1996, 121). No reliable figures are available for human losses in this period, but they must have been massive. Hence by 1940, almost all Kyrgyz farmers worked on collective or state farms.

In 1938, as in other parts of the Soviet Union, the local intelligentsia was physically destroyed together with the “old guard” of revolutionaries. This included some of the former Alash members who were involved in the affairs surrounding the “Social Turan Party”. Industrialisation was one of the main targets of Soviet development policies, and during the first Five-Year Plans, coal mining was developed, but also metal working and industries related to the agricultural production of the country (textiles, foodstuffs, meat). Nevertheless, Kyrgyzstan has remained a largely agricultural country.

In the post-Stalin period (beginning with the XXth Congress of the CPSU in 1956), developments in Kyrgyzstan closely followed the general Soviet pattern. This meant that a precarious balance was established by the Republic’s leadership between utter devotion to the centre and the slow but irresistible localisation of decision making, using patron-client-relationships to a very large extent (O. Roy, The new Central Asia. The creation of nations, London 2000). These networks tend to have a regional basis; in Kyrgyzstan, this means the south-north divide. Whereas the last Soviet leaders were southerners, the new leadership is northern. During Turdakun Usunbaev’s term as the party’s first secretary (1961-85, when he was removed by the new leadership under Gorbachev), Kyrgyzstan was increasingly unable to attract new capital investment, and the republic was the second poorest part of the Soviet Union (after Tajikistan).

4. Independence and after.

In the case of Kyrgyzstan, national independence was spurred by an outburst of communal violence in Osh between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the summer of 1990, with land shortages and poor representation of Uzbeks as background. This led to the election of an outsider as chairman to the Supreme Soviet (28 October 1990); Askar Akaev, who came to be the only president in the new Central Asian republics not to have held high party office before. Akaev was re-elected president on 24 December 1995 (75% of expressed votes) and again on 29 October 2000 (74.5% of expressed votes, but major competitors were prevented from running).

Kyrgyzstan won its independence on 31 August 1991. The country has made rapid moves towards democracy and a market-oriented economy, earning the label of “Central Asia’s island of democracy”; this characterisation has been questioned since more autocratic features have appeared. Economically, crisis has bordered on collapse during the first years of independence, the GDP plummeting by around 45% in 1992-5, industrial production by nearly two-thirds and agriculture by around one-third. Again, as in other crises all through the 20th century, reduction in live-stock numbers is a good indicator: sheep and goats

<table>
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felled from 8,741,000 heads in 1993 to a mere 3,716,000 in 1997. Inflation has also been a major problem since the creation of a national currency, the som, in 1993; soaring up to more than 1000% in 1992-3, it has been down to 18% in 1998, rising again to 36% in 1999 in the aftermath of the financial crisis in Russia. In spite of this, the GDP was up by 3.6% in 1999, mainly due to over-average agricultural production. But economic prospects do not seem as bright now (2000-1) as in the latter 1990s.

Kyrgyzstan faces serious security problems, mainly in the Farghana region. In 1999 and 2000, Muslims from northern Tadjikistan have made incursions into Kyrgyzstani territory. Previously, security had not been a priority issue for the Kyrgyzstani government, but in 2001, military expenditure was increased by 250%. Linked to this is the drug traffic (cannabis, but mostly opiates from Afghanistan and Tajikistan), making Osh one of its major hubs in Central Asia. Other transnational problems include an increasing water problem (downstream Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan).

In 1999, mainly due to over-average agricultural production, the GDP grew by 3.6%, but has now (2000-1) as in the latter 1990s.

In 1999, the GDP was up by 3.6% in 1999, mainly due to over-average agricultural production. But economic prospects do not seem as bright now (2000-1) as in the latter 1990s.

The nation-building process involves a re-interpretation of the past, focusing on attempts at statehood in the more distant past and a re-evaluation of early Kyrgyz nationalism, including those who fell victim to the Stalinist purges.


KIRMANI, HADJDJI MUHAMMAD KARIM KHAN [see SHAHYDDA]. [2]

KISAKUREK, Necip Fazılı (1905-83), Turkish poet who wrote metaphysical poems of anxiety, darkness, loneliness and death, and whose tone became progressively mystical and, at the end, dogmatically religious. Already a bohemian as a student of philosophy, he continued a life of gambling, drinking and womanising as he worked first as a bank inspector and then as a teacher at various post-secondary schools in Ankara. Meeting the Nakshbandi sheikh Abdułhakim Arvaci in 1934 became a turning point in his life by providing an answer in religion for his spiritual and intellectual crises. He quit his job in 1942 in order to devote all his time to writing and publishing. He published two journals: Ağaç ("Tree", 1936), and Büyük doğu ("The Great East"), 1943-78. He was politically active in religious causes, and used especially Büyük doğu as an ideological platform.

Although he also wrote short stories, novels, monographs on as diverse topics as İmam 'Ali, 'Abd ul-Hamid II and Nāmik Kemal, and plays of which the most noteworthy is Bir adam yaranmak ("To create a man"), 1938, Kisakürek is first and foremost admired as a poet. With his first three books of poetry, he was hailed as a new voice in Turkish poetry. The tone of feverish nightmare in his early poems is created by striking, sometimes erotically charged images, by paradoxical metaphors of being and nothingness which dissolve into each other, and by experiments with the lengths of syllables that play with the traditional syllabic measure of Turkish folk poetry. After his conversion, he publicly disowned all but a few of his previous poems. His lifelong goal was to create a definitive book which would include all of his poems. He achieved this with Cice ("Suffering"), 1974. It has 395 poems which has come is of impatient waiting for death because he believed that the terror of death and loneliness ended in dying and uniting with God. He defines a poem as a thought stated in emotional terms, and argues that the structure of a poem should be completely absorbed by the theme. Details of his life can be found in his two books of memoirs: O ve ben ("He and I"), 1974 and Babula (1975).


KIT'A (a.), pl. kit'ö, or mukatt'a, pl. muhat'tat, literally "piece, part cut off from the whole, segment". As a literary concept kit'a denotes a form of poetry.

1. In Arabic poetry A kit'a or mukatt'a is a short monothematic poem or fragment of a poem, in contrast to the long (often polythematic) poem, the kasida [q.v.]. The term kit'a can actually denote a piece or part of a longer poem (e.g. poetic quotes in anthologies) [see MUKATTARA]. However, it is, in particular, independent short poems that are named thus (in rare cases, they are also termed kifā al-kasida). However, it is, in particular, independent short poems that are named thus (in rare cases, they are also termed kifā al-kasida; see al-Dhāhīz, K. al-Ḥawāānī, iii, 98). Western scholars usually equate kasida and kit'a with polythematic and monothematic poems respectively, while indigenous Arabic critics in general consider only the length of a poem as a criterion for distinguishing between the two forms (cf. van Gelder, Brests, 79, 1). They could, however, never agree on the number of verses that determines the borderline between the two forms. Ibn Rāshīk names seven or ten verses ('Umada, i, 188-9) as the lower limit for a kasida; other numbers are mentioned as well, however (cf. van Gelder, 79-80). According to the Arab, and in contradistinction to the Persian, critics, the non-existence, of an opening verse (matla') with internal rhyming (tasrif) does not count as a criterion for the kit'a. As a matter of fact, there are more than enough kit'a containing such opening verses even in the earliest times. Thoughts as to the purpose for which the ancient Arabs preferred short poems have already been formulated within the context of pre-systematic criticism. Abā 'Amr b. al-'Aţā and al-Khaṭīb b. Ahmad [q.v.s] are said to have remarked on this; they were used whenever a poet had to be remembered. Others think that the kit'a is especially useful for expressing disputes, proverbs and jests (cf. Ibn Rāshīk, i, 186).

kit'a can be found in almost every diwan of poetry and in numerous other works dealing with poetry and other topics (inter alia in the igiyām al-arab, and also in such historical works, such as Ibn Hāshām's Sr, al-Ta'bārī's Ta'rij and al-Baladhidī's Anāb al-adhrāf). The kit'a is not subject to any thematic limitations. A classification and characterisation of the contents...
of the *kifā* among the ancient Arabs has been offered by Alfred Bloch. His principle of classification is the degree of the poem’s “distance from life or from specific situations in life”. As a result, the different categories are: (1) *work-songs* or *songs that accompany a certain job* (*nasīb* or *little distance from life*); (2) poetry of the moment; (3) poems containing a proclamation or message (medium distance from life; poetry of the occasion); (3) poems expressing a sentiment of life and poems of remembrance (timeless artistic degree of the poem’s “distance from life or from specified situations”).

**Category no. 1**: An impromptu poem of the moment, very often composed in the easiest metre, *radāz*. Mainly war cries belong to this category, in addition to songs for round dances to which mothers let their children dance, and work-songs in the narrower sense that accompany real activities (rarely ever transmitted) (cf. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen*, 18 ff.). The contents of the war poems is mostly self-praise: “I am Ibn Wars, horseman without pusillanimity, who through his courage inspires admiration, who advances boldly when the weakling retreats, and on the day of horror with the sword I strike the towering (adversarial) hero until he falls” (al-Baladhuri, *Anāb*, v, 268, 6).

**Category no. 2**: Are abundantly represented in ancient Arabic poetry and is, according toBloch, its most characteristic genre. In proclamation poems the poet expresses his opinion on a certain event; they are occasional poems born out of daily life, “pamphlet verses”, the contents of which are valid for a certain period, e.g. “your slaying of al-Mukanna, we have slain Ubayda”, or “(a-la) aabligh 'in fulan” (ibid., c, 18 ff). A sizeable number of the short poems of these old poets (from Muhammad b. Wasff via Rudakf up to Manucihrf).

Moreover, the short poems are often short; there are, however, also very long poems, sometimes even containing several parts, which can especially be found among the *khamrīyyāt*. These poems may also be seen as approaching the praise *kāṣida* in their structure (they have—albeit seldom—a *nasīb*; or—very often—a parody of a *nasīb* as a prologue; the rahil can also be found). Among the so-called neo-classical poets (Abū Tammām, al-Bohtuf, and al-Mutanabbl) the short poems, although abundant, stand entirely in the shadow of their *kāṣida* poetry. However, there are cases like Abū Tammām’s *ghafoziyyāt*, whose importance should not be underestimated (see Bauer, *Abū Tammām’s Contribution*, 13 ff.). Most of them are short and it is noteworthy that pieces consisting of four verses are particularly numerous (cf. ibid., 18-19; Seidensticker, *Die Heidentum*, 920). In al-Mutanabblf’s *diwān* one can find numerous short poems addressing more than one theme; al-Wuhufit, in his commentary, criticises two *kifān* that contain sundry descriptions—a genre not mastered by al-Mutanabbl, according to him (Dīwān, ed. Dieterici, 774). The themes of *kifās* from the 3rd/9th to the 5th/11th century are extremely varied. Next to the short poems of the new established new genres one can find pieces that in their themes are close to the epigrams of late antiquity: descriptions (Ar. *awāfīf*, sing *wasf* [q.v.], Greek *ekphrasis*) of a large variety of objects (especially in Ibn al-Rūmī, Kugheadnit, al-Šarī al-Šafiit and al-Maārifi); descriptions of flowers and gardens (zahriyyāt [q.v.] in Ibn al-Rūmī, Ibn al-Mu’tazz and al-Sanawbarī; especially in the latter, one can also find long garden poems), reflective poetry (especially in Ibn al-Rūmī), jesting, riddles, requests for gifts, mockery, blame, excuses, thank-you notes, requests, invitations, etc. In Ibn al-Mu’tazz’s praise poetry one can find a remarkably large amount of short pieces; al-Ma’arrī, finally, in his philosophical poems (hājamiyyāt) chooses the short form of the *kifā* as often as its long form.

**2. In Persian literature**

The Persian critics define the *kifā* or *mukattāt* as a poem that has the same metre and rhyme throughout, and the opening verse (*matla*) of which does not contain internal rhyming (*taqrīt*). Most often, two verses are named as the minimum amount whereas there is no upper limit as to the number of verses (Dīlhubdī, s.v, *kifā*, Ruckert-Pertsch, 64). This means that the length of a poem, which for the Arabs is its decisive feature, has been completely abandoned as a criterion. As with the Arabic *kifā*, the choice of topics is arbitrary. As can be expected, *kifās* are found already among the poems of the oldest Neo-Persian poets (from Muhammad b. Wasif via Rūdākī up to Manuchihr). A sizeable number of the short poems of these old
poets, however, begin with a matla' that contains a tasrīf, hence cannot be counted as kit'as. Such is the case with the whole of Manūchehr's wine and love poems (ed. de Biberstein Kazimirski, nos. 3, 4, 54, 69-75, 77-83, 85, 56, 59). Terminological kit'as occur much more rarely in Manūchehr. In the more prolific poets beginning in the 5th/11th century the kit'as often occupy their own more or less voluminous chapter. Famous for their kit'as are Anwārī (d. 587/1191 at the latest [q.v.]) and especially Ibn-i Yāmīn (d. 769/1368 [q.v.]). Anwārī's dīwān contains a very large chapter comprising them. These are of extraordinary variety in their topics: in addition to praise, blame, mockery, threat, request (especially frequent is the request for wine), thanks, mourning, congratulation, complaint, description of personal circumstances (hash-i ḥāl), one finds advice, admonishment, maxims, and reflective poems (occurring very frequently), jesting, epistles, riddles, chronograms, maddāzāns, and many others, among them very unusual topics, for instance, a poem about toothache, in which the word "tooth" occurs in every verse. Descriptions are remarkably rare; there are, however, a few descriptions of banquet and palaces. Poems containing 20 and even 30 verses do occur. As for the period only 128 kit'as; thematically, these do not offer any remarkable short. Most of them consist of only two verses, usually in the usual themes (praise, mourning, longing, wine, chronograms, maxims, congratulations, request for a reward, etc.), there are also some remarkable poems like the one in which Hāfiz describes for a reward, etc.), there are also some more remark-

all in all, is considered the most important Persian kit'as, see the article on this poet. The dīwān of Hāfiz [q.v.] also contains a small section of kit'as in addition to the usual themes (praise, mourning, longing, wine, chronograms, maxims, congratulations, request for a reward, etc.), there are also some remarkable poems like the one in which Hāfiz describes in many verses the loss of his poetic powers, which can only be restored by the ruler's grace. Kamāl Khudjandī's and Dājīmī's [q.v.] kit'as are predomin-

nantly short. Most of them consist of only two verses, a peculiarity that is not found in the kit'as of Kamāl's contemporary Hāfiz. Dājīmī's three dīwāns contain altogether only 128 kit'as; thematically, these do not offer anything out of the ordinary. It has been remarked, however, that Dājīmī's "advice and admonishments" (pand u madāżīn) are mostly of a sarcastic and pessimistic character, since, in any case, the kit'as of this epoch are critical of society and complain about the upheavals of the day (H. Rida, in his introduction to the dīwān of Dājīmī, Tehran 1341/1962, 84).

Bibliography: A. Bloch, Qasīda, in Asiatische Studien, iii-iv (1948), 106-32; M. Ullmann, Unter-

KITĀBA [see ʿINSĪL; KATĪB; BEṬṬI].

KOÇO (Khocho, Chotocho, Koko; Uyghur; in Chinese K쪽; also known as Ik dok-t-qahhibīr, and locally as "Asu [Epheus], the town of Dākāylonā", i.e. the Roman emperor Decius (regn. 249-51) [see AḤĀB AL-KÂBI] [cf. A. Von Le Coq, Auf Helens' Spuren, 41], of the name of an Uyghur state (850-1250) and of an ancient, walled city, now in ruins, adjoining Karakhoja in the desert to the east of Turfan [q.v.] in Eastern Sinkiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China.

According to Von Gabain, the name is neither Turkish nor Chinese, but an ancient, indigenous one, meaning "highly brilliant". In the 9th century A.D. the Koço state reached as far east as Tshinhuang in Kansu [q.v.], famous for its "Cave of the Thousand Buddhas", and its "Jade Gate" (Chin. Yù-môn-kuan), where all the traffic between China and the West had to pass. In the north this state included the so-called "Four Garrisons", i.e. Bishābālīg [q.v., Kūča, Karakahr and Koço town itself, all on the northern branch of the Silk Route and described by the 7th-century Chinese traveller and monk Hsien-tsang. In 791 the Tibetans, in alliance with the Karūk [q.v.] and the Sha-tō ("the People of the Sandy Desert"; see Chavannes, Documents, 96-9), defeated the Chinese and the Uyghur, and occupied the Tarim Basin [q.v.]. In 840 the Kirgiz [q.v.] put an end to Uyghur power in Mongolia. Uyghur groups fled southward and settled in the Turfan region, where they established a state, with Koço as its capital, which was recognised by the Chinese in 836. The earliest record of a Muslim presence in Koço is 902, when Ibn Khurraḍādhīb (Ar. text 164, Fr. tr. 126) of his journey from Sāmarmāt to Sinkiang in 230-2/842-4. Before reaching Ha-mi [see KOMUT, in Suppl.], he met followers of the Prophet who apparently had settled there more or less permanently since they had mosques and madrasas.

In 848 Chang I-ch'iao, the Chinese regent of Sha-
chou, "the town of the sands" as Turfan had been renamed under the T'ang dynasty (618-907), began to oust the Tibetans from northwestern Kansu, and in 855 the Koço Uyghur followed his example. In the 10th century they entertained good relations with the Tibetans, as they did with the Kitai [Liao] [see KARA KITAI], who in 924 toppled the Kirgiz state of which Koço had become a vassal. In 1001 the hikān of Koço requested the emperor of China to wage war against the Tangut or Hsi Hsia, a people of Tibetan origin, who lived in the great loop of the Yellow River [see HAMASA, iv, KANSU]. He boasted to the emperor about the large extension of his state. At that time the Koço Uyghurs had moved their residence further westward to Kuča. In 1125 the Liao were overcome by the Jučen, who until 1234 ruled over Manchuria, much of Central Asia, and all of North China. With these new overlords, too, the Koço Uyghurs had friendly relations. In 1209 King Barčuk of Koço surrendered peacefully to Čingis Kāhan in order to rid himself of pressure from the Naiman of Western Mongolia. He was adopted as "the fifth son". After the Mongolian conquest, Koço was added to the Çaghatay hikānate [q.v.]. The Mongols were instructed in Buddhism by the Koço Uyghurs, Buddhism being strongly established in the region. But the famous Turfan finds also include fragments of Syrian manuscripts, most of them with texts from the Peshitta, while von Le Coq also found in Koço a wall painting of Mani, the founder of Manicheism, dated to the 9th century A.D. The towns along the Silk Route thus had a rather mixed population of merchants who professed various religions. Over the centuries, Koço seems to have adapted itself to its respective over-

Bibliography: E. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kines (Turcs) occidentaux, St. Petersburg 1903;
probably including Komul, was dominated by the Chinese Turkestan, Beijing 1928; M. Cable and F. French, The Great Central Asian trade route from Peking to Kashgaria, in Proc. Royal Geographical Society, xii (1890); A.H. von Le Coq, Buried treasures of Chinese Turkestan, Beijing 1986; E. van Donzel, KONKAN, the coastal region of the western Deccan, or Peninsula India lying roughly between Thalner and Bombay in the north and Goa in the south, i.e. between latitudes 19° 30' and 15° 30' N., and extending for some 560 km/350 miles. It has been known under this name in both medi- eval Islamic and modern times. Within British India, it was formerly in the Bombay Presidency, later Province, and is now in Maharashtra State of the Indian Union. It comprises a highly-forested, low-lying plateau down to the ocean, until in 876/1472 the Mughal empire defeated a small Uyghur state, i.e. a large, walled-in fortification with barracks, arms depots, fields, and two gates (see Luo Zhewen, The Great Wall, 39- 41). According to Sallam, the distance between this town and Dhu ’t-Karnayn camped in Iku, but this remark is probably part of what he thought he should report to the caliph al-Wāthiq [q.v.], who had sent him on his mission. During his journey to Iku/Komul along the northern branch of the Silk Route, Sallam, before reaching Iku/Komul, met a community of Muslims who spoke Arabic and Persian and had mosques and madrasas. He was astonished that they did not know who the caliph was.

In the 13th century, Komul was Mongolian people who conquered Central Asia and gave their name to Dzungaria and the Dzungarian Gate, at present the northern part of the Sinkiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. In 1896 the Chinese Ch'ing emperor defeated the afternoons chief Dzam-i-Idan. After the death of the latter’s grandson Dzak-i-Idan Gereng in 1745, internal Dzungarian strife led to their complete destruction in the war against China (1755-8), during which the Chinese used Komul as a base. After the fall of the Dzungars, the Muslims of the Tarim Basin staged an independence movement, but by 1760 this was suppressed by the Ch'ing, who established control over the Basin by granting official status to the former rulers of its oasis states. In the 18th century, China’s boundaries reached as far as Lake Balkhash [q.v.] and parts of the Kazakh steppe.

During the great Muslim rebellion of 1862-78 under Ma Hua-jung [q.v.], Komul was badly damaged. It was visited by Col. Mark Bell in 1886, by A.H. von Le Coq in 1904 and by Cable and French in 1940. Von Le Coq describes the riches of the palace of the Muslim khan of Komul: Chinese and Bukhārā carpets, porcelain, Khotoan [q.v.] jade-carvings, silk embroidery, a cuckoo-clock and even French champagnes and Russian liqueurs. In 1932, after an abortive uprising, the town suffered terribly at the hands of the Chinese. Its population in 2003 is estimated at ca. 118,000.

1816-17 with Britain at the end of the Marathā Wars, the region was in 1818 incorporated into the Bombay Presidency. The local language, Konkani, is a dialect of Marathi containing Dravidian elements probably borrowed from Kannarese.

Konkani — Ku’ayṭī

1827-38 and some tribal lands north of the Wadi. One of the defenders surrendered, stipulating that, though between 10 and 30 August. After long negotiations, the landlord and the envoy of the Emperor Ferdinand I mandated by Miklos Jurisics (Nikola Jurisic), a Croatian

Kőszeg, German Guns, a small Hungarian town near the Austrian border with a mediaeval castle which was besieged and symbolically taken by the Ottomans in 1532.

In the first decades of his reign, mainly under the influence of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pāgha, Suleyman the Magnificent cherished world-conquering ambitions. To achieve this goal, he intended, among other things, to defeat the Austrian Habsburgs by occupying their capital. After the unsuccessful 1529 campaign, he undertook another military operation in 1532 with the aim of marching against Vienna.

The Ottomans wanted to avoid a pitched battle with the Austrians, employed Hadrami and South Arabian as mercenary soldiers. The British, also fearing Turkish encroachment as well as the coastal region in the south, and were able to deny the ports to the Kathm. A generally held view which was supported by the British sources). 'Umar's three sons, Salih (called Barak Jung in India), 'Awad and 'Abd Allah, in particular, built fortunes in India and Arabia and had much influence on the later development of the dynasty.

During the 1280s/1860s and 1290s/1870s, full-scale wars were fought for control of Hadrāmatwšt between the Kaṭhīrī and the Ku’ayṭī (Government of Bombay, Account, 125; al-Shāhitī, Adwar, ii, 405; Gavin, Aden, 160-62; Burrowes, Dictionary, 290-1; Dresch, Yemen, 21).

In 1293/1876, the ports of Al-Mukallā and al-Šībhr were both controlled by Yafī, and when the latter called for help, Salih and 'Abd Allah sent funds from India and both Yafī and Indian troops were despatched to the area. In the following year, both ports were taken by the Ku’ayṭī, and the British became involved directly in the inter-dynasty struggles. The British, also fearing Turkish encroachment in the area, became apprehensive. In the confused situation, British policy was to cut off supplies and monies from India (Gavin, Aden, 162-8). In 1298/1881, they sanctioned Ku’ayṭī control of the southern coastal plain, and in 1299/1882 a treaty was drawn up between the two, the latter agreeing to accept British advice in exchange for an annual sum of 360 Maria Theresa dollars (Gavin, Aden, 171-2; for the text of the treaty, Government of Bombay, Account, 169-70).

In 1307/1888 a full protectorate treaty was signed between the Ku’ayṭī and the British, one of a number of such treaties. The British government agreed “to extend to Mokalla and Shehr and their dependencies which are under their authority and jurisdiction the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress”. In return, the Ku’ayṭī agreed “to refrain from entering into any correspondence, agreement or treaty with any foreign nation or power except with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government…” (Government of Bombay, Account, 186-7 for the full text). The Ku’ayṭī were in control of Shibām and the western end of Wādī Hadrāmatwšt, as well as the coastal region in the south, and were able to deny the ports to the Kaṭhīrī. A generally cordial relationship developed between the British and the Ku’ayṭī (ibid., 145; Gavin, Aden, 172-3; Ingrams, Arabia, 10).

In 1320/1902 the title of jemār was finally abolished and ‘Awad b. ‘Umar became Ku’ayṭī sūltān. He died in India about 1325-7/1907-9 and was succeeded by his son Ghālīb who himself died in 1340/1921. Ghālīb was followed as sūltān by his brother ‘Umar, who died in 1354/1935. Sālīh b. Ghālīb became sūltān in 1354/1935 and died in 1373/1955. ‘Awad b. Sālīh reigned from that date until his death in 1386/1966 and ‘Awad’s son, Ghālīb, was the last Ku’ayṭī sūltān until the withdrawal of the British from the area about a year later (al-Shāhitī, Adwar, ii, 407-8).

The year 1933 and the visit to Hadrāmatwšt of the
Political Resident in Aden, Sir Bernard Reilly, marks the beginnings of the widespread development of the two sultanates, the Ku'ayti and the Kahtiri, the peace which was negotiated among the tribes and the much closer involvement in their affairs by the British government, manifest in the establishment of an Eastern Aden Protectorate (EAP), quite separate from the Western Aden Protectorate (WAP). The peace, widely known as "Ingrams Peace" after its architect, Harold Ingram, was finally brought about in 1355/1937 and was to last for three years. In 1937 also, an advisory treaty was signed between the Ku'ayti and the British in which an adviser was to be appointed, Ingram himself (Smith, "Ingrams Peace", 6-7, 21; for the text of the advisory treaty, see Ingram, Records, ii, 296-7).

The Ku'ayti, along with the Kahtiri, never entered the Federation which was formed and fostered by the British in the WAP. At the time of the withdrawal of the British in 1967, the Ku'ayti sultanate became a part of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. In 1990, with the unity of north and south Yemen, the whole of what had been the EAP became a part of the Yemen Republic [see AL-YAMAN, 3 (b)] with its capital at San'a'.


(1992-94: Smith)

KUCUK 'ALI OGHULLARI, a line of Turkmen derebys [gaz] or local lords who controlled the region round Payas [gaz], which was strategically situated near the head of the Gulf of Alexandria-dretra (and now in the modern Turkish î or province of Hatay), and, for a while, Adana in Cilicia [gaz] for almost a century.

The founder, Khaih Bey Kucuk 'Ali Oghlu, appears ca. 1770 as a bandit chief based on Payas, preying on shipping (including the ships of European powers) in the Gulf and on the land traffic which had to pass through the narrow gap between the Gavur Daği mountains and the sea, leaping dues on the Pilgrimage caravans from Anatolia to Syria and the Hijaz, and even in 1801 capturing and imprisoning for ransom the Dutch consul-general in Aleppo. The efforts of the Porte in Istanbul at humbling him all failed, and it was obliged to come to an accommodation with him and accord to him the dignity of a pasha of three taghs.

When Kucuk 'Ali died in 1807, his equally rapacious son Dede Bey succeeded him, continuing to make a living by preying on shipping in the Gulf. An expedition was sent against him under a rival derehy, Capan Oghlu Amnin Payha of Yozgar, failed to dislodge him, but in 1818 the governor of Adana managed to capture him, and he was sent to Istanbul and executed.

His young son Mustuk (apparently a hypocoristic from Mustafa; to be written as Mustuk? ) took refuge in Marash for nine years, out of the reach of the governors of Adana, but returned to Payas in 1827. During the 1830s he supported the Ottomans' enemy, Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad 'Ali [q.v.], but rallied to the Sultans after the 'Abd al-Karim Egyptian forces in 1840. William Barckhardt Barker, son of a British consul in the Levant, praises Mustuk for his polished manners and generous nature, a sharp contrast to his forebears, and Mustuk did try to discourage brigandage in his region. But the long-term policy of the Sultans at this time was the reduction and ending of the power of all derebys. Mustuk fought off an attack by the governor of Adana in 1844, and it was not until 1863 that the then governor in Adana secured his capture. He was exiled, but the Payas region continued to be disturbed for another two years through the activity of two of his sons.

Bibliography: Barker's account of the family is the main Western source; see his Lores and penates, or, Cilicia and its governors, ed. W.F. Ainsworth, London 1853, 73 ff. Of modern studies, see A.G. Gould, Lords or bandits? The derebys of Cilicia, in TME, vii (1976), 487-90; C.E. Bosworth, William Barckhardt Barker's picture of Cilicia in the early 19th century, forthcoming in Graeco-Arabica, xlii (1998), with further references; and the Bibli. to DEREBY.

(C.E. Bosworth)

KUFIR [see KAFIR]
continuator—considered as apocryphal (e.g. Marābkīz al-dawʾīr al-mutamāsā; al-Mastāʾl al-hanādiṣiyā; K. al-Makhtūhīlī, or else are commentaries on Euclid or determinations of the value of π. The treatises on astronomical topics are much less numerous: on the construction of the astrolabe and of verticals (dawdʾīr al-ṣamūt) on the tympanum of this last, preserved by Abū Naṣr Maḥmūd b. ʿIrāq, al-Būrīnī’s master (cf. J. Samsō, Estudios sobre Abu Naṣr...). A short article... on the possibility of infinite motion in finite time, in Actes du VIII Congrès international d’Histoire des sciences, Florence 1956, 249-9.


KULUZ, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Greek town of Voloş, a port on the northern shore of the Pagaetic Gulf or Gulf of Voloş in east-central Thessaly [see TESALVA] (lat. 39° 22′ N., long. 22° 57′ E.). The name probably stems from Slavonic goloh “seat of administration” and may be associated with the Slav presence in the area during middle Byzantine times.

Situated on the site of ancient Iolos, the area received ca. 1277 refugees from the Byzantine capital Constantinople who opposed the emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus’s attempts at church union with the West, and in the late Byzantine period Voloş was known as a relatively new settlement. Together with neighbouring Demetrias (2 km to the south-west of Voloş) and Kastoria, Voloş was part of a bishopric (see VOLEOS) which had remained in Catalan hands until ca. 1381, when Voloş experienced two Ottoman conquests, firstly between 1393 and 1397/796-800 and then 805/1403, and passed definitively into Turkish hands ca. 826/1423. The conquerors strengthened the fortifications of the castle there in order to fend off an impending Venetian attack, and an Ottoman governor and garrison were installed, together with fresh Muslim settlers from Anatolia, whilst the local Christians moved to the slopes of Mt. Pélion to the north (refs. in A. Savvides, in Thessaliki: Ημερολογία, xviii [1996], 51-2, 59-60).

In the early Ottoman period, the region of the Voloş fortress [but not Demetrias] is mentioned in the surviving testaments of the Turkish governors of Thessaly Turakhān Bey [g.]; 850/1446, ʿOmer Bey (889/1484) and Hasan Bey (937/1531), whilst it was also described in Piri Reʾsī’s [g.] Kitāb-i Behriyye. The first settlements outside the fortress grew up in the late 16th-early 17th centuries, a growth which stimulated local commerce and the transit trade. This was helped by a famed local fair held twice a week and the first works along the shore at the fortress beach, later to become Voloş’s commodious port. In 1665 the fortress was attacked by Francesco Morosini and a Venetian force (P. Coronelli, Memorie storico-giografiche... , Venice 1692, 229), but soon recaptured and refortified by the Ottomans.

During the Greek Revolt of the early 19th century, the rebel Greeks of Pélion failed in May 1821 to capture the strongly-held fortress, although on 8 April 1827 the British naval commander and Philhellene Frank Abney Hastings seized five Turkish vessels in Voloş harbour and forced the Ottoman garrison temporarily to evacuate the fortress (see Tospotos, History, 202 ff.). However, the region remained under Turkish rule till 1881 when, following the Berlin Conference, it passed between 2 and 22 November to the Kingdom of Greece and Turkish forces left the town (the citadel was unfortunately demolished a few years later). It was in this last phase of Ottoman rule that the initial settlements of the modern town of Voloş were established (1833-50), with consulates and commercial installations set up by Greeks, Austrians, British, French and Italians between 1836 and 1870 (see ibid., 240 ff., 250 ff.).

Modern Voloş is now a major commercial and industrial centre (population in 1981: 70,000; in 2003: 83,600) and is the chef-lieu of the prefecture of Magnesia.

Bibliography: See also D. Tospotos, The Paganistic Gulf and Voloş... [in Greek], Athens 1930; idem, Hist. of Voloş [in Greek], Voloş 1991, with detailed bibl. at 326-33, 344-50; N. Papachatzes, Historical and archaeological viewpoint of the Voloş area [in Greek], Voloş 1993 (ref. in A. Papathanassiou, Η μελέσμαν Μεντρίτας [in Greek], Athens 1989; C. Liapès, The fortress of Voloş through the ages [in Greek], Voloş 1991; Papathanassiou, Byzantine Demetrius [in Greek], Voloş 1993, 150, 179, 251. (A. Savvides)

AL-KUMMĪ, Ḥasan b. MUHAMMAD b. Ḥasān, the author of a local history of the town of Kum [g.] in northern Persia, fl. in the 4th/10th century. He is said to have compiled his history originally in Arabic at the instigation of his brother, Abu ʿl-Ḵāsimʿ Allī, governor of Kum for the Būyids, in order to gather together and record all the traditions about the arrival of the Arabs in Kum and the town’s subsequent history. He dedicated the book to the famous vizier, the Ṣāḥīb Ibn ʿAbbād [see ibn ʿAbbād]. The Arabic original has not survived, but a Persian translation was made by one Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik Kummi in 912/1503-4, though this seems to contain much less material than the original Arabic text did (ed. Ḍjalāl al-Ḏīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1313/1994).

Bibliography: Storey, i, 348-9; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1008-9; A.K.S. Lambton, An account of the Tihrīk Qumm, in BOA, xii (1947-8), 586-96. (Ed.) KÜRÜS (present-day Şeyhıye Khuruz), the Classical Cyrrhus, capital of the Cyrrhestica, a stronghold in the north of modern Syria on the Sabun-suyu, a right-bank affluent of the Nahr ‘Afrīn. As a Seleucid colony, it took the name of a place in Macedonia and remained a stronghold under the Romans. Three ancient bridges, still visible, allowed crossing of the Sabun-suyu and the ‘Afrīn. Archaeological researches have revealed several monuments, including an amphitheatre. In the necropolis to the southeast of the town is an ancient tomb which mediaeval Islamic tradition attributed to Urâb the Hitite and which includes a cenotaph of Mamlûk times. Kürüs enjoyed a fresh lease of life under the emperor Justinian I, who rebuilt its fortifications. The Muslims took it in 616/1437, and later considered it as one of the marches of the empire, guarding the Antioc and Aleppo roads. Its military role thereafter declined. At the end of the 11th century it came under the
It became the seat of a Latin bishopric, and had also of Gogh Vasil, before being taken by the Franks ca. 1042.

It was taken and destroyed by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangi in 1150, but ca. 1165-6 ceded to the Armenian prince Mkh. In the 7th/13th centuries, Kūrus, coming within the territories of Aleppo, was ruinous but still gave its name to a district whose agricultural revenues formed an iktd [g.v.] supporting 40 cavalrymen.

KUWAYK, Nahr, the name given by the Arabs to the ancient Chalos river in northern Syria. This stream, whose valley makes a shallow notch in the plateau of the Aleppo region, rises at the foot of the last outliers of the Taurus, to the east of al-Dawla [g.v.] and the territories of Aleppo, was ruinous but still gave its name to a district whose agricultural revenues formed an iktd [g.v.] supporting 40 cavalrymen.


(Anne-Marie Edde)

KUWAYK, Nahr, the name given by the Arabs to the ancient Chalos river in northern Syria. This stream, whose valley makes a shallow notch in the plateau of the Aleppo region, rises at the foot of the last outliers of the Taurus, to the east of al-Rawandān [g.v.] in present-day Turkey. Fed by various springs, notably in the 'Āzaz region, it skirts Aleppo to the west, and to the south of this city receives the waters of the Blessed Spring (al-'Ayn al-Muhābrakā). After a course of some 110 km/70 miles, it peters out in the vicinity of Kīnnasīn [g.v.] in a swampy depression called al-Māmith.

This river, with an average flow of waters which is very feeble, enabled several mills up stream and below stream of Aleppo to turn, and it irrigated gardens to the north and west of the capital. Occasionally there were significant floodings from melting snows or violent rains, but it dried up in summer through absence of rainfall and because the villagers upstream used the little water which it carried for irrigating their fields.

In the mid-14th/10th century, the Hamdānī Sayf al-Dawla [g.v.] diverted the river so that it might flow through the palace he had had built in one of the western suburbs of Aleppo. At the beginning of the 8th/14th century, a canal was dug to carry part of the waters of the Sādġūr into the Kuwayk and thereby increase the latter's flow, but these works were destroyed by an earthquake in 1544, restored in 1644, but definitively abandoned in 1723.


(Anne-Marie Edde)

KUZMÂN, Banī, a family of literary men of al-Andalus and connected with the city of Cordova. The name Kuzmân (Span. Guzmán, a personal name of Germanic origin) suggests an Iberian or Romance origin. As well as the most famous member of the family, the author of zajdīs Ibn Kuzmân [g.v.], there are four other interesting members.

1. Abu 'l-Asbagh Ḥisā b. 'Abd al-Malik, poet and littérateur (4th/10th century), appointed by al-Mansūr Ibn Abī 'Āmar [g.v.] tutor of the young Ḥishām II al-Mu'ayyad [g.v.] proclaimed caliph in Cordova in 966/976.

2. Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Ubayd Allāh (d. 508/1114), son of 2., a famous fakīh and poet, and secretary to the vizier of the Aftasid prince Abu Ḥafs 'Umar al-Mutawakkil [g.v.] of Badajoz, a Germanic origin) suggests an Iberian or Romance origin.

3. Abu Marwān 'Abd al-Rahmān (479-593/1086 or 1087-1169), son of 2., a famous fakīh and jurist, and one of the last traditionists of al-Andalus. He functioned as a kādhī.

4. Abu 'l-Husayn 'Ubayd Allāh (ca. 518-93/1124 to 1196-7), son of 3., poet, jurist and kādhī in various districts of the province of Cordova.

Other possible members of the family are mentioned in Levi-Provencal's article, see Bibl.


(I. Ferrando)
the collective description of Arabic sounds). *Lafz* occurs mostly in morphological and syntactic contexts, but always indicates an actual acoustic event or a real utterance, usually at the word or sentence level, and thus often contrasts with implicit or semantic features of speech.

Definitions of speech using the term *lafz* may specify that it excludes elements which are not in the Arabic phoneme inventory [cf. *mufrad al-mufrad*], as well as non-linguistic modes of communication such as gestures and context of situation and even writing, *khat* [q.v.], when necessary; cf. Bakalla, 60). It was also established very early (Sibawayhi, *Kitâb*, ch. 4) that the lexical relationship between form (*lafz*) and meaning (*muflâd* [q.v.]) was of three kinds, viz. (1) identity of form with difference of meaning (homonymy), e.g. *zaqqa* “to find” and “to feel passion”, (2) difference of form with identity of meaning (synonymy), e.g. *dhu'ababa* and *inatlababa* “to go away”, and (3) difference of both form and meaning, e.g. *dhu'ababa* “to go away” and *gafles* “to sit”.

In morphological contexts, *lafz* will typically contrast with *ma'nd*, i.e. opposing the phonological to the semantic properties of an element. For example, a distinction is made between absolute objects (*muflâld* *muflâd*) which are composed of the same radicals as the formal realisation (*lafz*), which are derived from a synonym of their operative form (*gâfles* “I sat down right down”) and those which are derived from a synonym of their operating verb and are thus termed *lafz* “formal” (e.g. *dhalastu* *dhalâd* “I sat down right down”) and those for which there is a nominant from them of their operating verb and are thus termed *ma'nuwâ* “semantic” (e.g. *dhalastu b'sâd* “I sat down with a squatting action”).

At the syntactical level, the opposition is usually between the formal realisation (*lafz*) versus the implied, *mukaddar* [see *takôlan*, where *lafz* is translated “literal”], i.e. the surface realisation is contrasted with some equivalent word or words assumed to underlie the form actually expressed. This is not to be confused with modern notions of deep and surface structure, since the underlying forms are invariably stated as verbal paraphrases of the surface realisations and the question of transformation therefore does not arise. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that there are other, similar oppositions recognised by the grammarians, notably the explicit (*zâhid*) versus the suppressed (*mudman*), for the contrast between overt and implicit elements generally, and the visible (*bârâ") versus the concealed (*mutâfâd*), for the oppositions in particular, to which must be added elision (*hadâf*) and the restoration of elided elements in the shape of “additions”, *zâhidât*, all of which point to a complex understanding of the relationship between the outward verbal features of speech and its inner content.

Understandably, the scrutiny of what was sometimes called the *kallâm* *lafz* “the formal utterance” in the light of its internal implications, the *kallâm* *nâsât* “mental or spiritual utterance”, became a dominant preoccupation of the sciences of rhetoric, exegesis, law, and theology.


(M.G. CARTER)

2. In theology.

Here it refers to the pronunciation of the *Kur'ân*. The term was introduced by Husayn b. 'Ali al-Karâbîsî (d. 245/859 or 248/862 [q.v.]), a disciple of al-Shâfi‘î who, in theology, shared the position of Ibn Kullâb [q.v. in Suppl.]. Reacting against the Mu'tazilî doctrine of *dhalâl* *al-Kur'ân*, the latter had distinguished between *kallâm* *Allah*, God's speech which is eternal, and *kârâ’a*, the recitation of the *Kur'ân* which occurs in time. Al-Karâbîsî replaced *kârâ‘a* by *lafz* (or *nâfî*) which was broader and meant any quoting of the *Kur'ân*, including beyond formal recitation. During the later phase of the *mufrad* [q.v.], his doctrine spread widely, to the Džâzîra (Mawṣûl and Transjordan) and possibly even to Damascus, through Hishâm b. 'Amârâ al-Sulâmi (d. 245/859), who served as *kâhîf* at the Umayyad Mosque. In Bagdâd, however, al-Karâbîsî encountered heavy opposition from some Hanbalîs and his adherents, who denounced his approach as *Djahmî*, i.e. they equated it with the belief in the createdness of the Word of God, or at least banished any mention of it. In Persia, the situation was quite different. Hanbalî radicalism came under attack by al-Bukhârî (in his *K. Khâlîk al-qâf'é*) and Ibn Kutaybah (in his *Nâhîa fi l-‘lafz*) who both virtually shared Karâbîsî's opinion without explicitly referring to him. The so-called Fîh al-‘Abîr II names the createdness of *lafz* as part of the creed. Theologians like Makhûl al-NasâFI and al-Ghazâlî adhered to it, as did even Hanbalîs like Ibn *‘Aqîl* or Abû Ya’la Ibn al-Farâ‘a. This broad acceptance of the general idea was counterbalanced by an avoidance of the term *lafz*; such as; al-Karâbîsî’s authorship was forgotten.


**LAHN** (n.). In music. This is one of the basic terms of secular music in Islamic times, used in Arabic and Persian [see *mufrad*]. In its early terminological sense, *lawn* (pl. *lahûn*, rarely *alîhûn*) denoted a musical mode, comparable to the later terms *naghma* (pl. *naghâm*) and *ma‘dûn* [q.v.]. It was a loan from the Byzantine Greek concept of *échus*, adopted probably in Umayyad Syria. A *Kâlûh al-Lahûn-l-damûnaya* (“Book on the modal system called okêichêos”), wrongly attributed to Ptolemy, was known to Ibn al-Kalbî [q.v.], according to a quotation in Ibn 'Abd Rabbîh’s *al-Bîd al-farîd*, Cairo 1949, vi, 27. *Al-Kindî* [q.v.] equated *lawn* with *tanîn* (= Greek *tûnos*) in the same sense of musical mode. In its more general and more common meaning *lahûn* (pl. *alîhûn*, *lahûn*) stands for melody. Here it corresponds to the Greek term *melos*. The notion of music (*ma‘dûn*) was therefore defined as the “science of the modes” (*ilm al-lahûn*) or as “composition of raiûdes” (*wâţîf al-alîhûn*). In the latter sense, the term was used and defined by many writers on music theory from al-Kindî to al-‘Lâdhîkî.
Al-Fārābī devoted several chapters of his Kitāb al-Musīkī al-kabīr to an exhaustive treatment of melodies. "Reciting the Qur'an with secular melodies" (kārta qaṣīr bi ṭalāḥān) was one of the crucial points in the discussion on decent music in Islamic society. Al-Fārābī devoted several chapters of his Kitāb al-Musīkī al-kabīr ("set to music"). Mulahhan ("composer") and mulahhan ("chanting; composition") have survived throughout the centuries, as have its derivatives mulahma ("set to music").

The principal offices of the Safawid state during the reign of Ismā'īl I (907-30/1501-24), or leading figures in the state. The structure of the Ottoman dynasty, Oxford 1966, 10, 117). Again as in Persia, such tutors were prestigious figures, and could become senior vezirs or leading commanders like Lala Mustafa Pasha (d. 988/1580), tutor to the future Selmī II (see MÜSTAFı PAŞA, LALA). It also made its way to the Muslim India of the Mughals, and in British Indian times, acquired a wider meaning of "child's tutor" in general and also, in northern India, became the title of a clerk or secretary in the local, vernacular languages (see Yule and Burnell, HUMAM-LOQMAN, a glossary of Anglo-Indic words and phrases "London 1903, 501-2").

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. Bosworth)
While its date of publication places it within a decade of the mid-18th century, its fictionality of his narrative stands in marked contrast to the most influential figure of early 18th-century Ottoman miniature painting, active during the reigns of Mustafa II and Ahmed III (q.v.), and which were not too open to attack from the steppe nomads or more northerly forest peoples. Hence, as Atasoy-Filiz Qagman, Lewni and the Surname, Istanbul 1949; idem, Lewni, Istanbul 1985, 175; M. Fuad Koprulii, Istanbul 1967; I. Stchoukine, La peinture turque d'apres les manuscrits illustres, Paris 1991, ii, 74-84; Nurhan Atasoy-Filiz Çağman, Turkish miniature painting, Istanbul 1974; Esin Atıl, Lewni and the Surname, Istanbul 1999; A. Gül Irepoglu, Lewni, painting — poetry — colour, Istanbul 1999; cadem, “From book to Canvas.” The Sultan’s portrait-picturing the House of Osman, Istanbul 2000, 378-437. (A. Gül IREPOĞLU)

M

MA’, 10. Irrigation in Transoxania. The rivers of Inner Asia, extending from Kh’arazm in the west through Transoxania to eastern Turkestan (the later Sinkiang) and northwards to the Semirecye, have all been extensively used for irrigation purposes, in the lands along those rivers and in oasis centres, providing a possibility for agriculture in favoured spots which were not too open to attack from the steppe nomads or more northerly forest peoples. Hence, as elsewhere in the Old World, the maintenance of irrigation works, surface canals and kârîces or subterranean channels (these last to be found as far east as the Tarim basin and the fringes of China proper; see KAN’AT) depended on injections of capital from strong local rulers, on the mass mobilisation of labour for construction and maintenance work, and on vigorous defence policies to protect the settled lands. Such river systems as those of the Oxus, Zarafshân and Syr Darya to the west of the Tien Shan mountains, and those of the Tarim river and its tributaries coming down from the Kun-Lun mountains, to the east of the Tien Shan, must have had irrigation works long
antedating the coming of Islam, even where specific information is lacking and their existence can only be inferred from the sparse archaeological investigations in such regions.

Thus ground surveys and the results of aerial photography have enabled scholars like the late S.P. Tolstov to show how irrigation in Khūzestān depended on a complex system of canals and channels from the lower Syr Darya and extending westwards towards the Caspian (these last, along the old channel of the Uzboi [see Amu Darya]), were investigated in an expedition of 1947; see Tolstov, Auf den Spuren der altorientischen Kultur, East Berlin 1953, 318 ff.

The irrigation systems of what was the pre-Islamic Iranian region of Sogdia [see Al-Soghd] are especially well known from the mediaeval Arabic and Persian geographers and local historians and were the subject of a special monograph by W. Barthold (Kistori oroshe information is lacking and their existence can only be antedating the coming of Islam, even where specific information is lacking and their existence can only be inferred from the sparse archaeological investigations in such regions.

According to the latter, the main irrigation channel through the city was known as the rūd-i zar “golden, or gold-bearing river” (Turkī-i Bukhāra, tr. R.N. Frye, The history of Bukhara, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 51-2). Al-Mukaddasī, 331-2, and Ibn Hawkal, ii, 484-7, tr. ii, 465-7, describe how locks and sluices along the irrigation system controlled the water flow at times of the river’s spate and inundation; see also Barthold, op. cit., 103-6.

The Arab geographers likewise give detailed information on the situation at Bukhāra, at the western end of the Zarafshān basin, and these can be supplemented by items from the local historian Nāršākhī [q.v.]. According to the latter, the main irrigation channel through the city was known as the rūd-i zar “golden, or gold-bearing river” (Turkī-i Bukhāra, tr. R.N. Frye, The history of Bukhara, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 51-2). Al-Mukaddasī, 331-2, and Ibn Hawkal, ii, 484-7, tr. ii, 465-7, describe how locks and sluices along the irrigation system controlled the water flow at times of the river’s spate and inundation; see also Barthold, op. cit., 103-6.

There was a continuously-cultivated strip of agricultural land along the left bank of the Oxus from Amūl [q.v.] to Khāzarn, with arīks led off the main channel of the river, some big enough for boats to sail on, until the extensive network of canals in Khāzarn itself was reached (see above). Irrigation canals in the Syr Darya basin began in the Farghāna [q.v.] valley, into which the river’s most voluminous source, the Nahr Djejdjīl (probably the modern Naryn), began; then as now, the Farghāna valley was a land of intense cultivation, and the towns there, such as Akhsikāt and Khudjand [q.v.], derived their water supplies from conduits leading off the irrigation canals (see Le Strange, op. cit., 477 ff.). Further down the Syr Darya basin, irrigation channels were a feature of such provinces as Shāhā [see Taṣkent], Ilbān and Isfīdja [q.v. in Suppl.] until Sayrān and the frontier with the Oghuz steppes were reached.

The Murghāb river in northern Khūzestān (now mainly in Turkmenistan) had numerous canals and dams along its course, controlling the waters which came down from melted snows in the Paropamisus mountains of northern Afghanistan. The situation there has been mentioned in section 6. above, at Vol. V, 868b, but one should add here that we possess especially valuable information for the very complex irrigation system in the Marw oasis from some of the Arab geographers and from the section on the terminology of the divān al-mā’ in al-Khāzarnī’s concise encyclopaedia of the technical terms of the various sciences, the Mafdiḥ al-ulām, composed in the later Sāmānīd period by an author closely connected with the Sāmānīd bureaucracy in Bukhāra; part of this last author’s information on irrigation terminology deals specifically with conditions at Marw (see C.E. Bosworth, Abū ’Abdallāh al-Khwārizmī on the technical terms of the secretary’s art, in JESHO, xii [1969], 151-8). Ibn Hawkal, ii, 436, tr. ii, 421-2, characterises the Marv marvāt or mawṣūl al-mā’ at Marw as a high-ranking amīr who had under him over 10,000 men, each with a specific task to perform, for keeping the irrigation system in repair. Al-Mukaddasī, 330-1, mentions that the amīr’s staff included guards (hurrās) to keep watch over the canal banks and 4,000 divers

control and temporarily recovered its independence under the local king Ghiyārak, and had now to be reconverted by the Arabs [al-Tabarī, ii, 1586; H.A.R. Gibb, The Arab conquests in Central Asia, London 1923, 70-80]. The dam at Waraghsar was obviously an ancient work. Further information on the irrigation system of Samarkand, this time in the Karakhanīd period, is given by the local historian Abū Ḥāfṣ Umar al-Nasāfī (early 6th/12th century) in his Kitāb al-Kind fī torūkh Samarkand; he enumerates the various arīks and gives the total area of irrigated land (Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, London 1968, 89, and on the irrigation system at Samarkand in general, ibid., 83-92).

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who watched the channels night and day and had to be ready to turn out for running repairs in all weather conditions; the allocation of water to their various users was determined by a special measure or gauge (miṣāba).

For all these hydraulic systems, the devastations of the Mongols must have had an adverse effect, although agriculture gradually revived and the systems were brought back into repair and use. Šimūr took steps at restoration of the Sogdian irrigation system, especially when he made Samarkand his capital. Under Ozbeg and especially when he made Samarkand his capital. Under the succeeding lines of Ozbeg Turkish khans in Transoxiana and Khârâzim, internal prosperity continued to rest substantially on an agriculture supported by centrally-organised irrigation systems. Hence every canal and rural community dependent on it had its mirâb, the official in charge of the construction and upkeep of the dams and channels. Some of these were comparatively humble local functionaries, but the vital function of the irrigation systems for maintaining the economic health of Khârâzim, in later times the khanate of Khârâzim, internal prosperity con-

In all weather conditions; the allocation of water to its various users was determined by a special measure or gauge (miṣāba).

as the mīrâb (Yu. Bregel [tr.], Fundus al-ṭibbîl. History of Khânzân, Leiden 1999, pp. xviii-xix, xxi). Some of the highest personalities in the state gave personal attention to these matters. Mu'nis describes how the amir ʿAwad Biy ʿInâ s sall 31/1262 supervised the dredging of the Khârwânīn canal (the term for such operations being kâzû, apparently from kâznâk “to dig”) the actual work being done by corvee labour (ḥadâr, bigâr); and the Khân himself, Muhammad Rahîm, came personally in 1225/1810 for the re-opening of the head of this canal (Bregel, op. cit., 162-3, 299).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also A. Mez, Die Renaissance des Islam, Heidelberg 1925, Eng. tr. 449-50; D.R. Hill, in The UNESCO History of the civilizations of Central Asia, iv/2, Paris 2000, 265 ff. (C.E. Bosworth)

MĀʾ AL-WARD, rose water (sometimes also found in the single word form al-māʾwar, which suggests that among doctors and apothecaries, this commodity was perceived as something very specific), an essential preparation in Arab pharmacology.

Use of rose water is to be seen in the context of the knowledge professed by the Arabs of the medical and cosmetic properties of the rose and, clearly, their mastery of the technique of distillation. While the treatises evoke numerous varieties of rose, the generic term for which is ʿward (a word originally denoting, in classical Arabic, any flower of shrub or of tree) or indeed the Persian ʿalâ', they are not immune from ambiguity. Thus the red rose is sometimes called ʿward ṣnārâ, sometimes  ḥarābīān, a term reserved by some for the damask rose. The varieties most frequently attested are three in number, if the wild rose is excluded (noted: Rosa canina; white rose (Rosa alba; ʿward alnâ, ṣnārâ); five-leaf rose (Rosa centifolia; ḥarābīān); damask rose (Rosa damascena; ʿward ḥârâbī, ʿward ḥârâbī, ʿward ḥalâdī, ʿward ṣnār). Rose water was extracted from the petals of the last-named, pale red in colour and flowering from the spring to the end of summer. It may be noted that the rose was among the ingredients of various other concoctions such as rose honey (gârlânābâh) or garlic (gârlâb)...

Rose water was thus obtained by the distillation of the damask rose (ʿward ḥârâbî, the nāsâ, referring to the town of Damascus, theoretically the south of Persia or ʿFārābârān), a technique described in detail by Al-Nuwâyri (Nihâyât, xii, 123, 1266-8), with reference to several recipes, on the basis of his usual source, namely the Kûd al-Iṣârâs of al-Tanîmî. But, contrary to what might be supposed, the majority of recipes for rose water blended this flower with other medicinal herbs such as aloes, saffron, musk, camphor or even cloves. This essence could be obtained from the petals (ʿward ṣnārâ) of the fresh flower (ʿward ṣnârâ) or of the dried flower (ʿward yâhâs), when they had been ground and set to macerate in the cuscub (ṣârâ', i.e. lower part of the amelbic; then, by means of the alembic (al-ʿandūb, here the coil) and its heating, the rose water was collected by distillation (takīfīth). The procedure of sublimation (rudimentary distillation, tatīfīth) was also in use, according to Al-Nuwâyri.

As regards the medicinal properties, the sources attest that distilled rose water was used, internally or externally, in the treatment of migraines, insomnia and anxiety, but especially, in eye-washes, to combat ophthalmia (Maimonides, Ṣahrâ, 59; Ibn Sinâ, Kûdânî, i, 290-300). Mediaeval treatises on pharmacology and of ophthalmic medicine lay particular stress on the salutary properties of rose water for a wash for the treatment of numerous conditions of the eye, as well as for their prevention (yanma wârîb ʿl-ṣîm, writes Dâwûd al-Anṭâkî, Tadhkîrâ, i, 339). The emollient and stabilising properties of rose water, often combined, in this case, with egg white, were appreciated after operations for cataract (Ibn Kassân al-ʿAllâtî, Kûd al-Murshîd, 154; Hunayn b. ʿIshâk, K. al-ʿAlîyâ maktabâtī fi ʿl-ṣîm, 158, 160). Use of this essence as an eye-wash is still common today and traditionally-inclined doctors readily prescribe it (H. Ducros, Droguier, 66-7; G. Honda, Herb drugs, 19, 90; J. Bellakhdar, Médecine traditionnelle, 302). Besides the purely medical use of this commodity, a number of texts refer to its benefits in the sphere of cosmetics and aesthetics, especially as a hair rinse and as a cooling agent.

MADHHAB — MADINA

MADHHAB (A., pl. madhdhibi), inf. n. of dh-h-b, meaning "a way, course, mode, or manner, of acting or conduct or the like" (Lane, i, 983b); as a term of religion, philosophy, law, etc. "a doctrine, a tenet, an opinion with regard to a particular case"; and in law specifically, a technical term often translated as "school", "school of law", "school of jurisprudence". One of the four legal systems recognized as orthodox by Sunni Muslims, viz. the Hanafiyya, Malikiyya, Shafi’iyya and Hanbaliyya [see ASHARIYYA; ZAYDIYYA].

Schools of law and historical context: Re-examining the formation of the Hanbali madhhab, in ILS, vii (2000), 37-64 and W.B. Hallaq, From regional to personal schools of law? A revolution, in ILS, viii (2001), 1-26. For new secondary studies on the madhhab since the Bibl. given in ILS, see the important publication of Islamic Law and Society (ILS), i (1994); N. Calder, Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence, Oxford 1993; C. Melchert, The formation of the Sunni schools of law, the "ancient schools of law" and for further bibliography see the entry LAW in The Islamic school of law. The rise of humanism in classical Islam and the West, C. Melchert, in Leiden 1997; Nurit Tsafrir, in the forthcoming [2004] volume Reflections on the study of Islamic art, [see HISBA]), it comprised a Friday mosque, normally located at its centre; it had a market (suk [q.v.]), which was situated near the mosque and organised according to a strict professional specialisation; it was provided with public baths; and it was generally surrounded by rumparts. It is interesting to note that Arab researchers who are interested in the problem have generally adopted such a negative vision.

No further time will be wasted on the conditions under which a revision of this concept took place (the end of the colonial era, a more reasonable appreciation of the Arab cultural context and the "Turkish" period, and the discovery of Ottoman sources). A certain number of orientalists' pre-suppositions have been submitted to an excruciating revision, and a better acquaintance with later ancient cities has tempered any illusion about their supposed perfection (H. Kennedy, From Polis to Medina, in Past and Present [1985]); it was recognised that the variety of historical conditions should be taken into account (J.C.I. Garcia, Habitat medieval et histoire urbaine, in Palais et maisons du Caite, i, Paris 1982, as also the diversity of geographical and cultural conditions prevailing in the Muslim world (O. Grabar, Reflexions on the study of Islamic art, in Magamas, i [1983]). Attention was drawn to the fact that the absence of administration in the Muslim town was not as absolute as had been.
Aleppo. Normally one or more main streets cross it, principal economic, religious and cultural activities. Wholesale trade took place and the centre of it was a period. It is here that big international business and which are generally very specialised and assigned par-

mental characteristic of this system was a marked sep-

ally very stable, probably because it has a very strong

(such as the Kasaba in Cairo). This zone is gener-

others have been traced back to the Arab foundation

familial and the money changers (as 

precious metals (sdgha

which may be described as doubly concentric, an

large markets located in the area near the Kasaba. In Tunis,

in the area near to the large mosque; nearby can be found in particular the markets for

precious metals (sdgha) and the money changers (as noted by L. Massignon,

Enquete sur les corporations d‘ar-
tisans, in RAM, lviii [1924]). In Cairo the 62 cara-

vanserais where the coffee trade took place were

located in the area near the Kašaba. In Tunis, Damascus and Aleppo, the suks for cloth and spices

occupy a prominent place in the area immediately surrounding the mosque. From the centre onwards,

activities spread over an increasingly great distance as their order of importance diminished, and also accord-

ing to the growing incompetence of particular trades.

There could be found on the periphery of the town

those domestic activities that needed space (such as

the straw workers); those linked to the countryside

(grain markets in the large squares, rābba, hawma and

livestock markets); those that were embarrassing and

polluting (ovens of all sorts, abattoirs, tanneries). The

moving of such trades to a more remote location could, moreover, be an indication of urban develop-

ment, as was the case for the transfer of the tan-

neries in Aleppo (1570), Cairo (1600) and Tunis (1770)

(see Raymond, Le déplacement des tanneries, in REMM,

By contrast, the orientalist vision of a fundamen-
tally egalitarian, Muslim society was a factor in impos-
ing a scheme according to which the rich and poor

lived together in the same urban space, using a unique

type of habitat qualified as “Muslim”, although the

house with a central patio may be found in Classical

Antiquity, also, an idea strongly expressed by A. Abdel

Nour, Introduction à l’histoire urbaine de la Syrie ottomane,

itself; it is open only toward the centre, where the

local inhabitants undertake their activities and towards

which the network of roads leads in a hierarchically

organised scheme (N. Messiri, The concept of the Hara,

in AI, xv [1979]): this consideration, as well as the

concern for security, justifies the statistical importance

of the cul-de-sacs in this area. There does not seem to

be any way of accounting for this homogeneity of

origin or activity of the inhabitants, except in those

cases where a district was inhabited by a community

of a distinct religious or ethnic minority.

These general characteristics lead to a structure

which may be described as doubly concentric, an

arrangement such as is well known in the field of

economic activities. Big international businesses and

the main activities of craftsmen are located in the

central regions, in the area near to the large mosque; nearby can be found in particular the markets for

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Nour, Introduction à l’histoire urbaine de la Syrie ottomane,

Beirut 1982. Reality is quite different and corresponds logically to a strongly unequal socio-economic struc-
ture. Studies on this subject carried out in Cairo (Raymond, Artisans et commerçants, Damascus 1974),
Damascus (C. Establet and J.-P. Pascual, *Familles et fortunes à Damas, Damascus 1994*) and Algiers (T. Shuval, *La ville d'Alger*, Paris 1998) have shown a remarkable inequality in the range of wealth, insofar as this can be measured through the successions registered in the courts: fortunes are in a proportion of 1 : 10,000 in Cairo and 1 : 3,000 in Damascus around 1700 (Establet, Pascual and Raymond, *La mesure de l'inégalité sociale dans la société ottomane*, in JESHÖ, xxxvii [1994]). It is therefore not surprising in these conditions that in the large Arab towns the population would be distributed according to a rather rigorous "classification": the comfortable residences occupied the zone near the centre (where the *ulama* preferentially lived near to the mosque and traders near the *sūk*); then there were the middle-class areas with increasingly poor living conditions, until one reached the often wretched housing for the common people on the periphery and in the suburbs. This roughly concentric arrangement can be clearly deduced from studies on Tunis (J. Revault, *Palais et demeures à Tunis*, Paris 1967-78), Cairo (N. Hanna, *Habitar au Caire*, Cairo 1991) and Aleppo (J.-C. David, *Alep, dégénération et tentatives actuelles de réadaptation*, in BEO, xxviii [1973]).

However, the central patio house only appears to be "unitary", and great differences evidently exist with regard to dimensions, whether there are one or more storeys, interior amenities and decoration between houses with courtyards of the rich, middle-class and poor (for Tunis, see G. Cladel and P. Revault, * Medina, approche typologique*, Tunis 1970). Moreover, examples of "atypical" houses are plentiful. There is the collective accommodation of the caravanserai type, the collective accommodation of the *rabâ‘* type found in Cairo, vertical accommodation (Rwietta, Yemen), middle-class accommodation without a patio, poor community accommodation of the *hawâj* type, and cellular accommodation; mediaeval examples of this have been studied by Scanlon and Kubiak in their excavations of Fustat.

Naturally, no existing town corresponds to this model of a round town, arranged in concentric rings around the centre, with its economic and residential activities classified according to a decreasing order of importance. There are a number of factors (natural, historical, economic and social) that explain the irregularities that are noted. The decentralizing of al-Kahira, in the northeast quarter of ancient Cairo, is justified by natural considerations such as the presence of the Mukaṣṣam Hills, which prohibited expansion towards the east; also by historical reasons, such as the construction of the citadel by Saḥāḥ al-Dīn [q.v.], which favoured expansion towards the south, and the custom of dumping the rubbish from Cairo into the region today called "The Tells", which has restricted any expansion towards the northeast.

A similar analysis could be applied to Tunis, where the geography of the site dictates that expansion should develop only towards the north and the south, since expansion to the east and west is prevented by the two lagoons [q.t.t.s.]. It could be applied also to Aleppo, where for a long time the presence of the river Kuwayk has hindered any development of the city towards the west and the existence of cemeteries prevented expansion to the north and south. Mawāsīl had the appearance of a round town until economic reasons, like the special attraction of the markets because of the commercial potential of the river Tigris, and probably also political reasons (the research into the proximity of the citadel) brought about the displacement of the centre towards the river, far from the great mosque. On the other hand, the locations of the districts for the minorities and for the élite followed a particular logic, which often led to their remoteness from the centre.

There is indeed good reason for emphasising the importance of the segregative factors in the way the "traditional" town is organised. The inequalitarian nature of Muslim society explains this discrimination by the standard of wealth and the difference in living conditions between the centre and the periphery. In Cairo, however, collective rented accommodation, the *rabâ‘* [q.v.], allowed the middle classes to reside near the centre (Raymond, *Le rabâ‘, un habitat collectif au Caire*, in MUSJ, 1 [1948]). Districts for the élite were often located on the periphery, where the powerful could find the space they needed for their houses and a certain isolation from the rest of the population. The vigour with which the "national" and/or religious Muslim minority communities regrouped depended on the degree of their differences with regard to the rest of the population: in Cairo, the Maghribis and the Syrians regrouped less than the Turks; a Kurdish district had been in existence for a very long time in Damascus; while in Antioch, the Alawites were at one and the same time very much united and pushed far from the centre. The non-Muslim minority communities (the People of the Book subject to the status of ḥṣnni, "protected") were generally subjected from the point of view of space to strict segregation, expressing in terms of spatial location the discriminations and disabilities imposed upon them, despite the remarkable tolerance which these communities enjoyed under the Ottomans.

There were in all of the large towns Christian and Jewish districts, the location of which varied according to local conditions. The Jews of Tunis lived in a district (al-*ḥāna*) situated out of the way; those in Cairo were very close to the centre. The relative dispersion of the Copts in Cairo bore witness to the tolerance from which they benefited, but their districts were in the main situated to the west of Khalīfīd, in a region that was occupied by Muslims only at a fairly late date. The evolution of the Christian district of Aleppo is significant from this point of view. There, from the end of the 16th century, the community experienced a remarkable development, and this expansion was marked by an eastwards advance of the Christians in the northern suburb of the town which was progressively occupied by them. The gradual retreat of the Muslims towards the east, a community that was none the less dominant, certainly tends to confirm that the religious groups preferred, for reasons of convenience, a segregated, collective life rather than a confessional mix, even though such a mix could exist in limited zones (Raymond, *Une communauté en expansion. Les chrétiens d’Alep*, in *La ville arabe, Alep*, Damascus 1998).

The traditional Arab cities were therefore strongly structured, an observation that seems self-evident, for one can hardly imagine how an anarchical town without an administration would have been able to continue in existence and even experience a strong expansion in modern times. Investigation into the constitutive elements of this specific urban system, the identification of the para-administrative structures which allowed the conduct of urban affairs, and the recognition of the major role played by the waqf [q.v.] in urban organisation and development (R. Deguilem [ed.], *Le waqf dans l’espace islamique, Damascus 1995*) all lead to more positive conclusions than a discreditable comparison with other urban systems which were judged to have been more perfected.
However, an investigation such as this can be complete only when more can be learned about the origins of this urban system. Research on pre-Islamic towns in the Yemen (J.-F. Breton, *Le site et la ville de Shabwaa*, in *Arabian Cities* [1991]) and in Arabia (A. in al-Anṣaﬁ, *Qayrat al-Fālak*, London 1981) have brought important insights in this field. There is also a need for better information on the time of transition between the ancient period and the beginnings of the Islamic era (see the traces of Umayyad town planning discovered in the ancient sites of Palmyra and Beit Shean) and on the period of the foundation (for Fustat, see R.P. Gayraud, *Istabl ’Antar, in AI, xxv* [1991]).

The other crucial question is that of knowing to what extent the data on urban structure suggested by the examination of the remnants of ancient towns are equally valid for the “classical” Arab town, which we know from texts but which has to be the subject of reconstruction on the ground, since the urban tissue which subsists in the “madinas” of Arab towns dates only from the modern Ottoman period.


This story has remained in our mind, somewhat variably, into the 19th-century editions of the Nights (on the 18th-century manuscripts in which it appears, see the excellent discussion by D. Pinault, *Story-telling techniques in the Arabian Nights*, Leiden 1992, 150-80), is the most elaborate narrative about a city of copper, brass or bronze (on the proper meanings of nuḥḍa and sufr, and their indiscriminate use in non-scientific discourse, see M. Aga-Ogdu, *A brief note on Islamic terminology for bronze and brass*, in *JAOI*, lv (1944), 218-23). Fabulous stories about such a place, set in remote reaches of the Maghrib or al-Andalus, appear already in the 3rd/9th century. In Ibn Hibban’s (d. 238/853) *Kūtih al-Ṭeṭṣik* (ed. J. Aguadé, Madrid 1991, 144-5; authentic in the editor’s view), Mūṣā b. Nuṣayr’s (p. 325) adventures include finding jars in which Solomon imprisoned rebellious demons, and a copper fortress (*madina ‘alāyha bi’t min nuḥḍa* inhabited by *djimm*, which rendered those who enter it unaware of their condition. Al-Maṣ‘ūdī tells us (Marādīq, i, 369 = Ed. Pellat, i, 195-6, § 409) that beyond al-Sūq al-aqṣā (southeastern Morocco) one comes to the River of Sand, then to the Black Castle, and at length to the sandy desert in which the City of Brass (nuḥḍa) and Domes of Lead are found. He also refers to a book in wide circulation dealing with the wondrous things that Mūṣā b. Nuṣayr saw there. In another place (iv, 95 = § 1423) he refers to the same city (here as madinat al-sufr wa-suhv) in the Arabian Nights, Leiden 1992, 150-80), is the most elaborate narrative about a city of copper, brass or bronze (on the proper meanings of *nuḥḍa* and *suhv*), and their indiscriminate use in non-scientific discourse, see M. 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escapes with the cry "O Prophet, I will not relapse!" Later it is explained that such bottles hold the rebel's spirit imprisoned by Solomon. The Nights story adds further Solomonistic motifs to the journey and the City itself (cf. A. Hamori, The art of medieval Arabic literature, Princeton 1974, 149-53), as well as some other new details. The essential innovation is that in the Nights, Mīnā ultimately enters the City, to find it full of lifeless people who look deceptively alive. One of the leaders of the expedition, Tālib b. Sahl, is killed by robots when he tries to despoil the dead queen of her jewels.

The motifs in these narratives have their now inexorably tangled roots in Islamic (and Jewish) legends about Solomon, the Alexander Romance, Iranian legend, and, of course, in marvelling at ancient structures laid in massive desolation. Indeed, the sources show disagreement as to whether the builder of the City was Alexander or Solomon. Bronze or iron walls and palaces are a feature of many texts from Antiquity, and often occur in Islamic legend and poetry (cf. M. Barry, Le pavillon des sept princesses, Paris 2000, 680-4, on Nizāmī's Tale of the red pavilion). The principal source of the mediaeval City of Brass may well be the Iranian legend of the Brazen Hold, a subterranean (but brilliant) place of evil, a深化地 (cf. J. Darmesteter, 1957, 149-53), as well as some other features. The essential innovation is that in the Nights, Mīnā ultimately enters the City, to find it full of dead people who look deceptively alive. One of the leaders of the expedition, Tālib b. Sahl, is killed by robots when he tries to despoil the dead queen of her jewels.

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AL-MADDHUBIYYA [see AL-MADDHUB].

NADURA, MADURA, MADURAT, in medieval Islamic times a town, now the city of Madurai, in South India. It lies on the Vaidai river in lat. 9° 55′ N., long. 78° 07′ E. in the region known to the medieval Muslims as Ma’bar and to later European traders as Coromandel. For the historical geography and Islamic history of this coastal province, roughly extending from Cape Comorin northwards to Madras, see MA’BAR.

In 734/1334 Shāfīr Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsān [q.v.], governor for the Dihlf Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluk [q.v.], denounced his allegiance, and he and some seven of his successors ruled over a short-lived Muslim sultanate before it was overthrown in ca. 779/1377 by the rising Hindu power of Vidjayanagara [q.v.], (see on the Madura sultanate, H.K. Sherwani and F. I. G. Khattak, The coinage of the Sultans for numismatics, E. Hultzsch, Haydarabad 1973, i, 57-73; C.E. Bosworth, The New Islamic dynasties, Edinburgh 1996, 318 no. 166; and for numismatics, E. Hultzsch, The coinage of the Sultans of Madura, in JRAS [1999], 667-85). Thereafter, Madura remained under Hindu control throughout the early 18th century, when the Nawāwbs of Arcot [q.v.] or Ārkāt extended their power over it, provoking Marāthā [q.v.] intervention and then that of the British in favour of the Nawāwbs. In 1801 the administration of the Madura region passed to the British East India Company as part of a treaty with the Nawāwbs of Arcot, and then in 1855, to complete British control.

The modern city of Madurai, a municipality since 1866, is the chef-lieu of a District of the same name. It lies in lat. 9° 20′ N., long. 78° 12′ E. at an elevation of 600 m/1,960 feet in an arid area whose average rainfall is 150 mm per annum. The region lacks running water, hence local people have always depended on pools and reservoirs for water, and the settlement grew up near the “white pool” (al-qubār al-abyd). Archaeological investigations nevertheless show that the area was once well populated, and a large number of what were Greek Orthodox churches and their monasteries have been found. The Roman emperor Trajan in A.D. 106 had built a road passing south of the site of Mafrak. In Umayyad times, there may have been a bātāsī [q.v. in Suppl.] there. The place had a certain importance in Islamic times from its position on the caravan and Pilgrimage route from Damascus to the Hijādž, and the sources explain its name by saying some pilgrims used to separate there from the main road and go their own way, or that friends from Damascus used to accompany pilgrims southwards but return home from Mafrak. But the place only assumed real importance when the Hijādž rail-way [q.v.] was built and a station opened there. After the Italian occupation of Libya, Libyan refugees, described as Maghāribi, settled there, and the city still has a quarter bearing their name. After 1918, it became an Arab Legion base. Economically, the place received an impetus in 1931 when the Iraq Petroleum Company established itself there, built an aircraft landing-ground and brought in labourers to construct a road to Baghdad and pipe lines and generators. A pipe line brought crude oil from Iraq via Mafrak to Haifa and the Mediterranean coast. The population further expanded with the settlement of Bedouin tribesmen, and the discovery of underground water supplies made a growth of industry as well as of population possible. In 1954 the region was promoted administratively from being a mutasarrifīyya to being a muḥāfazā or province. In 1994 the Al al-Bayt University was established in the town’s suburbs, bringing further expansion and development, and in 2003 the town had an estimated population of 67,400.


After a classic-type education in his native region of the Sūs, he left on the Pilgrimage in 1152/1739, en route following the courses of famous teachers, notably at Cairo; he gives details of these stays in his unpublished Rīhla hidjiyāyya. On his return to Morocco, he spent the remainder of his life in his ārām [q.v.] of Wādī Isf in the Sūs.

His main work, the Manākīb or Taḥkīk al-Hudīgī (2 vols. Casablanca 1936-9) groups together alphabetically the names of personalities who lived essentially in the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries. These comprise above all the scholars and mystics of the Sūs, but also persons from the rest of Morocco, though only rarely from neighbouring lands. The work contains important notices on persons otherwise unknown, increasing its value for the historian. Al-Hudīgī also compiled several commentaries on manuals of hadīth and fikh, on poetry and on grammar; an important number of responses; and a larger-scale magīmīna in which he mentions his masters, in the Maghīb and the Maghīrīk, the licenses to teach which he himself received and which he issued to others, and a few other sparse personal details. Apart from the Manākīb mentioned above, the ensemble of his works, comprising some 20 titles, remains still unpublished. Al-Hudīgī’s intellectual progeny were numerous in the Sūs, but his fame as a Sūfī was equally great amongst his compatriots, with his asceticism and scrupulous orthodoxy impressing his contemporaries; numerous miracles and acts of intercession were attributed to him.


AL-MAHĐĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH, AL-HUSAYN, Yama‘ī Zaydī Imām. He was born in 1738/1988-9 as one of the younger sons of Imām al-Mansūr bi’llāh [q.v.] and Kāsim b. ‘Ali al-Iyāni. In Safar 401/September-October 1010 he proclaimed his imāmat at Kā’a in al-Bawm and gained the support of tribes of Himyar, Hamdān and
MAHDI LI-DIN ALLAH, AL-HUSAYN — MAHKAMA 557

MAHİR, 'ALI, Egyptian jurist and politician. Born on 9 November 1881 in Cairo, the son of Muhammad Mähr Pasha, he was educated at the Khedivial Secondary School and the School of Law. 'Ali Mähr held several posts in the Egyptian court system in the years before and during World War I, and briefly served as Dean of the School of Law (1923-4).

He began his active political career during the Revolution of 1919 as one of the organisers of civil servant petitions and protest. Made a member of the Wald [q.v.] in November 1919, Mähr broke with the movement in March 1922, gravitating thereafter into the orbit of the Egyptian Palace. In 1922-3 he served on the commission which drafted the Egyptian Constitution of 1923. He sat briefly in the Chamber of Deputies (1925-6) and was a member of the Senate from 1930 to 1952. He held several ministerial posts in non-Wafdist governments in the 1920s and early 1930s.

Mähr’s influence in Egyptian politics was greatest in the later 1930s, when as Royal Chamberlain he helped articulate the strategy of consolidating royal autocracy around the person of the young King Fârûq [q.v. in Supp.]. Mähr twice served as Prime Minister at the close of the interwar era (January-May 1936 and August 1939-June 1940). He was forced out of office by the British in June 1940 because of presumed pro-Axis sentiments and was under house arrest from April 1942 until October 1944. He again headed a pro-Palace government in January-March 1952, after the king’s dismissal of a Wafdist minority. Partially because of his non-party status, Mähr was selected to serve as Prime Minister immediately after the military coup of July 1952. He was dismissed in September 1952 because of his opposition to agrarian reform, and died in Geneva on 24 August 1960.


MAHKAMA. 4. xi Algeria

When the French began their occupation of Algeria in 1830 there existed multiple legal traditions. The predominant Islamic tradition was the Mâlikî one which had taken root in North Africa a thousand years earlier.

In the 10th/11th century, Algeria’s Ottoman rulers had introduced the Hanafi tradition, which prevailed in the heartland of the empire. The Turkish military elite, and their offspring from marriages with local women, the Kâthâlis [see KUL-OGHLI], tended to follow the Hanafi tradition. Appeals, and particularly difficult cases, might be referred to a mäjlis or council of legal scholars.

In areas beyond firm Ottoman control, local traditions persisted. In the Mzâb [q.v.], oasis, some 300 km/250 miles south of Algiers, the Ibâdî legal tradition [see IBADIYYA] was applied. Immigrant Mzâbî merchants in cities along the coast applied this tradition in their own internal matters. In the densely populated, Tamazight-speaking Kabylia mountains, just to the south-east of Algiers, local customary law was applied.

Under French colonial rule, the mix of different
legal traditions was maintained, but Islamic and customary jurisdictions were gradually subordinated to the French courts. Areas of critical concern to the French, penal and commercial law, were annexed outright to the jurisdiction of French courts. Starting in the 1850s, the French sought to introduce their own principles of uniformity and hierarchy to the Muslim court system. In 1854, they instituted a standard, four-member magis as the court of appeal for all Islamic legal matters. The measure aroused opposition from settlers, and in some regions ran counter to traditions of negotiation over the size and composition of the maglis. The maglis was dismantled temporarily in 1859, revived in 1886, and permanently abolished in 1873, leaving French courts as the sole appeal jurisdiction.

In the 1850s and 1860s, the French promoted the reform of Islamic law by establishing a council of Muslim jurists to support change in areas of family law that either ran against humanitarian standards (the marriage of girls before they were capable of bearing children), or that seemed to run counter to scientific reason (the “sleeping baby” doctrine which held that a woman, abandoned for up to five years by her husband, might still produce his legitimate offspring). But as an autonomous institution at the national level, the council aroused the ire of French offspring. But as an autonomous institution at the national level, the council aroused the ire of French settlers, and was soon dismantled. The French introduced an examination system for the selection of judicial personnel, and eventually required that all those entering the judiciary be graduates of one of three government-run provincial madrasas.

The most prominent urban Muslim spokesmen of this period were associated with the judicial system. These include al-Makkī Ilīn Bādis, long-time kāfī of Constantine, and a forceful defender of the autonomy of the Muslim courts in the 1860s, and 'Abd al-Kādir al-Madżdżāwī, who made his career as a teacher in the law schools of Constantine and Algiers. Al-Madżdżāwī was one of the first exponents of Islamic modernism in Algeria.

Though penal matters were early on entrusted to the French courts, colonial authorities concluded that they were not adequate to the task of maintaining order and that a more expeditious and severe form of justice was required. Thus was born in the 1870s the Code de l'Indigénat, a penal code administered by local French authorities. It focused on punishing the least hint of rebellious attitude on the part of Algerian Muslim subjects and on suppressing any action that might be construed as a threat to French economic interests. It was this aspect of French judicial policy, not only oppressive but also humiliating, that drew the most fire from the emerging nationalist movement starting in the 1920s.

In the early 20th century, Algeria-based French jurists with knowledge of Islamic law sought to produce a code of Islamic family law, known after its principal author as the Code Morand. Though the proposed code was published, it was never given official status. This was the result of opposition from powerful rural Muslim leaders, on whom the French leaned more and more for political support in the 1920s.

While the Muslim courts and law schools produced some outstanding figures in the period from the 1850s to 1914, they fell into eclipse after that time. With their jurisdiction restricted, the Muslim courts offered little prospect of reward for ambitious young men. Thus Malek Bennabi entered the court system in the mid-1920s but soon became disaffected. By 1930 he was studying at a technical school in Paris, launching what would be a career as one of Algeria’s most original and prolific Islamic thinkers.

The turmoil of war in 1940-43 weakened French domination of Algeria. Two courses of action were possible for the French. One was to address Muslim grievances, including eliminating the Code de l'Indigénat. The other was severe repression, including the use of arbitrary detention, torture and execution. The period from 1943 to 1954 was one of competition between these tendencies. After the outbreak of revolution in November 1954, the repressive impulse quickly got the upper hand. It was this flouting of civilized legal standards, dramatically revealed by such incidents as the 1961 trial of Djamel Bouslama, that decisively eroded the French public’s will to hold onto Algeria. But this severe repression also contributed to the development of a culture of extra-legal violence in Algeria that would dramatically resurface in the 1990s.

With independence in 1962, the new Algerian government’s immediate concern was to restructure the court system so that it reflected the values of national unity and socialism. Toward this end, all Islamic and customary jurisdictions were absorbed into a unified national court system easily accessible to all citizens. The next task was codification of law, beginning with the internal colonial law, issued in 1966. An Economic Offences Ordinance, eventually incorporated into the code, upheld the socialist ideal of workers’ participation and provided severe penalties to managers of state-run enterprises who let their own interests come before selfless dedication to the state. It also provided for the monopoly of the state in control of foreign trade and arranging contracts for the services of foreign enterprises. The notion that private individuals might serve as intermediaries was anathema in the socialist doctrines that guided these policies.

Even in areas where Islamic law might have appeared to have a clear-cut application, it was subordinated to the practical economic interests of the state, especially when they coincided with popular habit. Thus gambling on the state-run football pool was declared legal, while betting privately on horse races in France was not. Algerians were allowed to consume beer and wine produced by state-run enterprises. By the mid-1970s, the sale of alcohol was restricted by local authorities in those areas where there was strong public opposition.

Algeria had been independent for nearly a decade when the government finally began to deal with legal issues that were mainly cultural in character. As part of a larger campaign of Arabisation [see TA'RĪB] launched by the Boumedienne régime in 1971, it was declared that court proceedings should be conducted in Arabic which, in practice, meant Algerian colloquial Arabic. By this time, the first law students whose training had been in Arabic graduated from the law school in Algiers. But as in many areas of the Algerian system, those with fluency in French, who tended to come from more affluent urban families, continued to have better opportunities. The question of opportunities in the court system for those proficient only in Arabic remained a smouldering issue that erupted in protests on Algerian campuses in 1976 in Constantine, and in 1980 in Algiers. The latter protests helped to launch an organised Islamist movement in Algeria, and resulted in President Chadeli’s seeking to accommodate Arabic student grievances by intensifying the Arabisation of the judicial system.

This point also marks a change in orientation toward the task of codifying family law. Throughout the mid-1970s, the ideology of Algeria had been one of Islamic
socialism, in which the interests of the state were paramount. Islam was given a place of honour, but this was still one subordinate to the state. This ideology was embedded in the National Charter, endorsed in a referendum in 1966. On family matters and the rights of women, the Charter pointed in a progressive direction, endorsing the principle of gender equality.

By the time intensive discussions of a family law code got under way in the early 1980s, the socialist emphasis of the charter was under attack from the emerging Islamist movement. But the debates were also shaped by economic questions, such as the acute shortage of urban housing—which made it costly to ensure the rights of a divorced wife—and the rapid growth in population. The Family Law Code finally passed in 1984 was a mix of conservative interpretations of Islamic law and the priorities of an embattled bureaucratic state facing the challenge of rapid population growth and high unemployment. Women were not protected against being married without their own freely-given consent, nor against being left economically helpless following divorce, nor against their husband deciding unilaterally to bring another wife into the household. Yet at the same time, in an effort to stem rapid population growth, the Code raised the minimum age of marriage to eighteen for women and twenty-one for men.

The late 1980s, rather like the 1940s, saw a relaxation of controls on political expression and the media. An important development in the legal realm was the founding of the Ligue Algérienne des Droits de l'Homme, founded in 1987 and given legal recognition in 1988. With the suppression of the Islamist opposition starting in 1992, many controls were restored and there was a resurgence of extra-legal violence on the part of both Islamic rebels and government forces. In dealing with the challenge of establishing clearly who was responsible for given violent incidents, the courts have often proved ineffective. Yet the glimmer of hope that they may occasionally rise to this challenge has sustained a small, dedicated group of Algerian human rights lawyers.


(A. Christelow)

4. xii. Tunisia

In the mid-19th century, Tunisia had a pluralist legal system. Although the respective spheres of competence and the various interrelations of the system's components were far from being clearly and strictly defined, the broad lines of its structures can be delineated as follows. The law of a religious legal sphere covering matters of personal status and, in most cases, civil law, sc. a *shari'i* jurisdiction for the Muslims (that of kāfīs, Mālikī or Hanafi according to the defendant's rite, sitting as sole judges, plus muḍjālis, plural jurisdictions made up of kāfīs and muḥāfiḍ) and a rabbinical jurisdiction for the Jews. Alongside these was a jurisdiction of the central administration and its local agents, the kāfīs [q.v.], who heard matters involving penal law and, in part, civil law. At the head of this structure was the Bey, the supreme authority according to the double principle of a delegated justice and control over the beylical state. Disputes involving the representatives and subjects of foreign powers were the province of the consular courts [see *mirāz*āt].

In 1857 the Fundamental Pact (*'ahd al-amān*), which proclaimed the equality of all subjects before the law, began a slow process of legal reform. Hence in 1861 there were promulgated at the same time a Constitution and a code of criminal and customary law (*kā'īn al-dinayat wa l-'ahkām al-urfayn*). The Constitution set up a hierarchic schema of new tribunals which were to be created within the entirety of the Regency. A tribunal for commercial cases organised under a code of commercial law had to be set up. However, although this last was actually promulgated on 1 April 1864, it could not be put into effect because of the outbreak of the rebellion in that year, which brought in its train the abrogation of the Constitution and the code of criminal and customary law. The idea of legal reform and codification was taken up again in the 1870s under the reformist Prime Minister Youcef Bedjaoui (1822-90 [q.v.]), but without his efforts being fully accomplished.

In short, the modifications in the legal system attempted before the installation of the Protectorate were either of short duration or only touching upon the formal aspects of the existing legal jurisdictions. There was on one hand a reorganisation of the *shari'i* jurisdiction at Tunis in 1856 and then in the interior of the Regency in 1876. Also, there were measures undertaken, notably between 1876 and 1879, to define more clearly the jurisdictions reserved to the central administration and its local representatives.

The installation of the French Protectorate in 1881 was to bring profound changes in the Tunisian legal system. By the Convention of La Marsa (1883), the Tunisian state undertook to "proceed to administrative, judicial and financial reforms as judged useful by the French government". In practice, French control over the beylical state was to be assured by the bias of the Resident-General as well as by the presence of French officials at all levels of the administration.

In the first place, following the doctrine of "double sovereignty", the protecting power undertook to install for its own nationals a French legal structure (law of 18 April 1883), comprising justices of the peace and courts of first instance; not till 1941 was an appeal court created. Furthermore, the French legal system thus installed was to replace, until 1884, the various consular jurisdictions of the European Powers. With the land law of 1885 there was set up a mixed court for land matters, an original jurisdiction (inspired by the Australian model) aimed at promoting the registration of land and buildings. This court, made up of a French president, with one-half French judges and the other half Tunisian judges, was at the same time to reduce the sphere of the *shari'i* courts to embrace merely cases involving non-registered landed property.

Regarding the reform of justice dependent on the authority of the Tunisian state, apart from the regulation of the jurisdiction dependent on the central administration (the so-called *uçuzâ* or *waqân*, whose competence was extended beyond the criminal law to all civil and commercial cases between Tunisians (except for personal status and matters connected with it), this was not really tackled till 1896, when an office
July 1957, Tunisia in 1959 acquired a Constitution based at one and the same time on French and on Muslim law and which were intended to become the laws applicable by the courts of common law. Codes of obligations and contracts (1906), of civil procedure (1910), of criminal law (1913), as well as for criminal procedure (1921) were successively promulgated in Tunis. Ouzara, Ouzara. It was only much later that the şariʿa courts were remodelled. However, because of the reforms already in operation, their spheres of competence became reduced to cases of personal status and inheritance as well as of the education system of the Zaytuna man [g.v.].

Regarding the code of personal status, largely drawn from Islamic law, the legislating power showed a tendency amongst judges to refer, in certain cases, to non-codified Islamic law. The demands by certain reformist circles seeking a more radical reform of the judicature. This law fixed the Tunisian judicial hierarchy as follows: county courts, courts of first instance, a court for land questions, appeal courts and a supreme appeal court based at Tunis. Furthermore, alongside a High Court for cases of high treason, the 1959 Constitution equally made provision for an administrative court; this was effectively set up in 1974 and considerably reorganised in 1996.

In regard to the law applied by its courts, the Tunisian state undertook, from the time of independence onwards, to set up a new structure of national codifications. From among the legal texts dating from the colonial period, only the codes for obligations and contracts and the criminal code remained essentially in force. It is appropriate to mention that although the first article of the 1959 Tunisian Constitution made Islam the state religion, Islamic law does not appear amongst the formal sources of Tunisian law. Regarding the code of personal status, largely drawn from Islamic law, the legislating power showed a remarkable will for innovation, notably in abolishing polygamy, introducing judicial divorce and authorising adoption. However, an analysis of judicial practice in Tunisia has been able to show that there is a tendency amongst judges to refer, in certain cases, to non-codified Islamic law.


5. The Indo-Pakistan subcontinent After a century and a half of trade, the last few decades of which were characterised by increasing involvement in political intrigue and military adventurism—inspired initially by rivalry with European competitors (most particularly the French, with whom England was twice at war in the mid-18th century)—the East India Company emerged as a major political and military power in the subcontinent in the context of the disintegration of the Mughal empire into a collection of feuding regional powers. After the battle of Buxar (1764), which pitted the Company troops against the remnants of the Mughal army, the Company was in a position to conclude a treaty (farman [q.v.] with the titular head of the Mughal empire, Ṣāḥib al-ʿAẓām II [q.v.], who in 1765 ceded to the Company in perpetuity the divāni (civil and revenue administration) of three eastern provinces—Bengal, Bihar and Orissa—in exchange for an annual tribute of 460,000 (payment of which only continued until 1773). The Company thus became ruler of lands and peoples, ostensibly in the name of the emperor.

The modern period of judicial administration in South Asia commenced with the establishment by...
Warren Hastings (Governor of Bengal, 1772-3; Governor-General of India, 1773-85) of courts serving the indigenous population of these three provinces; and the virtually simultaneous establishment by the Crown of a Supreme Court in Calcutta. Hastings' courts in the mufussil (the territories outside the seat of the Presidency, Ar. mafjussal [q.v. in Suppl.] "separated") were creations of the East India Company. Hastings' plan—frequently revised during his own term, further modified by Lord Cornwallis (Governor-General, 1786-93), and cast by the latter in the Code of 1793—set the pattern for judicial administration in the territories subsequently acquired. Hastings proceeded to establish a Diwan 'Adlat (civil court) and a Fawqādārī 'Adlat (criminal court) in each revenue district or Collectorship (the number of these courts was subsequently increased and their geographical jurisdiction decreased; courts subordinate to the Diwān 'Adlat were also subsequently established). The Collector himself initially presided over the civil court; later judges were appointed from among the Company's covenanted civil servants. Indian Law Officers (Hindu pandits and Muslim maulvis) were appointed to each Diwan 'Adlat to expound the Hindu or Muslim law applicable to the case. The District Kādī and Mufti presided over the Fawqādarī 'Adlat, in which Muslim criminal law continued to be administered. Appeals from the Diwan 'Adlats lay to the Sadr Diwān 'Adlat (chief civil court, initially comprised of the Governor-General and members of his Council), and, after 1781, to the King in Council. Appeals from the Fawqādarī 'Adlats lay to the Sadr Nizāmat 'Adlat (chief criminal court, initially headed by an appointee of the Nizām). The early bifurcation between civil and criminal jurisdiction derived from the terms of the 1765 grant, under which criminal jurisdiction remained with the representative of the Mughal emperor. In 1790 criminal justice was (unilaterally) brought under the direct control of the Company; the Fawqādarī 'Adlats were abolished and replaced by criminal courts, headed by covenanted servants of the Company, assisted by kādīs and muftis. Although some of the rules of Muslim criminal law and evidence were gradually modified by government regulations, it was not until the Penal Code of 1860, the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1861, and the Evidence Act, 1872, that Muslim law in these respects was completely superseded. After 1790 the Sadr Nizāmat 'Adlat was comprised of the Governor-General and members of his Council, assisted by the Chief Kādī and two muftis. In 1801 the Governor-General and his Council members were relieved of judicial responsibilities in both Sadr 'Adlats; the two appellate courts were united in a single Sadr 'Adlat with civil and criminal sides, presided over by judges appointed from the ranks of the Company's covenanted servants.

In the Company settlements themselves, there had been courts established by royal charter since the Mayors' Courts of 1727. (Prior to this, what justice there was in the Company towns and factories was a very rough and ready, and often brutal, affair.) The Mayor's Court was a civil court of record, with compulsory jurisdiction only over Europeans to whom they could apply English law, final appeal lay to the King in Council. (Although not compulsorily subject to the court, indigenous inhabitants might agree to such disposal of the dispute, in which case it would be adjudicated according to English law.) The Mayor's Court in Calcutta (the English town that had grown up around the Company's factory) was replaced by a Supreme Court, established by Royal Charter (1774) and Act of Parliament (1773, as amended in 1781 and 1784). The Supreme Court (after its jurisdiction had been more carefully defined by the latter acts) possessed civil jurisdiction over all British-born subjects and their descendants residing in the Bengal Presidency, and all persons residing in Calcutta, including its Indian inhabitants.

In Madras and Bombay, the Mayors' Courts were superseded in 1798 by Recorders' Courts, which possessed powers similar to those of the Supreme Court in Calcutta (and were subject to similar restrictions). The Recorder's Courts were upgraded to Supreme Courts in 1802 (Madras) and 1824 (Bombay). As these two Presidencies acquired mufussil territories—Bombay following the third Marāthā War (1818) [see Marāthās]; Madras with the annexation of approximately half of Mysore after the defeat of Tipū Sultan [q.v.] in 1799, followed by the annexation of the Carnatic—the establishment of mofussil courts in these territories followed the pattern of Hastings' plan as refined and codified by Cornwallis in 1793.

Bombay was in many ways unique. The island was ceded to the Crown by the Portuguese in 1661 and leased to the Company in 1668 on payment of £10 a year; the rights of the Company over Bombay thus derived from the British Crown, not from the Mughal sovereign, or regional potentate, or military conquest. Further, the island of Bombay had, previous to being handed over to the English, been under Portuguese rule for over a century, and the territory conquered in 1818, was taken over not from Muslim but from Hindu rule; consequently, Muslim law did not enjoy official status in Bombay (the pre-eminence that it did in Bengal and Madras. The Bombay 'Adlat system underwent several changes and refinements until 1827, when all previous Regulations were repealed and replaced with a series of Regulations which came to be termed the Elphinston Code. One of the interesting things contained in Elphinston's Regulations was a Criminal Code for the Presidency, which was only superseded by the Indian Penal Code of 1860.

The dual system of courts—Royal Courts, whose judges were appointed by the Crown, in the Presidency headquarters (Calcutta, Bombay and Madras); and Company Courts, created by the East India Company and staffed by its officers, in the mofussil—persisted until, in the aftermath of the 1857-8 uprising, the Crown assumed all rights that the East India Company had acquired and exercised on Indian soil. One consequence was the integration of the Company and Crown courts and rationalisation of the judicial structure. In each presidency, the Sadr (appellate) Company Court was amalgamated with the Supreme Court to constitute a High Court.

Significantly, under the British—Company and Crown—there were not in South Asia separate religious courts for the religiously-derived personal laws; personal law of both Muslims and Hindus was administered as an integral part of their civil jurisdiction by both the mofussil civil courts and the Supreme Courts and, subsequently, the High Courts. Whether the litigation came before the Supreme Courts or the Company mofussil courts, the indigenous peoples of South Asia were guaranteed the application of their own system of personal law in a wide variety of civil matters. The phraseology of Hastings' formulation of 1772 and the Regulation of 1780 preserved to Muslims in the mofussil "the laws of the Koran" when the litigation concerned "inheritance, marriage, caste, and other religious usages and institutions". (The wording used in the Act defining the jurisdiction of the
Supreme Court was different but of similar import. A Regulation of 1871 added "succession" to the topics concerning which the mafussal courts were to apply the personal law. The Regulation further provided that in the absence of statutory law, and in situations not covered by the earlier Regulation, the mafussal courts were to have recourse to "justice, equity and good conscience", with the result that the personal (Hindu or Muslim) law was often applied in matters other than those specifically enumerated. In essence, "justice, equity and good conscience" was used in numerous situations to render applicable the relevant personal law as the "proper law" of the contract or transaction; reference was to the law which the parties could be presumed to have expected would apply to the transaction. On the other hand, statutes took precedence over, and could and did oust, Islamic law. By the end of the 19th century, applicability of Muslim law was confined essentially to family law, inheritance and certain transfers of property. Even in these areas, the secular law made inroads; e.g. a Muslim father could be compelled by the magistrate to maintain his illegitimate child (a provision repealed in West Pakistan in 1963). The apostate from Islam (see Murtaq) was not deprived of his share as an heir intestate (a provision repealed in 1981); the apostate from Islam (see Murtadd) was not appointed to every civil court, original and appellate. These officers functioned, not as judges, but as resource personnel, to whom specific questions of law were submitted to Muslim Law Officers by judges of the courts (and the barrister-judges could be compelled by the magistrate to maintain his illegitimate child (a provision repealed in Pakistan in 1981); the apostate from Islam (see Murtaq) was not deprived of his share as an heir intestate (a provision repealed in West Pakistan in 1963)). The apostate from Islam (see Murtadd) was not appointed to every civil court, original and appellate. These officers functioned, not as judges, but as resource personnel, to whom specific questions of law were submitted to Muslim Law Officers by judges of the courts (and the barrister-judges could be compelled by the magistrate to maintain his illegitimate child (a provision repealed in West Pakistan in 1963)).

Because the company officials appointed to judicial duties in the mafussal courts (and the barrister-judges of the Supreme Court) were not, at least initially, knowledgeable in the indigenous legal lore, Muslim Law Officers (mawluqis) and Hindu Law Officers (pun-dits) were appointed to every civil court, original and appellate. These officers functioned, not as judges, but as resource personnel, to whom specific questions of law might be referred by the judge during the course of the proceedings before him. In order to displace the monopoly of specialised knowledge possessed by the Law Officers, work was undertaken to make authoritative source material directly available to lawyers and judges in English. The first Muslim text thus treated was the Hidaya, a 12th-century text by Burhan al-Din al-Marghinani (q.v.), translated by Charles Hamilton in 1791. This was followed in 1792 by William Jones' translation of the Shafiyya, together with an abstract of the Sharifyya; and by Neil Baillie's volumes on Muhammadan law of inheritance (1832) and Muhammadan law of sale (1850), the former an abridgement of the Sarhadia and Sharifyya, and the latter based on relevant chapters of the Fatavad-i-Alamgiri (see AL-FATÁWÁ AL-ALAMGIRIYYA). In 1865 appeared Neil Baillie's translation and abridgement of those portions of the Fatavad-i-Alamgiri likely to be relevant to litigation in India. This was followed in 1874 by Baillie's translation of the major Ijma Aliar Sharf-i text, the Sharf-i-Aslām. A collection of the questions submitted to Muslim Law Officers by judges of the Company Courts, together with their responses, was published by William Macnaghten in 1825 as the second part of his Principles and precedents of Muhammadan law. And toward the end of the century, Mahomed Yussof, in his Tagore Law Lectures, 1891-2, translated the portions of the Fatavad-i-Kadi Khan (see KADI KHAN) dealing with marriage and divorce. It was not until 1914 that E.C. Howard's English translation of the Sharf-i text Minhaj us-tahihin, prepared for administrators and judges in Southeast Asia, became available. Textbooks and compilations by Indian scholars and scholars of Indian law also appeared. Ameer Ali's two volume work was first published in 1880 and 1884; Roland Knyvet Wilson's Introduction and Digest in 1894 and 1895, respectively. The first edition of Dinnah Faratiuni Mulla's Principles of Muhammadan law was dated 1906; the first edition of Tyabji's learned tome, 1913. Meanwhile, systematic reporting of legal decisions of the High Courts, Judicial Commissioners' Courts and Chief Courts began in 1876 (under a statute of the previous year). The availability of published decisions enhanced the precedent: a decision on a point of law by the Privy Council was binding on all British Indian Courts; and a decision of the High Court was binding on the subordinate Presidency Courts.

As part of the judicial reorganisation in the 1860s, the posts of Hindu and Muslim Law Officers were abolished; judges themselves, assisted by the lawyers appearing before them, were deemed capable of dealing with questions of Muslim and Hindu law, which continued to be dealt with as integral components of the civil jurisdiction. By the turn of the 20th century, virtually every superior provincial court of a province with a significant Muslim population had a Muslim among its sitting judges; the first two such High Court appointments were those of Justice Mahmood (son of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan [see AHMAD KHAN]) to the Allahabad High Court in 1887, and Ameer Ali (see Ameer Ali) appointed to the Calcutta High Court in 1890. From 1901 a series of distinguished Indian jurists sat on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (the ultimate court of appeal prior to independence and the establishment of national Supreme Courts); Ameer Ali, the first (and the only Muslim) Indian Privy Councillor, served from 1909 until his death in 1928.

Extremely significant is the fact that to this date Muslim law remains virtually entirely uncodified; this contrasts not only with the massive codification of Hindu law undertaken by India in the first decade of Independence, but also with the general trend in the Muslim world. (Major exceptions are the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939; the Pakistan Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961; and the Indian Muslim Women [Protection of Rights on Divorce] Act, 1986.) Being uncoded, Muslim law is amenable to interpretation and/or reinterpretation by the court. This occurred during the British period, as in decisions holding that the post-pubescent Sha'fi'i girl could not be contracted in marriage without her permission; and that the pre-pubescent Hanafi girl contracted in marriage as a minor by a guardian other than father or paternal grandfather could extra-judicially renounce the marriage on attainment of puberty. (Incidentally, it was Ameer Ali who had proposed, in his Muhomedan law, the interpretation of Shaf'i and Maliki law that was adopted by the courts in the former instance; and it was the same individual, in his capacity of judge of the Calcutta High Court, who delivered the decision establishing the point in the latter instance.) In the first decades of Independence, the new State of Pakistan appeared committed to a policy of ishtihad, as exemplified by the dramatic decisions, endorsed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, holding that, within the Hanafi madhhab, wives are legally entitled to recover arrears of maintenance (1975); and that a Muslim woman is entitled to a judicial dissolution of her marriage (in spite of her husband's objection) merely on the ground that she finds the situation intolerable, provided that she is willing to return or forego her mahr (q.v.) and other "benefits" she may have received from her husband (1967). Although the documents of the late 18th century reflect an assumption that "the laws of the Koran" constitute a single entity to which all Muslims owe
allegiance, Muslim law is not a unified entity even at the textual level. The overwhelming proportion of South Asian Muslims are Ḥanafīs Sunnīs, but on the southwestern coast of the subcontinent another Sunni school, the Ḡanīfī, is locally significant. More important than in British India was Shi’ism (brought to the subcontinent by the Persians), which had a considerable following, particularly in Oudh (annexed by the British in 1856 [see Ādāb]). In spite of fact that since the mid-18th century the Nawāb Wāzīr of Oudh had been a Shi’ī, Sunnī law, as the law of the Mughal empire, applied in the territory until 1847, when (three decades after the Oudh dynasty had assumed the title of "King," and nine years prior to the annexation of Oudh by the British) a Shi’ī judge was appointed, and (Īthnā ‘Ashārī) Shi’ī law began to be applied to Shi’ī within the kingdom. Ironically, Shi’ī law was recognised by the Privy Council as the law applicable to Shi’ī in British India six years before it was recognised by the indigenous government of the Oudh Kingdom; and by the Bengal Sub-Sadr ‘Addālat more than three decades before the matter reached the Privy Council. However, given the numerical prominence of the Ḥanafīs, the assumption of the South Asian courts is that a person, if a Muslim, is a Ḥanafī Sunnī; consequently, the term "Muslim law" or "Islamic law" as used in judicial decisions is usually synonymous with "Hanafī Sunnī law". The burden is on the person claiming to be a follower of another Muslim school or sect to plead and establish this fact. Similarly, once it is established that a party is a Shi’ī, the assumption is that he is a member of the major sect, Īthnā ‘Ashārī. Information on the law of the minority Shi’ī sect, the Isma’īls, is much less readily available, although a significant difference that was of some importance during the British period (and overlooked by the Privy Council in an 1890 case) is that the Isma’īls do not discriminate against the childless widow in matters of inheritance in the same way that Īthnā ‘Ashārīs do. It was not until 1969 that Professor A.A.A. Fyzyee published his Compendium of Fatimid Law. The terms "Shi’ī" and "Shi’ī law" as used in South Asian judicial decisions synonymous with "Īthnā ‘Ashārī" and "Īthnā ‘Ashārī law".

Textual Muslim law, of course, does not recognise customs in derogation of the law; but rural agrarian communities, particularly in North India, did. Customary law, applicable to Muslim (and Hindu) agrarian families in various parts of the north-west (particularly the Punjab), the heartland of customary law and a province which was under Sikh, not Muslim, rule before conquered by the British in 1849) was essentially a retraction and continuation of their pre-existing practices in "secular" matters, particularly succession and dealings with property, convertible to Islam (and their descendants); even those Muslim tribes—e.g. Pathans—who claimed to be descended from Muslim invaders had long ago fallen into line with the local practices. At the same time, these local practices were not consistent with Hindu law (and may well have predated the formal statement of Mirakshārī Hindu Law). Most of these people never had observed or been subject to Muslim law (or orthodox Hindu law), knew little if anything about it, were quite happy with the way things had always been managed in regard to succession and property and saw no reason to change—at least until well into the 20th century, when religious revivalists and political leaders trying to define a Muslim constituency and organise a Muslim political movement attempted to convince them to change, and eventually legislation in the new Muslim state forced them to submit to a new legal order.

Also problematic were communities whose ancestors had converted from Hinduism to Islam but retained many of their Hindu practices. Both Hinduism and Islam purport to govern more than an individual's religious devotion; both lay down rules concerning marriage, divorce, and other domestic concerns, as well as more "secular" matters, most importantly dealings with property and inter-generational transmission of property. Individuals and communities who converted to the faith of Islam from Hinduism not infrequently continued Hindu patterns of property holding and transmission; matters which may have struck them as having little to do with religious profession, and matters which the ancient practice managed entirely to their satisfaction. Such a course was undoubtedly facilitated by the fact that Stīls, who were responsible for much conversion to Islam in South Asia, were not particularly concerned with mundane things like worldly property and its inter-generational transmission. Prominent examples of groups which adopted Islam as a religion but continued their former Hindu practices were two commercial groups from western India, the Khođas and the Menons; both were judicially held amenable to Hindu law in regard to matters of inheritance in the mid-19th century. Further, an individual family (perhaps connected with or seeking favour from the Mughal court) might convert for political reasons, while at the same time continuing their previous practices concerning property dealing and succession. Other individuals or groups, most prominently exemplified by the Hindustani Kayasthas, who performed important roles in the Mughal administration, adopted many outward Muslim observances and customs (e.g. of dress, language, literature, and even burial) without converting; they remained Hindus by religion and followed Hindu law (although deprecitated by their co-religionists as "half-Muslims").

Distinct both from those subject to agrarian custom in North India and from groups or families who converted from Hinduism without changing their practices (particularly concerning inheritance and property dealings) to conform to Muslim law were those aristocratic Muslim landowning families who, although unambiguously subject to Muslim law, observed "family customs" designed to keep the landed estate intact and/or control its devolution (e.g. primogeniture, exclusion of female heirs, appointment of an heir).

As the importance of "custom"—or behaviour and practices inconsistent with the religious affiliation of the parties—became more apparent, it was explicitly recognised in statutes governing the subsequently established courts, and in practice by all the courts. The burden of proving a custom in derogation of the (otherwise applicable) personal law was on the person pleading custom. To be accepted as a rule of law, a custom had to be ancient, certain, reasonable, and neither repugnant to morality or public policy nor contrary to any statutory law. It was usually sufficient to establish that the custom had been regularly and consistently observed in the family, tribe or locality for at least fifty years. Once judicially recognised, custom could not be altered by anything short of legislation.

One of the indirect (and doubtless unintended) effects of British policy in India was that anomalous communities and families became more aware of and conscious of their status and often moved to identify
more closely with one or other orthodox tradition. The pressure to identify with one of the two great communities became more intense with the advent of rudimentary democratic institutions and the prospect of eventual self-government in which numbers would count. Both sides launched missionary activities; in addition to seeking fresh converts, the Muslim tabligh movement [see TĀBLĪGH ĪSMA‘ĪL] attempted to complete the conversion process in the case of anomalous communities and to induce groups following practices and customs inconsistent with the true faith to renounce such customs; the Hindu shuddha movement (launched by the reformist Arya Samaj) sought to "reclaim" descendants of former converts to Islam to the true faith of their more ancient ancestors.

In 1937, Muslim-political leaders managed to secure enactment of the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act, which substituted Muslim law as the rule of decision in preference to custom previously applicable, either by virtue of regulations specifically recognising custom and usage as the governing rule, or by virtue of the "justice, equity, and good conscience" clause. At the same time, the terms of this very statute demonstrate the importance of custom to a particular class of Muslims: the Muslim families of "science" clause. At the same time, the terms of this act, however, the rural landlords were totally guaranteed and Muslim law largely negated. It is only after the Indian independence that the Muslim League, insisted on being able to retain the control of the inter-generation transmission of family property—a right which "family custom" often guaranteed and Muslim law largely negated. It was at the insistence of this particular class that the Shariat Application Act, 1937, did not compulsorily cover either adoption (i.e. appointment of an heir) or testamentary disposition of property. By a fortuitous circumstance, however, the rural landlords were totally exempt from the terms of the Act as far as their agricultural land was concerned. The Government of India Act, 1919, had come into effect before the Bill which became the Act of 1937 was actually passed. Under the scheme of the Government of India Act, succession to agricultural land was a topic exclusively within the legislative competence of the provinces and the Central Legislature could not deal with it. (The 1937 statute did, of course, cover non-agriculture property and e.g. brought the urban property of the Khudai and Menons under the rule of Muslim law, as far as intestate succession was concerned.)

(West) Pakistan acted shortly after independence totally to negate custom as a rule of law applicable to Muslims, affirming in its stead Muslim law (of the appropriate sect). Several Indian states have passed supplementary legislation amending the 1937 Act to cover succession to agricultural land. The scope for the application of rules of custom to Muslims has considerably decreased in South Asia and has been totally ousted in Pakistan.

The new States of the subcontinent inherited, and very largely retained, the judicial structure as developed during the British period (with obvious exceptions; e.g., the ultimate court of appeal is no longer the Privy Council and High Court judges are not appointed by London), as well as procedural law and the major statutes enacted during the previous era. In every province a High Court sits at the apex of a hierarchy of subordinate civil and criminal courts, with ultimate appeal to the national Supreme Court.

The most important post-Independence administrative development in regard to disputes to which Muslim law is applicable has been the introduction in each of the three countries of South Asia of special Family Courts with exclusive jurisdiction in regard to certain areas of matrimonial and family litigation. Pakistan took the lead with the (West Pakistan) Family Courts Act, 1964; India followed two decades later, 1984; and Bangladesh in 1985. Simplified and less formal procedures, designed to expedite the litigation, govern procedure in the Family Courts particularly in Pakistan and Bangladesh; and the rigorous requirements of the Evidence Act, 1908, have been mitigated in family litigation in India and Bangladesh.

Although the Bangladesh statute itself declared all Munsif’s Courts (civil courts subordinate to the District Court) to be Family Courts and all Munsifs to be Family Court Judges, and Pakistan had within two years appointed judges to function as Family Courts throughout the country, the Indian legislation only mandated Family Courts for urban areas of population one million or more, and implementation has proceeded slowly.

In Pakistan, General Zia-ul-Haq [see ZIYA’ AL-HAKK], having seized power in July 1977 with the promise of elections within 90 days, justified holding power for eleven years (until his mysterious death in 1988) in the name of "Islamisation". His patronage of the Islamists—to whom he increasingly looked as providing some sort of "consistency" and creating the appearance of at least some popular support for his government, and whom he brought into a political prominence they had not previously enjoyed—received a tremendous international boost with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979) and United States' support of the "mujahideen" opposition. Money and arms poured into the region; thousands of madrasas, many of them training schools for Islamic warriors, sprang up in Pakistan. The Russians withdrew a decade later; the U.S. lost interest; and Afghanistan descended into civil war, which Pakistan thought it could control to its advantage.

The Zia era left his successors with a heavy legacy, including the continuing fall-out of involvement in Afghanistan in the form of weapons, drugs, refugees and Islamic militants. Institutionally, the Zia legacy is represented by the Shariat Courts, created in 1978. These special courts possess jurisdiction to examine the Islamic vires of "any law", and if such law is found contrary to the "Injunctions of Islam, as laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet," to strike it from the statute book. Most recently this jurisdiction has been exercised (23 December 1999) to order that interest in all forms be abolished in Pakistan by June 2001; and (5 January 2000) to strike down many of the reforms achieved four decades previously by the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961. (The Shariat Bench of the Supreme Court, affirming the 1991 decision of the Federal Shariat Court on nībā’ set 30 June 2001 as the deadline for the conversion to a nībā’-free system. On 15 June 2001, the same court extended the deadline by twelve months. The decision of the Federal Shariat Court on the various provisions of the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance has been stayed pending an appeal to the Shariat Bench of the Supreme Court, which may not be heard for some time, and which will probably not fully endorse the position of the Federal Shariat Court. For a concise introduction to and assessment of the nībā’ decision, see the booklet Meaning toward an Islamic Financial Regime in Pakistan by P. Hassan and A. Azfar, available at www.law.harvard.edu/programs/isl/publications.html). In terms of substantive law, Zia’s program of "Islamisation" resulted in the promulgation in 1979 of the four nībā’ ordinances (includ-
ing the draconian Zind Ordinance), introducing into Pakistan law the criminal offences (illicit intercourse, false imputation of unchastity, theft and consumption of alcohol), together with their respective punishments, defined in the qur'a, imposition (1980) of zail and 'nabhi anil munkar pronouncements (even the triple pronouncement) revocable; and denies legal effectiveness to any talak until a period of three months had passed following notification of the talak to a local official, who is to use the intervening time to attempt reconciliation—had no echoes in the neighbour to the south. The Congress party, which ruled India without interruption for its first thirty years (including seventeen years under Jawaharlal Nehru and eleven years under his daughter Indira Gandhi), was committed to secularism and democracy but was also pleased to have the Muslim "vote bank" securely on its side. When Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated in 1984, the Congressmand passed to her son Rajiv Gandhi. It was on his watch (1986) that the (misnamed) Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act was rushed through Parliament, over objections of his own Congress parliamentarians and by virtue of a three-line whip. The Act of 1986 reversed the (1985) Shab Bano judgment and deprived destitute divorced Muslim women (simply on the basis of their religious identity) of the minimal succour that section 125 of the (secular) Criminal Procedure Code, 1974, afforded to all such women. A harsh blow was struck against secularism (and against women). The dynastic link was broken with Rajiv's assassination in 1991 and—ruderless, faction-ridden, and tainted with scandal—the Congress party lost much of its appeal. The gathering clouds of Hindu activism, demanding an end to a policy of appeasement of minorities and emphatic affirmation of the Hindu-ness of India, broke over the North India city of Ayodhya when in 1992 the 16th-century Babri mosque was destroyed by a mob of Hindu militants, setting off a wave of Hindu-Muslim violence across the country. The Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), with its "Hinduva" (Hindu-ness) philosophy and agenda, rose to prominence on the rubble of the Babri mosque and emerged as the largest parliamentary party in the national elections of 1996, 1998, and again in 1999. A centre-left coalition (the United Front) managed to bring down the BJP government after only thirteen days in office in 1996, but itself fell seventeen months later. The BJP is the dominant member of the coalition (National Democratic Alliance) which has governed India since 1998. Although the exigencies of coalition require some dilution of the Hindutva program, India under the BJP (1998 to the present) has seen a disconcerting amount of rhetoric and violence directed against religious minorities, Muslim and Christian.

In both countries, pseudo-revisionist historiography has subjected the discipline of scholarship to the service of cultural myth-making and political indoctrination.

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Madrasa, amending the blasphemy law, restoring the joint electorate and improving the human rights record—have floundered in the face of opposition from Islamists, and sectarian violence continues unabated.

In India, although the first decade of Independence saw the massive reform and codification of Hindu family law, nothing at all has been done in terms of reforming Muslim law and improving the position of Indian Muslim women. Pakistan's Ordinance of 1961—which, inter alia, requires that prior permission should be obtained for a polygamous marriage; renders all talak pronouncements (even the triple pronouncement) revocable; and denies legal effectiveness to any talak—had a period of three months had passed following notification of the talak to a local official, who is to use the intervening time to attempt reconciliation—had no echoes in the neighbour to the south. The Congress party, which ruled India without interruption for its first thirty years (including seventeen years under Jawaharlal Nehru and eleven years under his daughter Indira Gandhi), was committed to secularism and democracy but was also pleased to have the Muslim "vote bank" securely on its side. When Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated in 1984, the Congress government passed to her son Rajiv Gandhi. It was on his watch (1986) that the (misnamed) Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act was rushed through Parliament, over objections of his own Congress parliamentarians and by virtue of a three-line whip. The Act of 1986 reversed the (1985) Shab Bano judgment and deprived destitute divorced Muslim women (simply on the basis of their religious identity) of the minimal succour that section 125 of the (secular) Criminal Procedure Code, 1974, afforded to all such women. A harsh blow was struck against secularism (and against women). The dynastic link was broken with Rajiv's assassination in 1991 and—ruderless, faction-ridden, and tainted with scandal—the Congress party lost much of its appeal. The gathering clouds of Hindu activism, demanding an end to a policy of appeasement of minorities and emphatic affirmation of the Hindu-ness of India, broke over the North India city of Ayodhya when in 1992 the 16th-century Babri mosque was destroyed by a mob of Hindu militants, setting off a wave of Hindu-Muslim violence across the country. The Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), with its "Hinduva" (Hindu-ness) philosophy and agenda, rose to prominence on the rubble of the Babri mosque and emerged as the largest parliamentary party in the national elections of 1996, 1998, and again in 1999. A centre-left coalition (the United Front) managed to bring down the BJP government after only thirteen days in office in 1996, but itself fell seventeen months later. The BJP is the dominant member of the coalition (National Democratic Alliance) which has governed India since 1998. Although the exigencies of coalition require some dilution of the Hindutva program, India under the BJP (1998 to the present) has seen a disconcerting amount of rhetoric and violence directed against religious minorities, Muslim and Christian.

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law of inheritance according to Aboo Huneefa and his followers (abridgment of the Siradjiyya and Sharifiyya), 1832; idem, Moohummadan law of sale, (tr. of relevant chapters of the Fatwaa-i-Ali-i-Ahlfani), 1860; idem, A digest of Moohummadan law. Part first: The doctrines of the Hanafi code of jurisprudence (tr. and abridgment of those portions of the Fatwaa-i-Ali-i-Ahlfani likely to be relevant to litigation in India), 1865; London 1875 (Reprints of the 2nd ed. are available, but must be used with caution. E.g., when the Premier Book House (Lahore) reprinted Baillie's Part I (the Hanafi Fatwaa-i-Ali-i-Ahlfani and Part II (the Ithna 'Ashari Sharf?i-al-Islam), pages from one were intermixed with the other, see e.g. pp. 73-80 of the 1974 reprint of Baillie I; these pages are from the Baillie II and represent Ithna 'Ashari, not Hanafi; law); A. Rumsey, Al-Shar:iyya on the Moohummadan law of inheritance (repr. of Sir William Jones' 1792 translation of the Siradjiyya and Sharifiyya, with notes), Calcutta 1869, 1890; The Hedaya, tr. Charles Hamilton; ed. Standish Grady, 1870. (More convenient than the 1791 edition because comprising only one volume, reduction largely achieved by tighter, smaller print and the elimination of wide page margins, etc.; however, a few discussions have been omitted, including slavery (independent British India after slavery had been abolished in 1843) and much criminal law (irrelevant in British India after the Penal Code of 1860), but also including apostasy.) Reprints of this edition are readily available but must be used with caution; typographical errors in these reprints include not only numerous (and usually obvious) misspellings of individual words but also the occasional (and not always obvious) omission of a few lines, giving those lines remaining a totally different (and erroneous) meaning. Curiously, the same errors appear in the various reprints, regardless of date and publisher.; N.B.E. Baillie, A digest of Moohummadan law. Part second: The doctrines of the Imameea Code of jurisprudence (tr. essentially of majar Ithna 'Ashari text, the Sharf?i-al-Islam), 1874; London 1887 (Reprints available, but see the entry under “Baillie 1865” for a word of caution.); Mahomed Yusof Khan Bahadur, Fatwaa-i-Kazee Khan (tr. of portions dealing with marriage and divorce), 1881, 2 vols. (Reprint, in which the first two volumes appear as volume I and volume 3 appears as volume 2, available.); E.C. Howard, Mishag et talum. A manual of Muhammadan law according to the school of Shafi'i, tr. into English from the French ed. by L.W.C. Van den Berg, London 1914; A.A.A. Fyzee, Compendium of Fatimahal law, Simla 1969. (This text, edited by Fyzee in 2 vols., was published in Arabic in Cairo in 1951 and 1961.)


7. Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei These three states share a common history of British colonial control. Colonial legal policy was founded on the principle that English law was the law of general application to all subjects. However, where the "religious, racial, and communal" customs of subject populations were concerned, an exception might be made consonant with (English notions of) "equity, justice and good conscience". This principle was established in 1781 in India and carried through into the Malayan possessions. The results for Islam was the development of a hybrid "Anglo-Muhammadan" law which had and still has family law and trusts as its area of jurisdiction. It was not until after the Second World War, and approaching independence, that any real effort was made to establish a separate Islamic court system. Prior to this time, the syariah (shari'a) or the English law version of syariah was a matter for the general courts. The colonial policy legacy remains important both for substantive law and for the structure of the contemporary makhama in each of the three states.

1. Singapore

The first religious court (Syariah Court) was formally established in 1957 under the Muslims Ordinance of that year. At this time, Singapore was still a Crown Colony and the main motive for the court's foundation was to attempt control over the very high divorce rates among Singaporean Muslims. For this reason, its jurisdiction was restricted to marriage, divorce, nullity of marriage, judicial separation, division of property on divorce, and maintenance. While the basic causes of action in these matters remain as in the syariah, the particular form in which they are put in the statute is derived from English law. The syariah has been reformulated. Further provisions in the statute reinforce this position. The language of the court could be English, professional advocates might appear, the laws on evidence were English, powers to compel attendance were the same as those applicable in the secular Magistrates Court, precedent was wholly English and the qualifications and appointment of judges was established by the Governor. Appeals lay to an Appeals Board over which the Governor exercised a general power of revision. Most important, the Ordinance did not exclude the overriding jurisdiction of the secular High Court. In a series of cases from the late 1950s, the High Court did not hesitate to overturn or amend Syariah Court decisions. There were severe criticisms of Syariah
Court procedure, lack of record keeping and misunderstanding of the rules of evidence. While justified, such criticisms could also be seen as somewhat unfair given that the kādis were not formally trained in English law.

The Ordinance was replaced in 1966 by the Administration of Muslim Law Act which repeals and such criticisms could also be seen as somewhat unfair understanding of the rules of evidence. While justified, kādis given that the

tenance. It is essentially a copy of English matrimonial laws of the late 1950s, and thus does not sit at all that well with the version of syariah which the Syariah Court in Singapore is supposed to administer. By copying an English statute, the government of Singapore had also imported all other English legislation on family laws, for example, the laws on maintenance, guardianship, matrimonial property and so on. The Syariah Court has been placed in an impossible position. On the one hand, it is constrained by statute, and on the other it is obliged to apply "Islamic" law. It is the definition of "Islamic" law which is the difficulty. It now means four things: (a) the Anglo-Muslimmanadan laws derived from British Indian precedent and elaborated in the colonial period. Textbooks of these laws remain authorities for the secular courts. (b) The classical textbooks of the Shafi’i school which are the primary reference for the Singaporean kādi. (c) The regulations made under the 1966 Act which are binding on the kādi. (d) The decisions of the kādis reported and followed by later kādis—that is, a precedent. It is this last (d) which it likely to determine the future of the Syariah Court. While the kādis derive their decisions from the classical texts (see (a) above), they also follow the earlier kādis in an organised way through law reporting and analysis of the earlier judgements. In short, there is now a Muslim internal reformulation of syariah within the Syariah Court. While the substance of a rule may be fikh, the legal reasoning as to what it means and its application is English. This should occasion little surprise. Most if not all members of the Appeal Board have an English or English-derived legal education. For them, recourse to a precedent is perfectly normal. The fact that the structure and precedent of the court is English-derived merely reinforces this position. In extreme cases, the syariah presence is confined to quotations from the Qur’an, not infrequently irrelevant. The result is an eclecticism of source of law in both the court and at the Appeal Board level. For example, a survey of recent Appeal Board decisions (1988-95) has shown recourse to (i) English principles of statutory interpretation, (ii) Anglo-Muslimmanadan rules from British India, (iii) citation from the Qur’an, (iv) administrative rules on registration of marriage and divorce, and (v) earlier Syariah Court precedent. There is nothing from fikh as such; the whole complex is English. Even the sāunas cited are not decisive but seem to be put in so as to provide "Islamic" colouring to a method of reasoning which is wholly outside the canons of Muslim jurisprudence. This is not to say that fikh does not play a part, at least at the lower level. It does, but increas

ingly now in a secularised form. At the Appeal Board level, however, the secularised form is dominant.

This state of affairs should come as no surprise. The intention of the Singaporean legislation was and is to control the family law of Muslims. This means that it has to approximate the secular family laws as closely as possible, consonant with the religion of Islam. The colonial legislation showed how this could be done. The Syariah Court, therefore, is limited in its function and jurisdiction and is ultimately answerable to the Supreme Court of Singapore which will apply an Anglo-Syariah law.

ii. Malaysia

This state [see MALAYSIA] is a Federation and under the Constitution (1957 and amendments), Islam is a state matter, not a federal matter. The result is that each of the states in the Federation has its own "Islamic" (or "Muslim") law legislation. However, the Malaysian Constitution also says (Art. 3) that "Islam is the religion of the Federation". Unlike Singapore, therefore, Islam has a constitutional presence at both the federal and state level in Malaysia and this has important implications for both the structure and jurisdiction of the Syariah Courts.

(a) A note of caution is necessary about structure. While all the states of the Federation have a Syariah Court with the same general structure, this does not mean that the courts have precisely the same jurisdiction. Details vary from state to state. To be fully informed, one must look separately at each state enactment. The following description is taken from the Federal Territory Administration of Islamic Law Act, 1993, something of an exemplar Act for Malaysian Islam. Part IV (§§ 40-57) establishes a three-tier system, consisting of Syariah Subordinate Court, High Court and Appeal Court. The Appeal Court is headed by the Chief Syariah Judge who must be a citizen and who has had ten years Syariah Court experience, or "is a person learned in Islamic law". This last qualification is undefined. A quorum for the court is the Chief Judge plus two judges drawn from a panel of seven judges. Decision is by a majority and the Appeal Court is the final court in matters of family law, wakf [q.v.], offences against religion, inheritance and bayt al-māl. The Syariah Subordinate Court has a limited jurisdiction in the same matters. Appeals go to the Syariah High Court and, finally, to the Appeal Court, which also exercises a general supervisory jurisdiction over the lower courts. The Act also provides for the appointment of shariah prosecutors. Persons in proceedings in the Syariah courts may be represented by a Pergam Syaric, an advocate who has a sufficient degree of Islamic knowledge and who is admitted to practice in the Syariah courts. The procedure in all the courts is based on the secular model. It is government policy to standardise the Syariah court system nationwide on the Federal Territory model, but there is still some way to go at the moment.

(b) Islamic jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of the state Syariah Courts is as set out in their respective enactments. From the 1950s it has become increasingly elaborated to the extent that there is now a comprehensive jurisdiction which coexists with the secular court system (High Courts and Court of Appeal [formerly Federal Court]). Concurrent jurisdictions always raise the issue of which is superior, or more exactly, which forum decides the issue. The question only really arose in the 1950s and was not definitively decided in Malaysia until 1988. Before that date, it was the secular courts which had overriding jurisdiction because these courts derived from the Federal Constitution and not, as did the Syariah courts, from state legislation. This was always a matter of resentment in Syariah court circles, and in 1988 a new article, 121 (1A), was introduced into the Federal Constitution; which reads: "The courts referred to [the
secular courts] shall have no jurisdiction in respect of any matters within the jurisdiction of the Syariah courts.

However, this does not really solve the issue; it merely puts it back one stage. It is still the secular courts, here the Court of Appeal of Malaysia, which actually decides whether a course of action is "within the jurisdiction of the Syariah Courts". There are a number of reported cases (1990s; see Bibl.) which demonstrate this; the Syariah courts have an inferior jurisdiction and have no power to determine the limits of that jurisdiction. It is the secular courts that interpret the Constitution just as they are the heirs to Anglo-Muhammadan jurisprudence.

Given the structure of the Syariah courts and the issue of jurisdiction, it is not surprising that the judgments in the courts show an increasing degree of secularisation of fikh. This has taken place in the area of family law, and the decisions are a case study of the fate of the syariah in the contemporary nation state. Fundamental to this is the fate of the classical text books themselves and here one can discern a consistent pattern from the late 1980s. Passages are cited as hukum syariah and then interpreted with reference to Malaysian legislation and, in some cases, Malay custom law (adat). As many classic texts (standard books and hadith collections) get quite new meanings which derive from adat, from legislation, and from earlier Syariah court precedents. These new meanings are now what fikh means; thus the Arabic sources are beginning to be interpreted and distinguished on the basis of English-derived principles.

A second feature of the contemporary Syariah courts is the recourse to "modernist" legal reasoning with occasional but important recourse to Middle East authorities. Thus, from the late 1970s we find references to Syed Sa'li (his Fikh al-Sa'ma) and Ibn Kudâma (the latter's discussion of Abu Dawûd).

These two trends seem now to be almost irreversible. The only surprising feature is the depth of penetration of secular (English) legal reasoning into the substantive fikh rules. There seem to be three reasons for this.

First, while it is true that the syariah in its "pure" form (fikh and hadith) is now commonly cited, it is also true that the form of judicial records is in judicial precedent. Given that this is the form of the law, it is inevitable that the technical rules of English law will apply, and the result will be an Anglo-Syariah. Such has, of course, occurred before in British India and pre-independence British Malaya. The only difference in the present case is the greater quality of fikh in the kadis jurisdiction. Even here, however, a lot of repetition appears. In short, the precedent law is decisive.

Second, the members of the Appeal Board are, almost without exception, trained in English and English-Malay universities and practice at the secular Bar or the judiciary. This, apart from being Muslim, is their primary qualification. When this is combined with the precedent form, it is not surprising that an increasingly secular form of judicial reasoning is apparent. This is not to say that judgements are "un-Islamic": Such would not be true in the substance (result) of a decision. It is certainly arguable, however, in terms of legal reasoning.

Third, the prevailing political climate for Islam in Malaysia is dictated by the Federal Government. It is one which encourages progress, "modernisation", "development" and the like. Whatever the rhetoric, Islam is controlled in all its aspects so far as possible. The religion must accommodate itself to the state and not the other way around. The same principle applies to kadis jurisdiction, and an increasing secularisation of Islam through administration and through the Syariah courts now seems inevitable.

iii. Brunei

The State of Brunei (q.v. in Suppl.) (independent in 1984) describes itself as a "Malay-Islamic-Sultanate" (Melayu-Islam-Bendera). The Sultan is Head of State and Head of Government; he is also the Head of the Religion of Islam which is thus entrenched in the Constitution. Prior to 1955, the laws as to Syariah courts were minimal, though a basic Kadi Court did exist. In 1955 Brunei adopted the Religious Council and Kadis Court Act which was based on the then Kelantan (Malaysia) Enactment. The Brunei Act has been amended and the current version is now cap. 77 of the Revised Laws (1984) with some later amendments.

The Act establishes a Court of Chief Kadi in the capital and subordinate Kadi Courts in outlying districts. The extent of jurisdiction is determined by the Sultan but is in fact specified in detail in the Act. These include family law, uqaf and, in criminal matters, offences against religion. The latter include gambling, consumption of alcohol, sex outside marriage, preaching Islam without permission and the unlawful construction of mosques. Appeals are dealt with in the Chief Kadi's Court and above that by the Judicial Committee, which consists of the State Mufti and two other members appointed by the Sultan. This Committee also has authority to write an opinion on any question of Muslim law for a non-Islamic court if requested. Ultimate authority, however, still lies with the Sultan who, as Head of the Religious Council (one of the Councils of State), makes the final decision.

The language of the Courts is Malay and records are kept in Malay. Advocates may not appear if an appearance is "contrary to the provisions of Muslim law" but may be permitted at the discretion of the Court. Procedure is based on secular court procedure. So far as evidence is concerned, Muslim law is followed only with respect to witnesses. All other matters of evidence are governed by English law as adopted in Brunei. The Courts may summon non-Muslims to give evidence. Matters of arrest and search in relation to criminal activity, especially breach of the peace, are governed by the secular criminal proceedings in the Kadi Courts. The execution of judgements is likewise governed by the Subordinate Courts Act. Generally, in civil matters the practice and procedure of the Magistrates Courts is followed in the Kadi Courts.

In essence, the Brunei Act repeats the Malaysian and Singaporean provisions. This is true for judicial process. However, it is important to realise that the constitutional position of Islam in Brunei and the position of the Sultan provides a unique context for the operation of the Kadi Courts. Unfortunately data on their actual working are not as yet available.

Bibliography: 1. Basic sources. These are the respective editions of the laws of each state. For Malaysia, there are variations from state to state. A useful overview, which notes the variations, is D. Horowitz, The Quran and the Common Law, in American Journal of Comparative Law, iii (1949), 253-93. The other basic sources for Singapore and Malaysia are the Malay Law Journal and Current Law Journal, both in English with Malay summaries and the Jurnal Hukum in Malay. There are no reports for Brunei.
women of the royal family in court life (queen-mother, raphers (al-Ya'kubf, al-Muhallabf) depicted the ruler ion behind a silk curtain; the prevailing influence of Among the features of divine kingship which resisted the secularising tendencies of Islam were the seclu- the royal institution during the period of the Sayfuwa. elements of divine kingship continued to shape the His teaching was evidently inflammatory for makidsid, porters of the doctrine of sharfa, as a legal tool provided

was involved in clashes in Maiduguri and Kaduna in following years.

The sect bears some resemblance to the Hamul- liyya [q.e.v.], an offshoot of the Tijaniyya [q.e.v.] that began in Manutania in the 1920s. Both movementsumpy living which regarded other Muslims as impure. Many of its fol-

lowers were recent immigrants to Kano, drawn by the city’s oil boom driven expansion, but it also had followers in rural areas. Bibliography: J. Boutrais, La colonisation des plaines par les montagnards au nord du Cameroun, Paris 1973; A. Christelow, The Tan Tsatsine disturbances in Kano. A search for perspective, in MW, lxv (1985), 69-84; P. Lubeck, Islam and urban labour in Northern Nigeria. The making of a Muslim working class, Cambridge 1987. (A. Christelow)

MAKSID AL-SHARIFA (A.), literally, “the aims or purposes of the law”. The term is used in works of legal theory (wajah al-fik [q.e.v.]) and refers to the idea that God’s law, the sharusi (q.e.v.), is a system which encompasses aims or purposes. If the system is correctly implemented, these aims will be achieved. From such a perspective, the Sharfa is not merely a collection of inscrutable rul-

ings. One who claims that the Sharfa has makidsid is, therefore, making a statement concerning the rational nature of the Sharfa: that God intends to bring about a certain state of affairs by instituting particu-

lar laws. Most Sunni legal theorists subscribe to the view that the Sharfa has aims, and principal amongst these is the promotion of the “benefit for the believers” (maslith al-ibad). As al-Shatibi (d. 790/1388), prob-

ably the most sophisticated of the classical exponents of the doctrine of makidsid al-sharfa; the makidsid, aims and intentions. They hold no intrinsic value, and if, on occasions, the strict application of the law com-

promises the aims of the Sharfa, then for some suppor-
tors of the doctrine of makidsid, the law can be set aside or modified so that God’s intentions might be fulfilled. This possibility has made an appeal to makidsid al-sharfa particularly popular amongst modern legal reformers in the Muslim word, as it enables them to alter some long-held elements of the law which they consider to be impracticable in a contemporary setting.

The doctrine of makidsid al-sharfa has its roots in early Muslim attempts to rationalise both theology and law. In terms of theology, the ideas of the Mu'tazila [q.e.v.] undoubtedly influenced the emergence of the makidsid doctrine. The Mu'tazila doctrine that God's decrees are subject to, rather than the origin of, the ideas of good and evil (al-taha'in wa 'l-kaabib [q.e.v.]) ultimately resulted in an assertion that God is compelled to act in the interests (perhaps the best interests) of humankind. His law must be of benefit to his creation, for if it was not, his qualities of jus-
tice and goodness would be compromised.

In legal works, a bundle of related doctrines can be seen as precursors to al-Shatibi's elaboration. The development of kalya [q.e.v.] as a legal tool provided the impetus for the doctrine of makidsid al-sharfa: the Shatibi doctrine, when it is applied to a particular situation, or to a novel situation, then the law must, in some sense, be coherent. If it is coherent, then it must express the will of the Lawgiver. It is this underly-
ing assumption (that the intentions of the Lawgiver could be known) that was so vehemently rejected by the Zahirf Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064 [q.e.v.]).
The Şahîʻî jurist Abû Hamîd al-Ghazâlî (d. 565/1171 [q.v.]), on the other hand, asserted that one way in which the ratio (illa [q.v.]) of a ruling might be known is by comparing the candidate for the role of ʻilla with the general aim (maksâd) of the law to "promote benefit and reduce harm". This means of identifying or verifying the ʻilla (known as mânaṣÂbâ) rested upon the idea that the aims of the law were discernible (through reason or revelation).

The Hanbali Najm al-Dîn al-Tûfî (716/1316 [q.v.]) went further than this, arguing that all rules derived from analogy (barār those not open to rational scrutiny such as the ritual ʻibâdât) are susceptible to change and development if the aims of the Lawgiver are not fulfilled. Discussion over the legitimacy of ʻiṣâbân and ʻistisâldh and the acceptance of these ideas by a jurist. It is theologically prob-

African (Malikî) jurists, such as Muhammad Tahir b. Abu Ishâq al-Shâtîbî (q.v.), the 8th/14th-century makâsîd al-sharfa, should come from the Malikî school, and refers to comments of various kinds accepted that the whole Sharî‘a exists to promote the welfare of the believers. The benefits which are promoted and preserved when the Sharî‘a is instituted are those which are needed (ḥâdi‘) in order to make obedience to the Sharî‘a less demanding; and those which which, whilst not necessary or needed, improve (tasâbî‘ûya) the benefits already enjoyed by the believers. Each ruling in the Sharî‘a can be said to benefit the believers in one of these three areas. For example, it is necessary (dürâra) to human existence to preserve life, and God has instituted (the Sharî‘a) rules concerning punishment and compensation for murder. In order to make the Sharî‘a easier to follow (ḥâdi‘), the law permits sick people to miss prayer. Finally, the benefits to the believers are improved (tasâbî‘ûya) by supererogatory manumission, though community welfare would be maintained if this act was not performed.

Al-Šâhî‘î’s schema, which was innovative within the deeply conservative tradition of Sunni usûl al-fikr, undoubtedly influenced subsequent writings, but it is in the modern period that these ideas have been developed and enhanced, and a genre of makâsîd writing can be said to have emerged. In particular, North African (Mâlikî) jurists, such as Muhammad Tâhir b. ʻAshîr, for example, adds equality and freedom to al-Šâhî‘î’s list of the five elements necessary for human existence to prosper. The modern emergence of a theology reminiscent of Mu’tazîlî doctrine has enabled jurists to consider that the Sharî‘a is more adaptable to change and distinguish between the unchanging aims of the law and mutable particular regulations.


(M.R. GLEAVE)
Tepe no. 2 at Bayram 'Ali near Marw make use of earlier structures, so-called *sawads* (M.E. Masson, *Materiali po archeologii Merv*, in *Trudi YuTAKE*, xiv [1969], 7-12; O.V. Obel'chenko, *Nekropol' drevnego Merv*, in *Izv. AN SSSR*, 95-96). Burials in ossuaries and jars appeared with regular Muslim graves in a 7th-10th century cemetery outside Taraz near Dzhambul (Kazakhstan) (L.L. Rempel, *Nekropol’ drevnego Taraza*, in *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Material’noy Kul’tury*, ix [1957], 102). The best-known site for these hybrid practices, however, is the “Monumental Cemetery” (Site O) in Siraf [Iran], situated on a spur of land overlooking the city’s west end, which also had its own funerary mosque (D. Whitehouse, *Excavations in Siraf*, in *Iraq*, xii [1974], 23-30). Dating back to the pre-Islamic period, the 100 x 150 m cemetery was dominated by a group of about forty monumental tombs (5 x 5 m to 9.5 x 10 m), built between the 9th and the 10th centuries, with graves grouped around them. Most appear to have been used for the collective disposal of the dead, who were buried inside without coffins and without separating the corpses according to gender. Most bodies were aligned in an orthodox manner north-south, with their heads turned towards the west, i.e. Mecca. The deceased, who appear to have been members of the wealthier society of Siraf, were buried with rings, beads, bracelets and ceramic jugs ([ibid., 25]). Similar cemeteries are known from literary sources to have existed in Paykand, modern Karakul in Turkmenistan (anon., *Hadid al-Islam*, tr. Minorsky, 113) and Yazed (Dja’fari, *Tarikh-i Yazd*, ed. I. Afgah, Tehran 1337 A.S.H./1958, 130).

Cemeteries on *munawar* were often established in ruins or in buildings that were partially torn down for that purpose (Whitehouse, [ibid., 9]; A. McNicol, *Site G, Islamic Cemetery*, in *McNicol and W. Ball* (eds.), *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 and 1975*, Leipzig 1979, 214, 234-6), while growing settlements were laid out around pre-existing cemeteries, respecting and caring for existing tombs (Whitehouse, [ibid., 12]).

Local pre-Islamic cemeteries continued in use, but cemeteries also opened up in greater Iran around tombs ascribed to legendary *gahad* of the Muslim conquest of Iran (Yahät, inv. 418; E. Gohn-Wiener, *Tazma tomb of the twelfth century A.D.*, in *Ars Islamicus*, vi [1939], 88-91; to saints (A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Renaissances preliminaires sur une mosaique ghaswehdez*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, xvii, 59-60) or to former rulers (Cohn-Wiener, *De Runen der Seljukischen von Merke und das Maussolien Sultan Sorschah*, in *Festschrift F. Sarre*, Leipzig 1925, 116).

Only scarce documentation exists on remnants of some nomadic cemeteries in the Atrek valley in northeastern Iran and in southwestern Iran dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The Turcoman Golden tribe possessed a common burial ground 60 km/40 miles north of Djarqalan, scattered over hills, slopes, and plateaux of the Gökceh mountain, to which the deceased were brought often from far away, after a preliminary burial for some time in the area around seasonal camps (D. Stonach, *Standing stones in the Atrek region*. The *Haiid Natii cemetery*, in *Iraq*, xix [1981], 147-51). In contrast to this, cemeteries of the Lor nomads in Luristan were established along the annual tribal migratory routes and may coincide with old camp sites. Tombs in these cemeteries were marked by pictorial stelae with gender-specific images and inscriptions (D.I. Mortensen, *Women after death*. Aspects of a study on Iranian nomadic cemeteries, in B. Uta [ed.], *Women in Islamic societies*, London 1983, 26-47; idem, *Nomadic cemeteries and tombstones from Luristan, Iran*, in J.-L. Baquè-Grammont and A. Tiber [eds.], *Cemeteries and traditions funeraires dans le monde islamique*, Ankara 1996, ii, 175-85).

In contemporary Iran, modern and efficiently-administered cemeteries have been established, often at some distance from major cities and pilgrimage centres, as more orderly alternatives to older, more scattered burial places. Between the 1970s and late 1980s, the city of Mashhad inaugurated the cemeteries of Bihisht-i Rıdà and Djamâ’-i A’immah 20 miles southwest of the city in the vicinity of an old cemetery named after the tomb of the 9th century Imámzâda Khây’ad Abü `l-Sâlî. Simultaneously, modern extensions to the Timurid shrine of Imam `Ali al-Rıdâ now include underground burial vaults, named al-Kuds and Masjhad-djumârî for civilians and soldiers killed during the Revolution and the Iran–Iraq War. Used as a burial ground since the 1950s and opened officially in 1970, the sprawling Bihisht-i Zahra cemetery (Paradise of [Fatimah the Radiant]) south of Tehran along the highway to Kūm is today the city’s main cemetery. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Bihisht-i Zahra gained the reputation as a national symbol of the Revolution, as many of those killed during demonstrations against the Shah or in post-Revolutionary factional battles were buried there as martyrs. During the eight years of war with ‘Irak, a vast, separate section was added for soldiers killed in action, whose tombs are typically surmounted by cases that exhibit a portrait photo of the deceased and Islamic and Revolutionary paraphernalia. The impressive visual expression of Bihisht-i Zahra as a cemetery dedicated to the commemoration of martyrs, a fountain that spouts red water, has been copied throughout Iran (Hamid Algar, *al-Hakk Muhaddith*, Shah Muhibb Allah of Allahabad, *Revolutionary factional fighting were buried there as martyrs. Apart from epistolary collections of political and literary significance (like *I’lā-y-i Khurasan, Maktabāt-i Rıdâi Negār*), there are collections of letters written by mystic teachers to their disciples. This epistolary literature, which throws valuable light on the mystic ideology and institutions of the period, may broadly be classified under four categories: (i) sundry correspondence limited mostly to one or two letters dealing with some religious problem, e.g. letters attributed to Shâykh ‘Abd al-Kadir Gilânî, Khây’ad Abü Djin Dähbîyât Kâki, Shâykh Farid Gandj-i Shârak, Shâykh Nizâm al-Djin Awhîyân and others; (ii) collections of letters in the nature of mystical communications without any indication of the addressees, e.g. letters of *Ayn al-Kudâr Hamadânî, Kudâr Hamîd al-Djin Nâwârâ, Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadânî*; (iii) collections of letters bearing on mystical or religious themes addressed to disciples to resolve their difficulties, e.g. the letters of the Imâm al-Gházâlî, Sânî, Râ’î, Yâliyân Mârî, Bû ‘Ali Kaldâr, Anâr Djin Dähjângîn Simmânî, Gisû Daráz, Nûr Kûbî-î Alam, Dja’far Makkî, Shâykh ‘Abd al-Kudâr, Shâykh ‘Abd al-Hâkk Muhaddîth, Shâh Muhbîb Allah of Allahábâd.
Amir Khusraw also received a large number of letters, but these were of personal nature and were not collected, dred letters—Dihll 1302, 310—and his descendants assumed the same significance which maktubdt-i Kadi Shattar [q.v.] and Khayr ad-Dfn Awliya used to write letters on a large scale. 

The available maktub literature throws light on the thought and activities, as also the problems and preferences, of the saints of different periods and different orders. Though some of the letters of the Imam al-Ghazâlî are addressed to waqfs and government officials, they help us in assessing the position of religion in the administration of those days. His communications to the kâdîs, the jurists and theologians throw light on the nature of the religious problems and tensions of the period and have a sermonising tone. The letters of Shaykh Sharaf al-Dîn Yahyâ succeed in boosting the mystics' morale after their setback at the hands of Muḥammad b. Tughluq [q.v.].

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As a heavenly group consisting of angels, al-mala’ al-dal’lā consists of the considered superior to the earthly one which consists of the sons of Adam (ibid., i, 289). This is indicated in a tradition of the Prophet stating that whenever a believer mentions God’s name in public (fi mala’), God mentions his name in the public (e.g. Ahmad b. Hanbal, Musnad, ii, 251). A mala’ of angels met the Prophet on his nocturnal journey to heaven (ibid., i, 354), and in fact every human soul is about to pass by a mala’ of angels at the time of death (ibid., iv, 287).

Closely associated with al-mala’ al-dal’lā in its heavenly significance is the expression al-ra’ff al-dal’lā (the “upper company”, cf. Kur’ān IV, 69). It appears in a widely current tradition in which the Prophet, on his deathbed, asks God to place him with al-ra’ff al-dal’lā, and these constitute his last words (e.g. al-Bukhārī, Sahih, vi, 18-19 = kitāb 64, bāb 84). According to one of the interpretations, this expression stands for angels belonging to al-mala’ al-dal’lā (al-Kaṣāllānī, Ishāq al-sā‘ī li-sharḥ Sahīh al-Bukhārī, 10 vols., Cairo 1305/1887, viii, 358).

2. In early Tradition.

In accounts containing episodes from Muhammad’s life, the mala’ of Kuraysh [q.v.] is often mentioned, and the Prophet, on his deathbed, ascribes his death to a better mala’. In most cases, this mala’ is involved in acts of persecution perpetrated against Muhammad. In a typical episode, it is related that the mala’ of Kuraysh once told Muhammad that they were ready to embrace Islam provided he turned away believers of the lower classes (Ahmad b. Hanbal, Musnad, i, 420). The episode is usually recorded in the commentaries on Kur’ān VI, 52, in which the Prophet is instructed not to reject those who call upon their Lord in the morning and in the evening. Occasionally, the mala’ of the Meccans is said to have convened in the Ḥijrā (a sacred enclosure and a meeting place near the Ka’ba [q.v.]) to discuss how to treat Muhammad (ibid., i, 303), and they are also said to have interrogated Muhammad, offering him medical treatment to cure his supposed madness (al-Kurtubi, Ahkām al-Kur’ān, xv, 338). In another instance, specific names of the hostile mala’ of Kuraysh are enumerated, in a tradition in which Muhammad prays to God to punish them for having thrown a camel’s placenta on him when he was prostrating during prayer. This was done to invalidate his prayer by causing him physical impurity (al-Bukhārī, Sahih, iv, 127 = kitāb 58, bāb 21, v, 57 = kitāb 65, *bāb 29*).

According to modern scholars, the word mala’ became a fixed term denoting the elected “senate” of the tribe of Kuraysh in pre-Islamic Mecca (e.g. W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, Oxford 1953, 8). See also MAKA. 1. It was described as “a kind of urban equivalent of the tribal magis [see MAGILS. 1], consisting of notables and family chiefs elected by assent to their wealth and standing” (B. Lewis, The Arabs in history, repr. London 1983, 31). However, there is no evidence that a process of election to the mala’ ever took place in pre-Islamic Mecca. That mala’ essentially denoted no more than an occasional group of notables is evident from the fact that it is also used with reference to a group of Kuraysh acting in Medina after the Ḥijrā (e.g. al-Bukhārī, Sahih, ii, 133 = kitāb 24, bāb 4; Ahmad b. Hanbal, Musnad, v, 160).

The mala’, i.e. the notables, of the Arab tribes of Medina (of the Banu ‘Ubad[ān]) are also mentioned in the sources, and they are described as being in contact with Muhammad upon his arrival in Medina (al-Bukhārī, Sahih, v, 86 = kitāb 63, bāb 46). A more
typical form of a consultative body in Islamic times was, perhaps, the šaykh [q.v.].

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(U. Rubin)

MALAWI, Muslims in.  

Historical background.  

Islam is not a recent phenomenon in the interior East African state of Malawi (the former British protectorate of Nyasaland), since traders from Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India and Indonesia had dealings with the East African Coast since time immemorial and Islam was carried by the interior by such traders. The name Malawi was first used by the Portuguese to denote a variety of distinct ethnic groups. Amongst these, the Marawi established a hegemony over a considerable area, including the Makua on the coast around Mozambique [q.v.]. The penetration of Islam took place from two directions, i.e. along the Rovuma after the Portuguese occupation of Kilwa [q.v.] in 1505, and from Angoche, which, although it declined after 1530, remained an important centre for the spread of Muslim-Swahili influence into the interior.

The political turbulence on the northern parts of the East African coast during the 16th century did not affect the coastal region of the Mozambique channel. The lack of settlements in the beautiful area became conducive to new economic developments, particularly that of ship building at Mozambique and the local production of textiles which had implications for the influence of Islam in Malawi, the one enabling the building of boats to ply on Lake Nyasa, the other as gifts to or for the purchase of slaves, ivory and other goods from the local rulers. In the wake of ever-widening commercial enterprises between the coast and the interior from the end of the 16th century onwards, the Makua and Yao [q.v.] were the main traders, although agents from the coast had already settled in the interior at this time.

During the early part of the 18th century, the struggle between the Portuguese and the 'Umāniyya on the one hand, and the 'Umāniyya and the local population on the other, undermined the place of Islam along the coast and along the trade routes. Mozambique displaced Kilwa as the main centre of relations with Malawi. During the early 1750s, the Portuguese were making common cause with the šaykh-yi of Sanculo and Quitangonha against the Makua, penetrating deep into Makua country. At around this time also, Indian trading interests on the coast, centred on Mozambique, began to penetrate inland; thus in 1727 the Vicerey granted a special license to a number of wealthy Indian Muslims that allowed them to trade with the Makua.

The next development of Islam in Malawi is connected with Sayyid Sa'īd of the Bū Sa‘īd [q.v.] dynasty of 'Umayr (1906-56), who established himself as ruler of the coast in the early part of the 19th century and encouraged trade with the interior by establishing "forts" on the Kilwa-Lake Nyasa route. By 1861 Muslims had settled at the southern end of Lake Malawi and were operating west of the lake in 1863. In the 1870s Islamic influence could be seen in that petty chiefs were being addressed as mwalimu. The first Yao chief to adopt Islam around 1870 was one Makanjila II Banali, who employed a Kur‘ān teacher, and children were taught to read the Kur‘ān and to write Swahili in Arabic script. Chief Mataka I Nyambi of Mwembe dressed like an Arab and built his houses in rectangular form representing a clear coastal influence.

The caravans from the coast usually had with them what has been termed "Muslim teachers", who taught the Kur‘ān, instructing people in Islamic beliefs and practices and encouraging literacy in Arabic and Swahili in Arabic script. They are said to have disseminated commentaries and other literature dealing with the observance of customs connected with marriage, eating and drinking, the mode of killing animals, the efficacy of charms and the making of medicines, and encouraged the building of mosques. They also became involved in the training of young men, particularly the sons and nephews of the chiefs, as wulimu on religious scholars. Some of them were sent to the coast for further training. Through such teachers, Swahili became the language predominantly spoken by Muslims in Malawi. Another spin-off of this work has been the number of Malawi Muslims acting as māns and muezinz in South African mosques.

The anti-slavery campaign from 1873 onwards led to a revival of Islam, since Muslim slave traders who were suffering an economic recession, were as a consequence determined to extend their moral and religious influence. There was a growing self-consciousness and reaction to the colonial and mission presence.

When the British protectorate was established in 1891, the Muslim presence in Malawi can be said to have been represented by such chiefs as Mlozi, a half-caste Arab at the north end of the lake; by Salim b. 'Abd Allāh in the central region, where Nkota Kota had become an important centre; by Makanjila, who was established on the east side of the lake, where in 1891 an Arab said to have come from Aden originally owned a house at Saidi Mwazungu's town in the southern part of Makanjila’s country; and by Mponda at the south end of the lake, where there were twelve madaris each with its own mwalimu.

The Islamic renaissance in Malawi in the early part of the 20th century was linked to the Mājī-Mājī disturbances in German East Africa in 1905-6. The so-called "Meccan Letter" purportedly sent by the head of the Uwaysiyya [q.v.] ṭasīka in Mecca giving instructions to the faithful to prepare for the final apocalyptic battle, played its part in the unrest in Muslim circles in Malawi in 1908. Rumours among the Yao were claiming that the Arabs would come and kill all Europeans and Africans alike who refused to accept the Muslim faith. In Malawi, this was intensified by the appearance over Mua of Halley's Comet in 1910. The hostilities in East Africa connected with the First World War also played their part in deepening the commitment to Islam in Malawi. Letters from the German officer Count Falkenstein to Mwalimu Issa Chikoka at Losewa indicated to him that the Ottoman caliph, Sultan Mehemmed V (1909-18), was the enemy of the British, and called on Mwalimu to lead a djirot against the British during Ramadan. The growth of Islam was also encouraged by the recruitment of Muslims for the Nyasaland Police and the King's African Rifles. The general impact of these trends can partly be seen in the establishment of a Muslim boarding school for boys at Malindi and the proliferation of mosques from 1911 onwards.

During the early years of the Protectorate, Kur‘ān schools offered the only education acceptable to Muslims. In 1918, the Governor recommended the establishment of Muslim schools in parallel to those run by various Christian mission societies. This development was encouraged by the Phelps-Stokes Commission and Ormsby-Gore reports of 1925 and led to the opening of a Muslim school in Liwonde
in 1950. From 1946 Muslims were able to establish their own schools. Independence in 1964 brought major changes in the educational system. Islamic literature in English, particularly from South Africa, became more readily available. This and closer links with Muslims and Muslim institutions in East Africa and the wider Muslim world brought about a deeper awareness of the requirements of the faith. By the late 1950s, some Malawi Muslims were able to attend the teachers' college in Zanzibar.

The nature of Islam...

The Muslim community in Malawi is not homogeneous. The differences are not only ethnic but also due to membership of various tarde. Nearly all people in the Kawinga, Liwonde, Jalasi and Nyambi chiefdoms are Muslims, and a group in the Jalasi chiefship is known as twaliki (Ar. tarite). They represent the Kadiiriya order. The twaliki believe that their devotions should be accompanied by loud singing and chanting of Arabic texts and by vigorous dancing. Another group, the saibati, centred around the Kawinga and Liwonde chiefships, advocate a more orthodox type of Muslim devotion in which a quiet and restrained manner is emphasised (Ar. sudat “quietness, silence”). The salabati represent the stricter orthodoxy of the Shafihiyya order. They are also known as ahd al-umun. These differences undoubtedly reflect the variations in Muslim mystical practice involving both dhikr and audible remembrance of God, and diko, silent remembrance. Beside these differences regarding audible and silent dhikr, the saibati also differ from other groups in their funeral practices, such as eating food before a funeral, singing and dancing and carrying flags on such occasions, as well as the propriety of dancing at the annual visits (zakara, Ar. azhra [g.4]) to the graves. They also differ regarding the legality of eating hippopotamus meat, the building of new mosques where there already are other mosques, and special prayers. The zakara are also connected with the commemoration of the Prophet’s birthday (Swa. masihi) on 12 Rabii I, which takes the form of feasting, sikiri (Ar. diski) and exhortations. The term zyala is also used for the celebration of the anniversary of the founder of the tariqa. The Kadiiriya order, which was predominant until the 1930s, celebrates the birthday of the Prophet, the two main festivals and some other occasions, with sumptuous feasting and night-long sikiri, sometimes referred to as azkara and behan (ahd), etc., as an oath of loyalty to the shaykh.

Muslims of Indian origin fall into various categories. The Sunnis among them follow the Hanafi madhab, whereas the Afghan Sunni Muslims follow the Shafi’i school. Among the Indian Muslims, there are also a number of Shi’a belonging to the Twelve, and the Khodja Isma’ili and Bohorah traditions. The majority of these arrived as traders from 1928 onwards, and some of them set up large commercial establishments.

The only ordinance in Malawi that directly concerns Muslim marriage (nikah [g.4]) is the Asians (Marriage, Divorce and Succession) Ordinance of 1929. Its wording allows for the application of the different systems of law followed by the various sects (firak) and law schools (madhakh). It also includes any local variants that may become customary. Another particularity is that marriage appears in the Marriage Ordinance of 1903 which, contrary to the Shari’a, allows a Christian man to marry a Muslim girl. When it comes to a Muslim woman’s rights in a marriage, particularly in relation to divorce, she has almost identical rights to those of her husband.

The month of fasting, has been observed for many years in Malawi. In 1889-90 Mponda II insisted on a proper observation of Ramadhan, although it seems that the appropriate twaliki prayers were not observed. Muslims speak of kamanga namasani “binding on Ramadhan”, and though proud to observe the restrictions, many turn to ramusolo namasani “to loosen the bonds of Ramadhan” before the end of the month of fasting. The fast reaches its climax in the Id al-Fitr (Bayram) referred to as Ili Balak (Ar. baraka). The Id al-Adha (Kurban), the feast of sacrifice, is known as Ili Bali, a name adopted from the Indian sub-continent, where it is known as Bakara Id (Ar. bakara “cow”, hence “the cow festival”) an indication of an early Indian influence on Islam in Malawi, but also a local emphasis and appreciation of the significance of the festival. Zakati is acknowledged, but is not strictly observed except in connection with the Id al-Fitr.

Noon prayers on Fridays, known locally as jama prayers are held at a central place, originally at the village of the main chief. Women join in the juma prayer, usually in a separate section of the mosque. Muslim headmen wear scarlet headbands around their white skullcaps known as mzuli. This may reflect the practice among Muslim scholars, who wear different colours to signify their status or the religious order to which they belong.

A number of traditional ceremonies have survived and have been given orthodox Islamic names. Thus the term sadaka in Malawi has nothing to do with alms but refers to a funeral feast. It is associated with a special dance, known among the Yao as cindimba and is connected with the brewing of a special beer. It has been partially Islamised through the sikiri (dhikr), which is now perceived purely as a dance. The akba (Ar. alkha) ceremony is observed in some areas.

When a Muslim dies, the shaykh is invited to bless the body and delivers an oration. The body is prepared for burial by having a hole cut in the neck and the intestines squeezed empty. It is then wrapped in long lengths of white cloth and taken to the graveyard on a stretcher, usually the bed on which the person died turned upside down. The prayers and oblations (wakma swacioko) offered to ancestral spirits at the root (zakara) of a shrine tree has also taken on an Islamic air. It is explained by the more zealous Muslims as the gift of food to passers-by in order that God may forgive and bless the spirit of one’s ancestors. Magical charms and talismans proliferated in the pre-Independence years. One of these was the kinisi (amulets; Swa. hirz). Another is the charm called albudari consisting of Qur’anic verses wrapped in leather.

Muslim organisations.

Formal organisations are a fairly recent phenomenon in Malawi, although the Muslim Association of Malawi (MAM) was founded in the 1940s by Asian Muslims. There have been associations concerned with the provision of madrasa education. The wabmua as well as the heads of the taraf owing allegiance to their shaykh, murshid or pir also have their “informal” organisations, some of which co-operate over id celebrations. Some organisations, however, are supra-national, such as the Tandhi Damat [g.4]. Muslims of Asian origin group together according to their particular trading or geographical background and especially the Sant Mennon, Punjabi, Surri and Khatari groups and the various Shi’a communities. They make substantial contributions to the building of local mosques and Kur’an schools. Mosques and madrasis are often named after the person who organised and contributed to their
Muslims expressed an interest in better educational facilities within the context of the Protectorate as early as 1916. A Department of Education was set up in 1926, but not until 1928 were three government schools established to cater primarily for Muslim children; these had to be closed after a few years due to lack of children and parental support. The following year an education ordinance was passed opening the schools to all regardless of religious affiliation.

Children; these had to be closed after a few years due to lack of children and parental support. The following year an education ordinance was passed opening the schools to all regardless of religious affiliation. By 1962 there were, however, 29 schools under Muslim administration and owned by the Muslim community, seven of these grant aided. Today, all schools in the country are under government control through the Ministry of Education, both with respect to policy and standards. Muslim teachers instruct Muslim pupils in the basics of Islam at the times set aside in the timetable for Religious Education. The government has also encouraged schooling in predominantly Muslim areas through support for the building of classrooms and teacher accommodation. Contemporary-style education is pursued in the mornings in schools managed by Muslims. In the afternoon they become madaris, where Kur'an, hadith, fiqh and hukm are taught; but Arabic is not taught. The Yao use their own language, including a fair amount of Swahili expressions; the reformists use Chewa or English, the two official languages of Malawi, employing some Arabic greetings and formulae. The Muslim Students' Association founded in 1982, which represents the reform movement and opposes the twak, and is supported by donations from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, produced a syllabus in Islamic education for Muslims in primary and secondary schools in 1987. In 1988 Muslims were able to establish the first Islamic institute of higher learning, the Islamic Centre. Some young people have had the opportunity to study at Arabic institutions abroad. Contacts with the Muslim Youth Movement in South Africa from 1977 onwards led to the holding of the Southern Africa Islamic Youth Conference in Blantyre in 1981, and this met again in Malawi in 1987 when the Islamic Medical Assembly, a branch of the Muslim Association of Malawi, was formed. The Muslim Association of Malawi with its headquarters in Blantyre evolved out of a central Board for Muslim Education which was set up in the 1950s to co-ordinate the work and represent the interests of the Muslim community as a whole. The Association has received financial help from Kuwait in the form of a financial director as well as teachers from various parts of the Muslim world. Through its representations, time has been allocated on Radio Malawi for programmes on Islam in Chichewa. The organization has also enabled women to hold regular conferences since 1982. Local publications are limited. Some Muslims read the Muslim Digest and al-Kalam published in South Africa. A pamphlet entitled Taribhu y-salat in Chichewa has been widely distributed. Publications by the International Islamic Federation of Student Organisations with its headquarters in Kuwait, and the writings of Abū 'l-Allā Mawdūdī of Pakistan are also to be found. The only outside links Muslims in Malawi had for long were with Muslims and Islamic institutions on the East African coast. Particularly important were the contacts with the late Huwāysh saheb Saleh al-Farsy (d. 1982), Chief Kādī of Zanzibar and later of Kenya. Through the migrant labour force, contacts were also established with various organizations in South Africa that more recently have sought to help Muslims face the growing challenge presented by the socio-economic situation in Malawi. Contacts with the wider Muslim world began with a visit from representatives of the Dīr al-fikhr from Saudi Arabia in 1965. The African Muslims Committee, a charitable organization based in Kuwait, has made considerable contributions to the Blantyre Islamic Mission which was founded in 1982 and has organised youth camps. The election and re-election of Bakili Muluzi as president of Malawi in 1994 and 1999, reflects the degree Muslims have come to play in the country, and will strengthen and enhance the community's position.


(S. Von Sicard)

MALFUZAT (A.), literally “utterances”, in Sufi parlance denotes the conversations of a mystic teacher.

Though some compilations of Sufi utterances were made earlier in other lands, e.g. the *Hikayat wa-vaghandi-ni shykh Abi Sufi* (Rieu, i, 342b ii) and *Aṣūr al-ta’ahid* (ed. Ahmad Bahnanyar, Tehran 1934) [see also 'Abi l-Khayr B., Abi l-Khayr*], it was Hasan SidjżT of Dilhf who gave it a definite literary form. In 707/1307 he decided to write a summary of what he heard from his spiritual mentor, Shaykh Nizām al-Din Awiyya &q;', and completed it under the rubric, *Fawlid al-ja‘lud* (Lucknow 1302). It marked the beginning of a new type of mystical literature, known as *mal富zat* (sing. *mal富z). A few years later, in 711/1312, Sultan Baha al-Din Walad (Lcknow 1311/1893-4), son of the famous Maulānā Muīn al-Din Rāmād (ms. personal collection), completed a record of his father’s utterances under the title *Fihi-ma-ja‘lud* (ed. ‘Abd al-Majid, *Adl al-tawhid* (Rieu, i, 342b ii) and *Asrdr al-makhdumm*) (lith. Agra 1928). But Baha al-Din prepared this record on the basis of memory, some 39 years after the death of his father, without reference to dates on which specific discussions took place. Hasan SidjżT gave dates of every discourse and referred to the questions and quests of the audience. Baha al-Din perhaps aimed at providing a philosophic basis for the *mal富zat*. Hasan presented through the conversations of his Shaykh the accumulated wisdom of the mystical creed with reference to specific problems of the people. Hasan’s example inspired saints of different mystical orders, and a considerable *mal富z* literature appeared in India from Ucčh to Maner and from Dilhf to Deoghat.

The new genre of mystical literature developed mainly in India, but some collections of Sufi utterances were prepared elsewhere also, e.g. the *Nur al-‘ilm*, utterances of Shaykh Abi Husan Khirkanî (ed. E. Berthels, Leningrad 1929), *Mal富zat-i Nā‘ūm al-Din Kudn* (ms. As. Soc. of Bengal 1259-3), *Mustarid* (discourses of Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadānī, ms. I.O. 1850) and *Anis al-tālîbîn* (conversations of Kh ‘Adja Baha al-Din Nasīr al-Ma’dm, Lahore 1933).


The production of *mal富z* literature in India during the 8th/14th century synchronised with Shaykh Nizām al-Din Awiyya’s decision to convert the mystical movement—hitherto confined to individual spiritual salvation—into a movement for mass spiritual culture (*Sīyār al-‘awld*), Dilhf, 346-7). This led to proliferation of *mashā’il* (lith. South Asia and the adoption of local dialects for the communication of ideas (see ‘Abd al-‘Iṣīk, The Sufis’ work in the early development of Urdu language, Awrangābd 1993). The *mal富z* literature differed from literature produced earlier in the form of mystical treatises which dealt with mystical thought or mystical litanies and hallucinations. The *mal富z* literature was intelligible to people at all levels and had a space-time context. Since the discussions contained in *mal富zat* took place before people belonging to different sections of society and referred to specific problems (see *Khayr al-madj_dlis*, 83, 185, 240, etc.; *Mā’dm al-ma’dm*, 3), this literature has assumed great historiographical significance. It acts as a corrective to the impressions created by the court chroniclers who, nurtured as they were in Persian traditions, restricted the conceptions of history to courts and camps. This literature views the historical landscape from a different angle and fills a gap in historical knowledge by providing a glimpse into the life of the common man, his problems, his hopes and fears. For example, the economic worries of the masses during the time of Fīrāz Shāh Tughluk, and the efforts of the Sufis to reorient mystical thought to meet the situation created by the ideology of Ibn Taymiyya (lith. 1905), can be read in the *Khayr al-madj_dlis*.

*Mal富z* literature continued to be produced in India all through the 12th/18th century. The conversations of Shaykh Ahmad Maghribī of Khatt (Taḥṣīl al-mal富zatīn, I.O. Persian Collection DP 979) give an insight into the economic and cultural efforts that preceded the foundation of the city of Ahmadābd. The utterances of Gūsā Darāz (lith. *Dawām al-kalim* (ed. Hamīd Siddīkī, Kānpur 1356/1937-8), give a lively picture of mystical activity in the South.


In the subsequent centuries appeared the conversations of Shāhū Mūhammad Cīgī (Malfūzat al-hašānāyī, ms. ‘Allgarī), Shāh Kālim Allāh Shāhjāhānbādī (Mafīlūzī-i kārīmī, lith. Ḥaydārābād 1328/1910), Shāh ‘Abd al-Razzāk (Malfūzat, lith. Fīrūzpur 1303-1865), Shāh Kurlān Shāhjānī (Samālūzat al-hašānī, ms. As. Soc. of Bengal 448), Shāhī sās of Burhānpūr (Mafīlūzat, ms. As. Soc. of Bengal 462), ‘Abd al-Rahmān of Lucknow (Anvar al-Rahmān, lith. Lucknow 1287/1870-1), and Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz of Dihlī (Mafīlūzat-i ‘Azīzī, lith. Meerut 1514/1896-7). This literature supplies background information about the intellectual and social crisis in a period of transition. For example, the Anvar al-Rahmān throws invaluable light on the decadent culture of Awadh [q.v.], and the utterances of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz reveal reaction and response to Western culture. In Najī’ al-sāliḥīn (conversations of Shāh Sulaymān of Taunsa, Lāhor 1285) the socio-religious scenario of the Pandjāb before 1857 is seen in all its details.

In the early decades of the 20th century, Mawlānā Aḥṣaf ‘Abbās of Thana Bawānā made effective use of the mafīlūzī medium in propagating his teachings, but his orations are more in the nature of nawa‘īz (sermons) than mafīlūzī (talk in talk). In short, no study of Sūfism as a popular movement in India is possible without an intensive and critical use of the mafīlūzī literature.


MALKOČ-OGHULLARI, a line of Ottoman raiders from Bosnia who were active from the late 14th to the 17th centuries.

The origin of the name Malkoč is unclear. The suggestions that it derived from the Greek Markos or Serbian Marković are not satisfactory. The Malkoč-oghullari were probably Christian converts to Islam. A Malkoč is apparently first mentioned in the Short chronicle of Ioannina (ca. 1400) in connection with a war between two Epirot lords, perhaps in 1388-9. Murād I supposedly sent Malkoč from Thessaloniki/Sēlānīk [q.v.] to help one of them, in the event, successfully. The first Ottoman chronicler to mention the name, Negīr (d. before 1520), seemingly refers to the same person as commander of 1,000 archers on the right wing of the Ottoman army at the Battle of Kosovo [see koso ws] (June 1389). He may have also participated in the Battle of Nicopòlis (1395). Later, Malkoč appears as the commander (beg) of Stūvā. He was captured by Timūr in 1402 but was subsequently sent as a messenger to Bāyēzdī I.

The family held lands in northern Bosnia at the time of Mehmed II (second reign, 1451-81). They were given land there as march bogs. The most renowned member of the line was Bālī Bega Malkoč-oghlu, who in 1444 fought the Hungarians under John Hunyádī outside Varna but fled the field. In 1462, he commanded the right wing of the army of Mehmed II against Vlad Tepes of Wallachia, and during the next decade was the provincial military chief (sandākī bog) of Smederovo in Serbia, burning the Croatian city of Varazdīn in 1474. In 1475-6, he was the sandākī bog of Bosnia, and in 1478, he led 3,000 raiders (ākūnī [q.v.]) before Stucari/Ishkodra [q.v.] in Albania. The following year he led another large force of raiders into Hungary and Transylvania. He became the governor of Siliśtria in the 1490s, raiding Ak Kirmān in 1496 and in 1498 twice raiding Poland and threatening Krakow. He had three sons, two of whom were killed at Čaǔdrān [q.v.] in 1514, whilst the third became sandākī bog of Kilia near the mouth of the Danube.

Subsequently, in the early 16th century, we hear of Kara ᪦mān Beg Malkoč-oghlu as a leading landholder in Bosnia. The last known member of the dynasty was Yaww ‘Āli Ṭaства, governor of Egypt, who became Grand Vizier in 1603 and died the following year at Belgrade. After this, the family seems to have lost its power and influence.

Bibliography: The basic study is F. Babinger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Geschlechter der Malkoć-Oghli’s, in AISO Napoli, N.S., i (1940), 117-35, repr. in idem, Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante, Munich 1962, i, 355-69; Branišlav Đurđev et al., Historia naroda jugoslavije, Zagreb 1959, ii, 117; Dimitri Bogdanovitch et al., Historija Srbaska naroda, Belgrade 1982, ii, 518; K. Setton, The papacy and the Levant, Philadelphia 1984, iv, 604-5; C.H. Imber, The Ottoman Empire 1300-1681, Istanbul 1990, 48, 134, 228, 244-5. Türk Ansiklopedisi and Yeni Türk Ansiklopedisi, arts. Malçoğulları. (G. Lsehr)

MAMLÜKS

(iii) ART AND ARCHITECTURE

(a) Architecture

Within the history of Islamic art, the architecture of the Mamluk period (648-922/1250-1517) occupied an intermediary position between what might be termed the early period predating the Mongol invasion and the later imperial arts of the Timūrids, Şafāwīds, Ottomans and Mughals. Unlike its Timūrid counterpart, with which it is partly contemporary, Mamlūk architecture did not substantially impact on the later history of Islamic art once Egypt and Syria had become provinces of the Ottoman Empire. It lingered on in a reduced scale in Ottoman Egypt, until it was revived in modern times as a manifestation of a national style of mosque architecture.

Apart from the prestige accruing from their victories over the Mongols and the Crusaders, the Mamlūks were celebrated as guardians and patrons of orthodox Islam, an image they fostered by sponsoring religious foundations and creating centres of scholarship and Sūfī activities and other philanthropic institutions. The sheer number of mosques, masābars and shrākhs which they established in Cairo proved without parallel in the Muslim world at the time, and is even believed to have exceeded the genuine requirements of the population. All the while remaining careful to cultivate the exclusive character of their ruling aristocracy, one based on their military slave origins, the Mamlūks directed their patronage at the man in the street. Instead of promoting an inward-looking...
court life, their chief concern was to obtain the enduring support of the religious establishment. The Mamlūk sultans ruled their capital in a very direct manner, involving themselves closely in the minutiae of religious and social policy. Sultans and amirs themselves inspected monuments during the construction phase and, as supreme overseers of the awqaf, ensured the maintenance of the buildings of their predecessors.

Mamlūk patronage was essentially religious, and one of its most significant aspects lay in the architecture and in the decorative arts which it helped to foster. Moreover, urban development was a major concern of the Mamlūks and the motivation behind the intense building activity for which they became responsible in Cairo. Since sultans and amirs incorporated their own lavish mausoleums within religious foundations, thereby setting up memorials for themselves in their capital, Cairo as a whole soon became an vast arena for Mamlūk art patronage. Most of the Mamlūk architectural legacy in Cairo was created by such sultans and amirs, and only to a lesser extent by local dignitaries.

Although the Mamlūk ruled over a territory including Egypt, Greater Syria and the Hijāz, Mamlūk architectural identity is mainly discernible in Cairo. Even more decidedly than under other Islamic regimes, the metropolitan style of religious architecture rarely re-occurs outside the capital. The rulers' direct involvement in the building activity of the province of Egypt was confined to infrastructures, fortifications and commercial buildings, leaving the foundation of mosques and colleges to the governors and the local notables. The scarcity of significant royal mosques in the provinces accounts for a discrepancy in religious architectural style between the capital and the outlying regions. Religious architecture in Syria and the Hijāz kept faith on the whole with the predominant regional building tradition, as was the case of the Egyptian province itself, where the cities of Kūf and Alexandria, in spite of their economic importance, retained a provincial type of architecture. Occasional mutual influences between Cairo and Syria were confined to decorative motifs, and not building architecture generally. The builders who erected the imperial mosques in Cairo were rarely employed beyond the confines of the capital. The exception confirming this rule is that of a late-9th/15th century initiative by Sultan Kābīrī, who is reported by chronicles to have sent entire teams of craftsmen from Cairo to Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina. These reports themselves attest the singularity of this initiative. Indeed, waʻaf descriptions of his madrasa in Jerusalem and Medina, as well as the remnants of his mausoleum in Jerusalem, confirm that such patronage remained exceptional.

Moreover, the enormous quantitative discrepancy between Mamlūk architecture in Cairo and in Syrian cities, as well as the supremacy of the metropolitan religious foundations which functioned as the intellectual centres of the Mamlūk state, contributed to the stylistic singularity of Cairo-Mamlūk architecture. With a few exceptions, such as the buildings of Tankiz al-Nāsirī in Jerusalem (Burgoyne 1987, 223-48), urban schemes do not seem to have been a major concern of Mamlūk patrons in Syrian cities.

The evolution of Mamlūk architecture in Cairo shows an increasing tendency to adapt and adjust the layout of the buildings to the urban environment rather than to impose a large-scale or symmetrical architecture on the city. The portal, minaret and mausoleum dome were assigned a location that best responded to the specific aesthetic needs of the site rather than being forced to conform to a preconceived canon. A major factor in the architectural design was the founder's mausoleum dome, which was assured maximum visibility both through its location in the building and an increasingly lofty exterior transitional zone between the drum and dome (Kessler 1972; L. Ali Ibrahim 1975; and see KUBBA). This increased visibility required the builder to adjust both layout and architecture to the site. The patrons' challenge was to balance the status-enhancing placement of the mausoleum to the street with a juxtaposition with the mosque sanctuary. If the latter requirement could not be ensured because of the location, the preference was to place the mausoleum on the street side. In the city centre, royal foundations built round a courtyard were preferably located to the west side of the street so that the south-east, Mecca-oriented sanctuary could be on the street side. This allowed the mausoleum to lie adjacent to the sanctuary and overlook the street at the same time. Like their mosques, Mamlūk and l ikhānī) were built along the axis of the orientation towards Mecca, as were the mausoleums which, with rare exceptions, included a mihrāb (Kessler 1984). Owing to the aforementioned constraints, it often transpired that the orientation of the mausoleum's mihrāb diverged from that of the mausoleum. Unlike in Syria, the minaret in Cairo was to be found not only in Friday mosques but in madrasas, l ikhānī and minor oratories as well.

This interaction with the urban fabric, together with the pre-eminence of the metropolitan religious institutions housing Mamlūk mausoleums, created an architecture exclusively suited to Cairo. Furthermore, the overriding focus of Mamlūk monumental patronage in Cairo was in fact a response to the historical situation. It should be remembered that the history of Mamlūk Cairo begins at the same time as the fall of Bagdad from where Baybars transferred the Aibābī (al- and Ayūbid periods. Furthermore, the inclusion of Syria and territories as far north as Cilicia, the migration of craftsmen escaping the Mongol invasions and others who came from al-Andalus, as well as the contacts with the Ikhānī and with Christian kingdoms, introduced international features into the arts of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries.

Like any other architecture, that of the Mamlūks was based on that of its predecessors; and as such it inherited architectural devices and decorative techniques from the Fatimid and Ayūbid periods. Far more monuments were erected than during the Ayūbid era, however, and over a much longer period of time. Already al-Zāhir Baybars waived the Shī‘ī rule applied by his predecessors which allowed only one Friday mosque to each agglomeration. Moreover, the inclusion of Syria and territories as far north as Cilicia, the migration of craftsmen escaping the Mongol invasions and others who came from al-Andalus, as well as the contacts with the Ikhānī and with Christian kingdoms, introduced international features into the arts of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries.

A Religious architecture in Cairo

(i) The Bahri period

From Shaykār al-Durr al-Durr to al-Zāhir Baybars. The first building that can be securely attributed to the Mamlūk era is the funerary madrasa of Shaykār al-Durr [q.v.], the widow of the last Ayūbid sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Nadīm al-Dīn Ayyūb, of which only the mausoleum is today extant. It was built in 648/1250 in the cemetery of Sayyida Nafṣa north of Fustāt [q.v.], as part of a complex that included a palace, a hamam, and gardens.
In the same year, the short-lived sultana also added a mausoleum to her husband’s madrasa in the heart of the Fāṭimid al-Kāhirah, thus bringing to the city a tradition of princely funerary architecture which subsequently became a significant feature of Mamlūk Cairo (Creswell 1959, ii, 135f; Behrens-Abouseif 1983). The profile of the mausoleum dome and its stucco decoration remain faithful to the tradition of the Ayyūbīd period.

The madrasa of al-Mu‘izz Aybak, Shādjar al-Durr’s second husband and her successor on the Mamlūk throne, was built in 654/1256-7 in the commercial centre of Fustāṭ (al-Makrīzī, Sulāk, iv, 302); it seems to have been part of an urban project which integrated pre-existing commercial structures. As it is not included in al-Makrīzī’s Khitat, it must have disappeared with the decline of Fustāṭ as al-Kāhirah took over as Egypt’s definitive capital during the 8th/14th century. It was the first and, indeed, only royal Mamlūk foundation within the city of Fustāṭ.

Sultan al-Zahir Baybars I’s [q.v.] first religious foundation—a madrasa next to that of his master al-Salih Naṣṣūm al-Dīn—was built in al-Kāhirah in 660/2-1262-3. The building itself, which was demolished in the last century, is reported to have consisted of four iwāms built around a courtyard to accommodate the four maqābirs of Islamic law. It possessed no mau-soleum. Nineteenth-century drawings and paintings convey some idea of the former exterior. The portal appeared with the decline of Fustāṭ as al-Kāhirah took over as Egypt’s definitive capital during the 8th/14th century. It was the first and, indeed, only royal Mamlūk foundation within the city of Fustāṭ.

When al-Zahir Baybars built his monumental mosque on the site of his polo-ground in the northern outskirts of Husaynīya (665-7/1264-5), it was the first Friday mosque to be founded in the Egyptian capital for some 150 years. The mosque, with its pointed arches and monumental entryways, contains references to the Fāṭimid mosque of al-Hākim. The major innovation and the most spectacular feature of the building was the size of the wooden dome over the mihrāb, which covers the maqābirs of nine boys and is borne by piers. The space between the courtyard and the domed zone is furthermore emphasised by a transept running perpendicular to the arcades of the sanctuary. Creswell maintains that the dome was influ-enced by the Artūkīd mosque of Mayāfūrīkīn [q.v.] built in the 6th/12th century. The building materials for Baybars’ mosque had been seized as spoilia from Crusader monuments during Baybars’ triumphal campaign in Yaffa. The mosque was already falling into ru in during the mediaeval period (Creswell, 1959, ii, 142ff).

The mausoleum is one of the most lavishly deco-rated monuments of mediaeval Cairo, displaying the entire repertoire of techniques of that time: carved and painted wood, stucco, inlaid and carved marble as well as, in the mihrāb, conch-glass mosaic. The hospital, no longer extant, was not visible from the street; it is described in its waqf deed as a lavish construc-tion built in two perpendicular axes around a court-yard (see Herz’s plan, in Creswell 1959, ii, 207). The plan of the mausoleum and the massive shape of the minaret of Kalawun remained unique in Cairene architecture.

In the cemetery of Sayyida Nafisa are the remains of a funerary madrasa attributed to Fāṭima Khātūn (682-3/1284-5), a wife of Kalāwūn. Today only the funerary chamber with the gateway and the first story of the rectangular minaret are extant. A photograph published by E. Dietz (Kunst der islamischen Völker, Munich 1915) shows that this madrasa had arched recesses with the same triple-window composition that occurs on Kalāwūn’s façade. Next to it, Kalāwūn’s son, al-Ashraf Khalīl, a ruler who left no architec-tural work in the city centre, built his own funerary madrasa of which only the mausoleum is extant (687/1288). The three domes of Kalāwūn, his wife and his son Khalīl, have in common a high octago-nal drum with windows set in recessed arches, and an oval profile, whereas the interior treatment of the transitional zones is different in each case (Creswell 1959, ii, 180-1, 214-15; Meinecke 1992, i, 42ff.).

Al-Naṣir Muhammad b. Kalāwūn [q.v.] was the greatest builder of the Bahri Mamlūk sultans. His long reign (693-741/1293-1341), interrupted by two interim pe-rods (694-8/1294-90 and 708-1309) coincided with a period of relative peace and prosperity which was also the most fruitful for architectural achievement. Al-Naṣir encouraged his amīrs to build mosques and palaces not only in the city itself but also in the out-skirts on new land added to Cairo by the receding of the course of the Nile. Al-Naṣir’s second reign was already displaying the versatility characteristic of the architecture of the 8th/14th century (Meinecke-Berg 1977, J.A. Williams 1984; al-Harithy 2000).
In 703/1304, al-Nāṣir Muhammad completed the madrasa next to his father’s during the first interval of his reign by Sultan Lajīn [729/1328-9], which also included the founder’s mausoleum, has a irregular configuration (Karim 2000). The Friday mosque of Almuhbūgū al-Mardānī (739/1340-9), which in principle follows the plan of al-Nāṣir’s mosque in the Citadel with three axial entrances and a large dome above the miḥnāh, has a corner of its sanctuary cut off to follow a bend of the street. At the mosque of Aṣsunkūr (747/1346-7), the façade is not parallel to the kibla wall but instead projects with the minaret out into the street. The minaret, originally with four instead of the usual three stories, could thus announce the mosque from an even greater distance (Behrens-Abouseif 1983, Minarets, 92-3). The heavily damaged interior of the mosque is characterised by cross-vaulted bays carried by piers, indicating Syrian influence (Meinecke 1973).

The funerary mosque (750/1349) of the amīr Shaykhū is also laid out according to an irregular plan. Together with Shaykhū’s great 1 khānkhā 6 built six years later across the street (757/1355), it forms an urban composition embracing the Šāḥība street with two symmetrical minarets and two similar portals. The khānkhā has only the sanctuary with the mihrab or hypostyle plan, while living units occupy the other sides of the courtyard. The enormous dwelling compound behind the prayer hall is the only one of its kind extant in Cairo. The use of the hypostyle sanctuary of traditional mosques in a khānkhā had occurred already at the foundation of the amīr Kawsūn (736/1335), built in the cemetery to the southeast of the Citadel. Today, only a stone minaret and a mausoleum dome stand. A reconstruction, however, shows that it had a double mausoleum on each side of the hypostyle sanctuary with the dwelling units most likely occupying the other sides of the court (Ali Ibrahim 1974).

The idea of building a religious complex on both sides of a street had been applied previously by the Amīr Bāshṭāk (736/1336) with a khānkhā connected to a mosque with a bridge; only a monumental minaret is extant.

The late 8th/14th century period. Despite the political decline under the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the deveneration brought about by the Black Death (749/1348), the second half of the 8th/14th century was very productive and creative in terms of an architecture that continued to integrate exotic foreign patterns.

The madrasa of Sarghitmīsh (757/1356) displays the unusual combination of a four-iwān plan with a dome over the main iwān. The mausoleum dome projects boldly onto the street across the courtyard. The two domes are unexpected on the Caerene skyline; bulbous and with a high drum, their profile recalls Timūrid architecture, which, however, they pre-date. The mausoleum dome has a double shell, while that of the prayer hall was rebuilt with only one. Similarly recalling Timūrid dome profiles are the two ribbed onion-shaped mosaic domes of the anonymous mausoleum known as Sultāniyya, which also have a double shell. The building has been assigned to the 750-60s/1350-60s. Despite the similarities, a direct influence from Samarkand can be excluded on chronological grounds, but a common Iranian prototype from Western Persia or Iraq must surely have influenced the Samarkand and the Cairo domes (Meinecke 1976).

It is paradoxical that the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, the most monumental of Mamluk mosques and even of all mediaeval mosques at that time, was founded in the decade following the deprivations of the Black Death. Although it took from 757/1356 to 764/1362...
to build, its decoration was never completed. The funerary complex which includes a madrasa for the four madhhab is the first Mamluk teaching institution for the funerary complex which includes a madrasa-
khanqah-monumental, multifunctional complex of madrasa-khanqah-mosque (821/1418) possesses a similar layout to that of Faradj. This mosque became a Cairo landmark because of its twin minarets erected on top of the Fatimid tower of the Bab Zuwayla, which bear the only builder's signature to be found in Mamluk architecture. The mosque also had a third minaret at the northeastern entrance.

The reign of Barsbay (825-41/1422-38 [g.v.]) introduced mausoleum domes with carved star patterns. His funerary khanqah (835/1432) in the northern cemetery includes three star-carved mausoleum domes which exemplify the progress made in dealing with the difficult task of adapting a geometrical symmetrical design to a domical surface (Kessler 1976). The unique architecture of this khanqah demonstrates that the cemetry at that time had become an urban environment necessitating other than purely symmetrical layouts. Instead of being built around an inner courtyard, the elements of the complex are juxtaposed along the road. The mosque has a lateral format with the mausoleum chamber juxtaposed to it, occupying the same width and similarly overlooking the road. Further south is the khanqah proper with the living quarters. Other
structures were built on the opposite side of the road, including a one-dome za'ayna.  

Late Circassian (mid-9th/15th century to 923/1517).  

Although the hypostyle courtyard mosque never totally disappeared, in the 9th/15th century, Friday mosques were increasingly built without an open courtyard (e.g. that of Kansawh al-Ghawri, adopting instead the plan of the ka'ba or reception hall current in Cairene residential architecture since pre-Mamluk times. Already, the 8th/14th century had produced small covered mosques with an irregular plan which included iwans around a covered courtyard, the adoption of the ka'ba, however, allowed the building of small covered mosques of a standard configuration. A major factor in the disappearance of the courtyard is the fusion of the functions of the khânkâh with the madrasa and the Friday mosque; at the same time the abandonment of the original residential function of the madrasa and the khânkâh rendered the cells around the courtyard superfluous (Behrens-Abouseif 1985).

The funerary mosque of Kidjmas al-Ishaki (879/1474) on Salfba Street and that of the sabil-maktab of Ya'kub Shâh al-Mihmandar (901/1495-6) in Cairo and that of Kayitbay in the hamam of Jerusalem.  

In the late Mamluk period, the forms of portals, minarets, and domes were standardised, displaying a variety in their carved decoration, however, and reaching the peak of refinement at Sultan Kayitbay's mausoleum (877/1472-4).

Stucco decoration disappears from late Mamluk architecture except for a short-lived revival in the reign of Kayitbay, namely at the Dome of Yashbak, albeit in a very different style. Stone-carving is more extensively used than in the past, and new adorns also mihrab conchs. Groin vaults become fashionable in the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th century, also characterising portal vaults.  

B. Residential and domestic architecture in Cairo, 1250-1517  

Mamluk residential architecture [see K:\A; RAB] is less well preserved than religious (see Graen et al. 1982). Half-a-dozen ka'tas and the vestiges of four monumental palaces, those of Alîn Aşk, Kaswûn, Başţâh and Tâz, date from the 13th/14th period. These great princely residences were continuously restored and remodelled, making it difficult to assess their original form. Our knowledge of the different types of residential architecture has to rely on the enormous resources of waṣf documents.  

The courtyard of Cairene residences, to which the main entrance leads, is generally surrounded by stables and service rooms. Cairene residential architecture was not "inward-facing" in the sense that it overlooked the courtyard and remained blind to the street. The courtyard was not the centre of the house, as in Syrian or North African constructions, but simply a semi-private space. There was a general preference for giving the main rooms a view over the street or the available scenery, depending on the site. There could be more than one courtyard according to the size of the dâr, and in large mansions a courtyard could fulfil the function of a garden.  

The main reception hall or ka'ba lay on the first floor, occupying the height of several storages where the west side of the street face a monumental mausoleum, as deep as the kîbla ka'ba, situated on the other side of the street and attached to a khânkâh without dwellings and a sabil-mukab with three façades on to the street. A wooden roof covered the street, which widened to the north into a small piazza with a small covered sabil (Behrens-Abouseif 2002).  

Although its layout is comparable to that of Kayitbay, the large funerary khânkâh of the amir Kansawh in the northern cemetery (911-13/1506-7) differs by its substantial proportions that make it one of the most monumental constructions in all Mamluk architecture.  

In the Circassian period, the harmonious juxtaposition of minaret and mausoleum dome continues to characterise the silhouette of funerary foundations. The increasing number of foundations of sultans and amirs in the northern cemetery led to the urbanisation of its architecture that adopted the same street-oriented aesthetic criteria as in the city centre. This period maintained the tradition established in the late 8th/14th century of attaching to the religious foundation a sabil-mukab, a structure consisting in a combination of fountain house with a primary school; the double structure was placed at a corner with the sabil at ground level surmounted by the mukab. During the reign of Kayitbay, free-standing sabil-mukabs were built, a tradition which was taken over in the Ottoman period. The reign of Kayitbay produced the domed sabil recalling funerary architecture, such as the sabil of Yâkîb Shâh al-Mihmandar (901/1495-6) in Cairo and that of Kayitbay in the hamam of Jerusalem.  

In the late Mamluk period, the forms of portals, minarets, and domes were standardised, displaying a variety in their carved decoration, however, and reaching the peak of refinement at Sultan Kayitbay's mausoleum (877/1472-4).  

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In the late Mamluk period, the forms of portals, minarets, and domes were standardised, displaying a variety in their carved decoration, however, and reaching the peak of refinement at Sultan Kayitbay's mausoleum (877/1472-4).
the smaller units or apartments (riwak [q.v.]) were located. In the 9th/15th century, the mak'ad becomes a salient feature of residential architecture. It is a loggia facing north and overlooking the courtyard on the first storey. Its origin seems to be associated with the architecture of 8th/14th century principally suqs. The 9th/15th century presents another category of residences of less monumental, middle-size type of dwellings, such as the house of Zaynab Khâtûn.

The palaces of the Citadel, which had undergone continuous restoration and refurbishment work by all Mamlûk sultans, are no longer extant. The most remarkable were the iwan kabîr and the kay qub built by al-Nâsîr Muhammad and maintained by all subsequent sultans (see Tavil, S., 1982, 41 ff.; Behrens-Abouseif 1985; Rabbi Bit 1995). The first was a basilical construction of gigantic dimensions employing Pharaonic columns. It had a ceramic green dome, as did the Sultan’s mosque nearby.

As is to be expected, the decorative repertoire of residential architecture did not differ particularly from that of religious monuments. The royal palaces of the early Bahrij period, however, did make use of murals depicting figures.

C. Religious architecture in Syria

As mentioned above, Mamlûk architecture of Greater Syria, including Palestine, followed regional schools autonomous from the capital, hence need to be dealt with separately. (The following brief summary is based on Meinecke for Aleppo and Damascus and Burgoyne for Jerusalem.) Whereas Cairene builders emphasised the verticality of their monuments with recessed panels around the windows, their Damascus colleagues stressed the horizontal configuration of their buildings with stepped (âblak) masonry as the essential exterior ornamental device. The use of recesses remained exceptional. In Damascus, the madrasa with the mausoleum of al-Zâhir Baybars built by his son Baraka Khân (676/1277-9) continues Ayyûbid traditions, with its four unequal-sized halls overlooking a courtyard; the prayer hall is connected to the domed funerary chamber. It is entirely decorated in glass mosaic, emulating the mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus (Meinecke 1992, i, 37-6). More characteristic, however, was a type of funerary foundations without a courtyard featuring two equal domes placed symmetrically on either side of the entrance, one of them with a mukarnas to be used as a gathering and prayer hall, the other for funerary purposes. The madrasa of Fâridûn al-Aqâjâmî (744/1343-4), that recalls Cairene architecture with its four iwans around a courtyard, was a special case. In the 9th/15th century, madrasas with two axial iwans across a courtyard were constructed; plain Syrian madrasas, unlike the Cairene, were mostly built without a minaret, and Syrian minarets themselves were essentially rectangular, with a stone balcony. Whereas octagonal shafts were also built throughout the Mamlûk period in Aleppo, in Damascus they appear only in the 9th/15th century. The Syrian dome profile remained close to the Syrian minarets themselves were essentially rectangular. The only mukarnas built by a Mamlûk sultan is the Asghafîyya started by Sultan Khâshqâdam [q.v.] and rebuilt under the auspices of Kayîbây by Cairene craftsmen, hence its metropolitan style (Walls 1990).

In Jerusalem, unlike in other Syrian cities, minarets were attached to madrasas and âblakât; six extant ones are attributed to the Mamlûk period.

The city of Tripoli has a number of well preserved handsome Mamlûk monuments founded after Sultan Kayîbây's return from the Crusaders in 688/1289. Throughout the following century, the city witnessed an intense building activity (Salâm-Liéb 1983). Al-Ashraf Khâtûn, the son of Kâlûwân, founded the Great Mosque which was completed by his successor al-Nâsîr Muhammad in 714/1314-15. The architecture of the city is characterised by its masonry domes and vaulted spaces. In mosques and madrasas, the larger dome is often not the one over the mihrâb, but the central dome that covers the courtyard space (Djami of Taynâl, 1336; Madrasa of al-Brûtîs, 1298). The portals display half-domes on elaborate mukarnas combined with carvings and âblak masonry. Syrian madrasas, unlike those in Cairo, often lack living units.

An interesting feature of Mamlûk religious architecture in Syria is the carving of foundation deeds (wakfiyya) on the external wall of the monument.

Bibliography: 1. Source material. For the study of Mamlûk architecture, beside the monuments themselves and their epigraph (see van Berchem), an important number of wakf documents are of prime importance to the study of the buildings in their original form and function as well as their urban context. The significance of al-Makrîzî's Kitâb does not need to be emphasised, as well as Ibn Dûkmâk's K. al-Intisâr li-waṣâil sâd al-imâyr, Bûlûk 1314/1896-7; see S. Deneux, Découvrir le Caire. Paris 1983, which gives a description of Cairo and its monuments in the 11th/17th century in the tradition of al-Makrîzî's Kitâb, includes a valuable account. The Kütet al-ta'âsîfîyya of 'Ali Mûbârak (1888) continues, in the tradition of al-Makrîzî, the enumeration and description of Cairo’s monuments down to his own time, often including information from wakf documents.

A comprehensive collection of plans of Mamlûk monuments in Egypt and Syria is to be found in the first volume of Meinecke’s Mamlûkische Architektur (1992); the second volume lists all monuments known from the sources or from physical evidence to have been constructed in the Mamlûk period.
workshops were in the first place set up to serve the imperial arts of the Muslim world as far as the decimal princely style. The Mamluk rulers were renowned as great book-lovers; the libraries which they sponsored were primarily part and parcel of their principal titles combined with blazons. During this period chinoiserie floral patterns were integrated into the Mamluk floral repertoire, along with the occasional Chinese dragon or bird motif. Among the objects produced were candlesticks, incense-burners, and courtly themes (hunting and musicians) combined with blazons. During this period chinoiserie floral patterns were integrated into the Mamluk floral repertoire, along with the occasional Chinese dragon or bird motif. Among the objects produced were candlesticks, incense-burners, Kurrān boxes with Qur’ānic inscriptions, trays and tray bases, pen-boxes, ewers, bowls and basins. The shapes tended to vary little; Islamic metalworkers in general were more interested in surfaces than in creating new forms. The Mamluks also produced various types of suspended lighting implements unparalleled in the Muslim world, most of which are in the Islamic Museum in Cairo. There is a group of large open-work polycandelons (tannūrs) in cast bronze. Among them those bearing names of Amīr Kawān, Sultan Hasan and Sultan Kānsaw al-Ghawrī are remarkable. There are also polycandelons of pierced sheet-brass of the 9th/15th century. Composite lamps made of sheet-brass consisted of a tray, into which the glass lamps were inserted, surmounted by a spherical shade. The shade is densely pierced so as to form a translucent background against which inscriptions naming a sultan or an amīr stand out. Another group of lamps made of pierced sheet-brass was made in the shape of a truncated hexagonal pyramid, the base being the tray; it was produced throughout the entire Mamluk period. Some metal lamps are signed but none has the Kurrānic Verse of the Light which is so current on glass mosque lamps. Very few metal art objects are known to have been produced between the last quarter of the 8th/14th century and the late 860-early 870s/1460s. With the revival of the production of metalware, a variety of new and disparate styles appear, without the monumental titular inscriptions characteristic of their Bahri predecessors. One group consists of dishes, bowls, basins, and lunch boxes made of tinned copper, and engraved with a series of interlocking bands forming cartouches and medallions filled with alternating inscriptions, knotted motifs and tight scrolls; the inscriptions are mostly benedictory verses, though princely names occasionally occur. This group, which lacks the calligraphic aesthetics of the earlier period, is indebted to Western Persian metalwork. Another group consists of bowls with a rounded profile; their surface is plain except for a triple engraved band near the rim with inscriptions of a somewhat vernacular style with poetry and homilies. This group, too, harks back to some very similar Persian prototypes from 8th/14th century Shīrāz. A group of spherical hand-warmer, lidded bowls and ewers with predominantly knotted and braided motives are attributed to late Mamluk Syria. Some of the vessels combine a Mamluk decoration with a European vessel, which indicate that objects were sent from Europe, mainly Italy, so as to be decorated in Egypt or Syria. The group formerly known as Veneto-Saracenic and wrongly attributed to a Muslim workshop in Venice, has been now convincingly attributed to a late Mamluk production (J. Allan 1986). The group differs strongly from mainstream Mamluk metalware; their decoration is minutely engraved with unmatched refinement, recalling some Timurid jugs, with new forms of scrolls and floral patterns against which silver-inlaid curved lines interlock to form neo-arabesques or lobed cartouches. The most famous of these vessels, many of which seem to possess European bodies, are signed by Mu’allim Mahmūd al-Kurdi, one of about half-a-dozen identified craftsmen.
There is also a group of high-quality, luxurious basins with shallow facetted forms mentioning the name of Sultan Kayitbay. The facets and the relief patterns also point to Persian influence. A magnificient piece in Istanbul is inlaid with silver and gold. J. Bloom, A Mamluk basin in the L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute, in Jerusalem Museum Bull, of the Fac. of Oriental Studies, Cairo XXIX (1995), 1-21; K. Ward, The “bap- tistère de St Louis”, a Mamluk basin made for export to Europe, in Ch. Burnett and A. Contadini (eds.), Islam and the Italian Renaissance, London 1999, 112-23.

B. Ceramics

Mamluk pottery can be divided into seven decorative and technical categories: sgrafito, slip-painted, underglaze-painted, overglaze-painted lustre, celadon imitations, unglazed moulded and unglaed painted ware.

The Mamluks both imported and also imitated Chinese celadon ware, and it is this imitation product, comprising a buff body with copper or red glaze in Chinese-inspired forms, that forms the largest group of wares unearthed at Fustat. Sgraffito forms the most characteristic group of Mamluk pottery. It is made of a coarse red clay, the design being scratched through the slip to reveal red lines from underneath a brownish or greyish glaze. The forms are related to those of overglaze-painted, underglaze-painted, celadon Chinese-inspired forms, that forms the largest group comprising a buff body with copper or red glaze in blue, green and turquoise under a transparent glaze. Their presentations were also found. As mentioned above, craftsmen from Tabriz worked in 9th/15th century Cairo in the production of ceramic for architectural decoration.

In the 9th/15th century, a new style of underglaze-painted ceramic was developed, imitating the Chinese Ming blue-and-white wares imported in large quantities to the Mamluk lands. The vessels of this period very often bear craftsmen’s signatures, which show that the same workshop could turn out a variety of styles. Some nishas of craftsmen (al-farmuz, al-tawri) point to a Persian connection. In the early 9th/15th century, ceramic revetment was used in Syria and in Egypt in the form of underglaze-painted tiles decorated similarly to contemporary vessels. The Mosque of Qhars al-Din al-Tawrzi in Damascus (826/1424) contains a tile-clad mihrab signed by Qhaybi al-Tawrzi, which also produced vessels and tiles in Cairo. Epigraphic blazons of supreme workmanship, inscribed with the name of Sultan Kayitbay set in a tympanum with blue-and-white floral decoration patterns, used to decorate a building of this sultan. The drum of al-Ghawr’s mausoleum dome, itself once covered with blue tiles, also presents a blue-black and white underglaze-painted inscription along its drum (Prost 1916, 114). The mausoleum of the amir Sulayman dated 951/1544 is adorned with a similar inscription on its drum; the tympanums of its exterior door and windows include ceramic tiles with underglaze painted epigraphic and floral patterns.

Although lustre-painted ware is generally attributed to Syria, wasters found at Fustat confirm the existence of Egyptian production (A. Yusuf 2000). Mamluk lustre-painted ware which was exported to Europe is characterised by its beautiful golden lustre in blue, turquoise and brownish red.

Alexandria by Pierre de Lusignan of Cyprus in 1365—the quality and extent of enamelled decoration. Certain produced in the 770s/1370s show a marked decline in the fact that the few objects known to have been pro-
duced had repercussions on its glass production and explain what kind of glass was produced there. The sack of
Damascus in 803/1401 is usually considered the rea-

However, Alexandria could have been another centre of production, a weaf document of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (published by Muhammad Amin in his edition of Ibn Habib’s Tadhkirat al-nabih, ii, Cairo 1982, 432) refers to a glass factory in Alexandria belonging to the sultan’s weaf for his religious com-
plex at Siryūk. Unfortunately, it does not specify what kind of glass was produced there. The sack of Alexandria by Pierre de Lusignan of Cyprus in 1365 had a catastrophic effect on its economy. It may have had repercussions on its glass production and explain the fact that the few objects known to have been pro-
duced in the 770s/1370s show a marked decline in the quality and extent of enamelled decoration. Certain objects, such as beakers made for export, are not doc-
umented after the 770s/1370s. A short revival took place under Sultan Barquq, to whom about forty enamelled and gilded lamps are attributed. One should not exclude the presence of more than one centre of production. An enamelled lamp mentioning the name of Sultan Kayqubad (Wiet 1937), entirely different in style and techniques, testifies to endeavours during the artistic revival that took place under the auspices of this sultan.

Mamluk glassmakers used a variety of shapes, sometimes in highly unusual large sizes, such as mosque lamps, goblets, bowls, flasks, bottles and vases, some of which are reminiscent of metalware. The glass was white or tinted, and never of perfect clarity. An outstanding group of enamelled and gilded vessels was those made of deep-blue glass, such as the famous Cavour vase (Newby 1998). The colours of the enamel—blue, red, yellow, green, brown, white and black—were applied as a vitreous paste, along with the gold, which fused with the surface upon firing.

As in metalwork, figural representations on secular objects were used until the 8th/14th century when they were replaced by epigraphy and blazons. The patterns, drawn with hair-thin lines, are extremely intricate. The mosque lamps made for Cairene religious buildings are among the most spectacular spec-
imens of Mamluk glass; they bear a verse from the Sūra of Light (xxv, 35) around the neck; whenever a patron’s name is inscribed, it appears on the belly.

The Mamluks also produced marvered and colour-

Glass Like metalwork, Mamluk enamelled and gilded glass continued the tradition of the Ayyūbids, using the same techniques and forms. After the craft reached its apogee, the production eventually came abruptly to an end in the late 8th/14th century. Although scholars have assigned the production of enamelled and gilded glass to Syria, where the technique was born, more recent research attributes a more pro-
ponderant role in this craft to Egypt, in light of the fact that the bulk of the consumption was there and that most of the objects concerned have been found in that region (Scanlon 1998). Timur’s sack of Damascus in 803/1401 is usually considered the rea-

In conclusion, it may be said that the methods of making Mamluk glass were comparable to those used in Europe, with the same techniques and forms. After the craft reached its apogee, the production eventually came abruptly to an end in the late 8th/14th century. Although scholars have assigned the production of enamelled and gilded glass to Syria, where the technique was born, more recent research attributes a more pro-
ponderant role in this craft to Egypt, in light of the fact that the bulk of the consumption was there and that most of the objects concerned have been found in that region (Scanlon 1998). Timur’s sack of Damascus in 803/1401 is usually considered the reason for the abrupt end of this craft in Syria. How-


D. Art of the book Although little remains from the previous Fatimid and Ayyūbid periods, for the Mamluks we have a wealth of material, both religious and secular, indica-
tive of extensive book production and patronage. In fact, Mamluk book production is comparable in volume and quality with that of major contemporary centres such as Ibn Khudid Tabriz and Timurid Harāt. Many illustrated and illuminated examples survive, and we also have several original bindings.
Despite the evident connections between Kur'āns and secular books in terms of illumination and binding, for the sake of clarity they are best approached separately. As James (1992, 150) has pointed out, the particularly fine and grand Kur'āns that survive, the best dating from the 14th century and the first decade of the 15th, were made under the patronage of a sultan who then endowed them as waqf to a particular religious foundation or mosque, where they were generally reserved for ceremonial use. They are mostly in single volume form; few multi-volume Kur'āns withstand the intensive everyday use to which they were generally exposed.

One of the earliest outstanding Mamlūk Kur'āns that we possess is, however, in seven volumes (London, B.L., Add. 22,406-22,413). It dates from 705/1305-6 (Lings and Safadi 1976, nos. 66-9; James 1988, no. 1) and was copied for Sultan Baybars by Ibn al-Wāhiṣid, an outstanding calligrapher of the early 8th/14th century (al-Safādi, Wāfi, no. 1104, and Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī, al-Durar al-Kadima, Haydarābād 1340-50/1929-32, no. 3740). The illumination was the work of three artists, Muhammad b. Muḥammad; the famous Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bakr, known as Sandal, who lived in Cairo at the beginning of the 8th/14th century; and his pupil Aydughdī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badri, through whom Sandal’s style maintained its influence until the 1330s. (see James 1988, ch. 3 for other works by these illuminators and for a discussion of the question of the Kāhānid influence; for Sandal, see Safādi, no. 4843). Although there are evident differences between their individual styles, the general consistency of design indicates that one artist, almost certainly Sandal, had overall control. As is general in Mamlūk Kur'āns, the illumination is concentrated in the frontispieces, opening pages of text and the final colophon page. Marginal ornaments in the main body of the text consist of the words ʾkaμa and ʿaqwāra in gold Kūfic over a piece of arabesque scroll. But one may also argue that illumination is projected onto the text itself, for in contrast to the normal use of naṣli in this period, its large ʿubahūn unusually written in gold letters outlined in black, makes it visually special and rich.

Another Kur'ān signed by Ṣandal as the illuminator (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Is 1479; see Arberry 1967, no. 59; James 1980, no. 25; James 1988, no. 3), and datable to between 704-10/1305-10, has a similar type of illumination, but with the striking addition of the use of relief. On the two carpet-like opening pages, the geometric figures of the decoration are given an impression of three-dimensionality by the fact that alternating pentagons are in relief. The equally innovatory carpet-like design consists of a central block with a geometrical formation interrupted by borders surrounded on three sides by a thick band, from which protrude thin spikes almost like the fringes of a carpet. It also occurs in combination with relief in other examples such as that dated 735/1334 and copied in Cairo by Ṣayyid al-Murattabī (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Kur'ān ms. 81; see Aïl 1981, no. 3, also James 1988, nos. 15-19). Both scribe and illuminator, he was responsible for a new type of Kur'ān, introduced by ca. 720/1320, which is characterised by a larger format with illumination of high quality, and in which the preferred script is muḥakkak.

From the 1330s to the 1360s, Damascus, too, was an important centre of manuscript production (for a discussion of illustrated secular manuscripts from Damascus, see below). It seems, moreover, to have been stylistically innovative, and a distinctive feature in Kur'āns of this period may have originated there (James 1992, 172-5) is the star polygon style, where the page is dominated by a large central starburst made up of symmetrically enmeshed small polygons. One such Kur'ān (London, Khalili Collection, Qu'807; see James 1992, no. 43), datable to ca. 730-40/1330-40, has a colophon (fol. 296b) stating that the scribe worked on it in the Umayyad Mosque, and there is a stylistically related Arabic translation of the Four Gospels, copied in 741/1340 for a Damascene cleric (Cairo, Coptic Museum, Ms. 90; see Simaika Pasha 1939, pls. XVIII-XX). Like several other Christian manuscripts of the period, it was illuminated in the manner of contemporary Islamic manuscripts, so that it also has other features in common with the Khalili Kur'ān, and there are another two such manuscripts with similar illumination that are also known to have been produced in Damascus, one, a Gospel in Arabic, now in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III, 3519; see Leroy 1967), the other, the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles in Arabic, in St. Petersburg (Academy of Sciences, D-226; see Khalidov, in Petrosyan (ed.) 1994, no. 23). The latter was commissioned by a certain “Jakomo,” thought to have been an Italian Consul to Syria, and was copied by the monk Thomas (Ti[m]a al-mutarabābiḥ), known as Ibn al-Ṣāfī, in 742/1341 (for a list of eight manuscripts with some evidence of provenance from Damascus, see Condlini 1995, n. 8). To be noted also, from the 8th/14th century, is the diffusion of Mamlūk styles of illumination and binding from Damascus to Anatolia (see Tamndi 1991 and 2000). There are also some superbly illuminated later Mamlūk manuscripts in the star polygon style from Cairo, datable to the reign of Sultan Sha'bān II (r. 764-78/1363-76). During the latter part of his reign, however, between 770/1369 and 778/1376, an entirely new style of painting was introduced in Cairo by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamīdī. Its most important departure was the abandonment of the preceding norm of infinite recursivity in geometric patterning, so that there could now be large blocks incorporating irregular figures. But he was also innovative with regard both to his subtle use of colour reversal and to the wider range of his palette, which was much more like that of Irāk and Persia in the first half of the 8th/14th century (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Kur'ān ms. 9, 10 and 15; see James 1988, nos. 31, 32, 34 and 35). This style was to be followed until the early 9th/15th century.

Abundant evidence for the arts of the book is also provided by the numerous illustrated and/or illuminated secular manuscripts that survive. They represent various literary genres, some continuing earlier traditions, as, for example, scientific manuscripts and the great literary cycles of the Makāmāt and Khālid wa-Dimna, others reflecting the particular interests of certain strata of Mamlūk society, as witnessed, for example, by the revival of the Furiṣiyya genre.

The illustrated manuscripts show a variety of pictorial sources. Several contain what may be termed “classical” elements that link them to 7th/13th century styles as exhibited, for example, in Syro-Irākī and Mamlūk manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Arabe 6094) dated 619/1222, and thus ultimately to Byzantine models of portraying the human figure and dress. Although incomplete, the al-Harīrī Makāmāt in the British Library (Add. 7293), dated Rabi’ II 723/April 1523 allows us to see the prolongation of
this style into the Mamluk period. (For both manuscripts see Grabar 1984, no. 2, pp. 8-9 and no. 9, pp. 14-15 respectively.)

Equally noteworthy is their frequent combination with Saldjuk origin which provide links with North Dţazzır 7th/13th-century manuscripts. They affect especially the human face, which is typically round, with narrow eyes, small mouth, small nose and long hair, often with a curl in front of the ear (for lists of manuscripts with "classical" and Saldjuk influences, see Contadini 1988-9, no. 29, 40). An early Mamluk example showing strong Saldjuk influence is Ibn Buťlan رشحت دل عبادоб ('Abd al-Rahman al-Isfahâni (Ar. 898; see Grabar 1984, no. 7, 13). The pictorial repertoire also includes features of Il-Khânid origin as, for example, in a particularly striking early 8th/14th-century al-Kazwînî 'Aqâ'îb al-makhliktât, where they are combined in a masterly fashion with "classical" elements (see Carboni and Contadini 1990; for Mamlûk/Il-Khânid relationships, see Rogers 1972). But it is essentially the integration of "classical" and Saldjuk features that characterises Mamluk style, whereas the Il-Khânid element, consisting of landscape features such as large lotus flowers, recessed planes to provide depth, and the use of free brush strokes (e.g. for leaves), normally affected specific features without resulting in a similar stylistic fusion.

There were doubtless several centres of production of illustrated manuscripts, but very few colophons identify a place. However, we can at least be certain about Damascus and Cairo. Damascus again comes to the fore at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, as demonstrated by a Makâmât in the British Library (Or. 9718), which contains the name of the scribe and illuminator (fol. 53a), Ghâzî b. 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Dimashkî, who lived and worked there and died in 709/1310 (see Mayer 1942; Grabar 1984, no. 7, p. 13. For al-Dimashkî, see Ibn Ḥudâr al-Askânî 1929-32, vol. ii, p. 134).

A provenance from Damascus can also be argued for a further four illustrated manuscripts dated between 734/1334 and 755/1354 on the basis of stylistic affinity, allied to documentary evidence concerning the compiler of one of them, the Ibn Baĥrîshu' جعفر الوسيط al-Kazwînî, in San Lorenzo del Escorial dated 755/1354 (Ar. 898; see Contadini 1988-9, with bibl.). Their illustrations have very similar characteristics, not all, however, shared by other Mamlûk manuscripts, such as the solid gold background of their miniatures and the frame consisting of one or more blue lines with decorative additions. At the same time, they conform to Mamlûk norms by containing pronounced Saldjuk features and, if in differing degrees, Il-Khânid ones. Further, the illumination in all four is very similar, when not identical, to that of the Khalîl Kur'ân and the two Christian manuscripts mentioned above which also come from Damascus. This style of illumination will survive in Damascus until well into the 9th/15th century, as demonstrated by a copy of Fâhihât al-khulafâ' wa-mufdikat al-uráfîn (St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, C-651; see Khalidov, in Petrukhin et al. 1994, no. 32) by the Damascus Abû 'Abd Allah Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Arâbahâb, copied by Isâ'îlî b. ʿAbd al-Rahmân al-Ifahâni in Rabî' I 852/June 1448 under the author's supervision.

For Cairo, on the other hand, we lack direct evidence for production, although it is clear that those manuscripts that have a more "classical", conservative style might have been produced there rather than in the more innovative Damascus.

The little that survives of late Mamlûk painting exhibits a rather striking stylistic blend which also absorbs Dţazîrî, Turkmen and Ottoman influences, especially with regard to the depiction of landscape and costume. Representative examples are the late 8th/14th-century Kâfîf al-sâbrîr by Ibn Ghânîm al-Makkî (Istanbul, Suleymaniye Library, Kara Ismaîl 565; see Ettinghausen 1962, pp. 158-9), the mid-9th/15th-century Kâfîb al-Zardaka (Istanbul, University Library, inv. no. 4689; see Bittel 1996, 138), the Iskandar-nâmâ of Ahmedî datable to 872/1467-8 (Istanbul, Univ. Library, T6044; see Aul 1984) and the early 10th/16th-century Shâh-nâmâ (Istanbul, Topkapî Sarayî Library, Hazine 1319; see Zajczkowski 1965 and Atasoy 1966-8) made for Sultan Kânsaww al-Qawwârî (r. 906-22/1501-16).

(iii) Bindings

Numerous Mamlûk bindings have survived, consisting predominantly of leather with blind tooling, although often features are highlighted in gold.

There are resemblances between Mamlûk and Ottoman bindings of the 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries (Raby and Tanindji 1993, 7-11 and ch. 1), while at the same time 8th/14th-century examples may resemble contemporary Persian bindings, as is shown by two Kur'âns in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, one of ca. 746/1345, Is 1465, see James 1980, no. 33 made in Cairo, the other (dated 738/1338, Is 1470, see James 1980, no. 49) in Mâr'âqa. Both have bindings in light brown leather with a pointed star in the centre of an empty field with a scalloped decoration at its outer border, the whole decorated with blind tooling. In other examples, the central ornament is an oval medallion, and in either case related designs appear in the four corners of the field.

This type of composition was to remain important, but more examples survive of a second type in which the whole field is covered. There are examples with arabesque or floral designs, but more frequently we find strapwork forming polygonal compartments which often contained tooled knotwork motifs, with the strapwork sometimes radiating out from a central star which echoes the star polygon style of illumination.

Bindings were sometimes lined with silk, but more often the doublures were decorated with block-pressed leather. During the period of Sultan Kâyîbî (b. 872/901/1468-96), we witness an age of experimentation which includes the use of filigree for both inner and, especially, outer covers. This seems to reflect influence from Persia, where, in the 9th/15th century, filigree was already the norm. The use of filigree, together with other Mamlûk features of layout of design, were in turn to influence Italian bookbinders of the late 15th century (Holson 1989, ch. 3).

Throughout the Mamluk period, the Islamic book was manufactured in a variety of styles and settings. The earliest extant illustrated manuscripts, such as al-Qazwini's *The Wonders of Creation*, were produced in the 12th century. Later, during the 13th century, the Mamluk period saw a significant increase in the production of illustrated manuscripts. These manuscripts were produced not only in Syria but also in other parts of the Islamic world, including Egypt and Persia.

During the Mamluk period, the process of evolution of the Islamic book was reflected in the development of the book's physical form and its content. The book's layout, script, and illustration styles evolved over time, influenced by the artistic traditions of the region and the patronage of the Mamluk sultans. The Mamluk period also saw the development of new printing techniques, such as woodblock printing, which allowed for the mass production of books.


(Anna Contadini)

(iv) NUMISMATICS

While the coinage of the Mamluks was manufactured from the usual metals: gold, silver and copper, with the traditional Islamic denominational names: dinâr, dirham and fals [q.v.], it belonged to a distinctive currency family of its own which underwent a process of evolution unlike that of any other coinage series. Its 267-year history can be divided into three distinct periods that overlap one another to a greater or lesser extent.

The first period was little more than a continuation of the late Ayyûbid style of gold dinars and silver dirhams as struck by al-Salih Ayyûb. The field legend was inscribed in a circle with the mint and date formula, and it is often difficult to place and date early Bahri Mamluk dinars and dirhams. The Bahri Mamluk-book style of its own which underwent a process of evolution unlike that of any other coinage series. Its 267-year history can be divided into three distinct periods that overlap one another to a greater or lesser extent.

The Bahri Mamluk-style dinár was struck from 658/1260 until 687/1427 and the dirham from 658 until the early 800s/1400s. Both coins were beset by distinctive currency family of its own which underwent a process of evolution unlike that of any other coinage series. Its 267-year history can be divided into three distinct periods that overlap one another to a greater or lesser extent.

The second coinage type was initiated by al-Zahir Baybars, the real founder of the Bahri Mamlûk state. While the legends on his dinârs continued to be placed in a circle within a surrounding marginal legend, their calligraphy was carried out in a thinner and more refined script than previously. At the same time that the dies became wider in diameter, the flans upon which they were struck became thinner and more irregular in shape, so that large portions of the marginal legends are usually missing from the struck coins. Because these legends carried the mint and date formula, it is often difficult to place and date early Bahri Mamlûk dinârs. With the passage of time, marginal legends became smaller and less legible until they shrank away altogether and their inscriptions were incorporated into the field legends. The Bahri Mamlûk dinârs lost its original square in circle design and became a simple field legend inscribed in a circle with the mint and date around the edge in discontinuous words.

The Bahri Mamlûk-style dinâr was struck from 658/1260 until 830/1427 and the dirham from 658 until the early 800s/1400s. Both coins were beset by distinctive currency family of its own which underwent a process of evolution unlike that of any other coinage series. Its 267-year history can be divided into three distinct periods that overlap one another to a greater or lesser extent.
highly irregular weights and careless manufacture. The gold is usually regarded as no more than stamped ingots of totally random weights. The purity of the metal, however, was guaranteed by the sultan's stamp which ensured the high standard of its fineness as a trade commodity. The dirham, while less irregular in weight, was by now a simulacrum of the attractive coinages of the preceding centuries. It was manufactured from silver approximately two-thirds fine then often struck cold on irregular flans. The variety usually regarded as a full dirham weighed around three grams, but there was a second type, regarded as a fractional dirham, whose flans were cut from bars with a chisel and then stamped with dies twice or more the size of the flans so that only one or two words of the legends were visible on their surface. Another method of manufacturing flans for fractional dirhams was to pour the molten metal over a cone of charcoal immersed in a bowl of water. The spattered droplets of base silver would then be stamped and placed in circulation.

Since Mamluk gold had virtually ceased to be used in regular trade and silver was too rare to be a reliable standard of exchange, the Bahri Mamluk state was forced to rely on the copper fals as its principal coinage metal. Copper was struck from the reign of Iskandar Mihrit until the late fourteenth century with mixed weights and designs, but later, during the second reign of al-Nasir Hasan in 759/1358, the fals took on the status of an official coinage metal as the copper or trade dirham, probably due to the economic hardship caused by the Black Death in Egypt in the previous decade. As a result, enormous quantities were put into circulation, a perfect illustration of Gresham's Law, because silver became virtually unobtainable. Although these falsi "dirhams" were theoretically struck at the familiar weight of one mithkāl apiece, their metallic value was purely nominal. The mints were therefore under no compulsion to maintain their theoretical weight or to put any concerted effort into maintaining the quality of their manufacture. Thus it was that by the turn of the 8th/14th century the commercial classes of Egypt and Syria had lost all trust in their native currency and had turned, for lack of better, to the use of foreign coinages.

In the second half of the 7th/13th century, the trading states of Italy were able to introduce and maintain stable gold coinages which became the standard commercial currencies of the Mediterranean and beyond. The first of these were the Florentine and Genoese florins which appeared in 1252 (A.H. 650), followed by the Venetian ducat in 1284 (A.H. 683). All three weighed slightly over 3.50 gr, with roughly the same diameter, and were thus easily exchanged against one another. The plentiful supply of these coins and their dependable value, much like the use of the U.S. dollar in financially-troubled countries today, made them the currency of choice in Levantine trade.

The pressure for currency reform grew to the point where the Burdji Mamluk ruler Faradż ordered his ustādhdh, Sayf ad-Dīn Ilhāghā b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sālimī al-Zāhūrī, to strike new dinārs to the traditional monetary mithkāl standard alongside the stamped ingot gold. According to al-Makrīzī, this reform was initiated in A.H. 803, but the Sālimī dinārs are known only from 804 and a few from 805. While the principal coin weighed the usual 4.25 gr, multiples of two and three dinārs and fractions of half and quarters are known. This misdirected reform attempt failed utterly and left only a small handful of pieces to testify to its existence.

Faradż made a second attempt at reform in 810, although al-Makrīzī records 811, introducing the new sequin, ducat or florin-style Nāṣirī dinār. These coins, weighing 3.50 gr, were the Islamic equivalent of the Venetian ducat and were intended to supplant it in local trade. They, too, were issued concurrently with the ingot-style dinārs between 810 and 815 in the name of al-Nāṣir Faradż, the ephemeral ruler, the caliph al-Muṣṭaʿīn in 815 and al-Muʿayyad Shaykh in 815 and 816.

The rulers and the mints were clearly in a quandary over how they could keep the Mamluk gold coinage both Islamic in character and competitive in value with the ducat and could restore the silver dirham in its weight and alloy to become a reliable coinage for daily purposes. The silver reform began in 815/1412 and continued for at least the next seven years. The new coinage was struck on the dirham standard weighing 2.70 gr, with a half of 1.35 gr and a quarter of 0.67 gr. It imitated a well-known Ayyūbīd design used on the Damascus coinage of al-Ādīl Abī Bakr I, a by-word for excellence from the distant past. Then, in about 820, al-Muʿayyad Shaykh followed up his reform silver with another attempt at a mithkāl-weight gold coinage. Two dinārs are known dated 821 and 829 and a single half-dinār from 823. This attempt at silver reform, however, was soon abandoned by contemporary historians. Al-Muʿayyad Shaykh was succeeded after his death in 824/1421 by three ephemeral rulers until al-Āṣirf Barsbāy came to the throne in 825/1422. No gold of his is published dated between 825 and 829. The last ingot-style dinārs to be recorded are rare issues of his dated 829 and 830. The former year, however, witnessed the re-introduction of the 3.50 gr ducat-style coinage, a reform which brought the Mamluk lands into what became in effect an eastern Mediterranean monetary union. The new Mamluk dinār, as struck by al-Āṣirf Barsbāy, was known colloquially as the agrafti, a name which followed it wherever the denomination went, to the Ak Köyunlu, ‘Othmānīlīs and Şafawīs in the East and to the Maghribī states in North Africa.

Because the new coin was of reasonably standard weight and alloy, prices could be established by numbers of actual coins rather than by weight of metal. In this connection, it is interesting to note that many Umayyids and ‘Abbasīd dinārs originally struck on the monetary mithkāl standard have been found clipped down to the weight of the agrafti in order to enable them to pass current in trade. This convenience was also available to those who paid in silver, the most popular coin being the half-dirham or muʿayyidī, later known as the medin, a denomination which, like the agrafti, remained in use in ‘Othmānīlī lands until the early decades of the 12th/19th century.

The legends on the Mamluk coinage are divided into the religious and the secular. The religious are drawn from the Holy Qurān, the principal text being the declaration of faith, or kalima: "There is no god but God" followed by the Divine Commission "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God", sūra XLVIII, 29, and then the words of prophetic witness in whole or in part: "He sent him with the guidance and [the] faith of the truth, so that he may proclaim it above every faith even if the polytheists dislike (it)", IX, 33 or LXI, 9. This text is frequently supplemented by a phrase from III, 122, which, because of its regular use, could be characterised as the Mamluk "symbol" or motto: "For victory comes but from God". Occasionally another phrase from XI, 88, was used: "And my success [in my task] can only come from
God”. While the kalima is only found on the obverse, the supplementary phrases appear above either the obverse or reverse fields, or on both.

The reverses on the gold and silver coinage carry the royal protocol. In the first Bahri Mamluk period, the ruler’s name was simply inserted in the exceptional case of Shajjar al-Durr, Malikat al-Muslimin. This was usually followed by a labak, e.g. Nūr al-Dīn, the ruler’s name and that of his father, if of royal parentage. Rulers also placed the name of their spiritual overlord, the Abbasid caliph al-Musta‘īsī bi’llāh, on the obverse field, but after his overthrow in 656/1258 his name was removed from the legends.

The establishment of the Abbasid caliphate in Cairo by al-Zahir Baybars in 659/1261 reinforced the legitimacy of the Mamluk state by relocating and naturalising the font of honour in the Islamic world and making the caliph an officer in the Mamluk court.

The first caliph, al-Mustansir, repaid the offer of refuge by granting Baybars the double title of al-Sultān al-Malik and the honorific Kāsim Amīr al-Mu‘minīn “Partner of the Prince of the Believers”. After al-Mustansir’s early death, Baybars briefly recognised his successor al-Hakim on the Syrian coinage, but thereafter the coinage was passed on. The title Kāsim Amīr al-Mu‘minīn was also included in the royal protocols of Kālawūn, Kitbughā, Baybars II and the early coinage of Muhammad I after which it, too, ceased to be used.

The early Bahri rulers of non-regal parentage proclaimed themselves as former royal Mamluks, Baybars and Kālawūn used the nisba al-Sāliḥī (after al-Sāliḥ Ayyūb) on their coins, while Kitbughā, Lādhīn and Baybars II placed al-Mansūrī (after al-Mansūr) Kālawūn on theirs. The use of the nisba was discontinued on the accession of al-Nāṣir Muhammad I b. Kālawūn because all subsequent Bahri rulers were either his sons, grandsons or great-grandsons.

Thus the protocol of the penultimate Bahri ruler reads: al-Sultān al-Malik al-Mansūr “‘Allā” al-Dīn wa l-Dīn “‘Arif b. al-Malik al-Aṣghar Shabīb b. Husayn b. Muhammad ‘azza nasruhu. The succeeding Burdjl Mamluk rulers included their royal paternity wherever possible, but as the great majority succeeded through the consensus of the amirs or by coup d’état, the inclusion of a kanya in the royal protocol was used as a substitute for royal paternity. Thus: al-Sultān al-Malik al-Aṣghar Abu ‘l-Nāṣir Barsbāy ‘azza nasruhu or al-Sultān al-Malik Abī Salīl Khushkadam ‘azza nasruhu. Note that the protocol is followed by the pious invocation ‘azza nasruhu “may his victory be glorious” or, occasionally, ‘ājdallā ‘Allāh mukhaba—“may God perpetuate his kingly rule”. Many other Islamic dynasties made free use of these invocations to honour their rulers.

The Mamluks operated mints in both their Egyptian and Syrian possessions. Cairo, al-Qāhirah, struck coin for all rulers except for a few rebels or usurpers whose power base lay in Syria. Its principal responsibility was to coin gold and silver, while copper production only became important during the silver shortage from 759 to the end of Barkūk’s first reign in 791. The second Egyptian mint was Alexandria, al-Islāndariyya, which mainly struck gold between 659 and 693 and then again from 752 until 921. During the latter period it also participated in the ruinous production of copper dirhams.

The main Syrian mint (the second in the state) was located in Damasc, Dimashq. As might be expected, its silver and copper is very well known because silver was the more popular coinage metal in Syria, although gold is frequently found. The next in importance is Aleppo, Halab, well known for its silver and copper, with occasional gold issues. The other Syrian mints are Hamā, Hamāt, Tripoli, Tārābulus, and the recently identified Lunakia, al-Ladhiqiyā. The first two produced sporadic issues of silver, but mostly copper, while the third is known for only two silver pieces struck in the name of Muḥammad I.

All the mints were occasionally given the epithet al-mahārasa “the guarded”, while the frontier port is sometimes found on gold from Alexandria. Aleppo is also known as Madinat Halab on some of its ingot-sized gold. Because of defects in the manufacturing process, off-centre striking, weak strikes, dies too large for the flans, plus the inevitable wear and tear of heavy circulation, a very large proportion of Mamluk coins are difficult to attribute precisely and often many specimens are needed from various sources to make out the details of an individual issue.

While many of the Mamluk sultans were no more than ephemeral rulers whose presence made little or no impact on the state other than having their names recited in the kalima and inscribed on their sikkā, certain powerful rulers were acknowledged as overlords on the coinage of neighbouring states. Steven Albers has recorded these issues as follows: Bahri Mamluks, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I: Beys of Hānīd, Antalya; local beys, ‘Alī’iyā (Alanya), Sīlihke and Bazardjik; Ėretnī, Kaysariyya and other very rare Anatolian types; al-Nāṣir Ḥasan: Artūkīd, Ānim (Diyābātīk); al-Aṣghar Shabīb II: Karamānīd, Konya and Burdjl Mamluks: al-Zāhir Barbūk: Artūkīd, Ānim, Mardin; al-Aṣghar Shabīb, Karamānīd, al-Ālī’ī, Konya, Lāranda, Beys of Alanya, ‘Alī’iyā and other rare Anatolian types, al-Aṣghar Ayūnī, Muḥāṣṣibī, Ėretnī, Zāhirī Khushkadam, Aḵ Koynūzu, Ėranjīnān and Ānim. These issues should be regarded as evidence of political submission for local use rather than as tribute payments to be sent to Cairo. One well-known flow of tribute, however, is recorded from the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I. In 722-3/1322-3 the Mamluks captured Sīs [sp.], the capital of Ėlisikan Armenia, seized its treasury and then imposed an annual tribute of 1,200,000 trams which was collected for many years thereafter. Balog observes that this treasure served to succour the chronically deficient Mamluk silver currency. Part was probably melted down and restruck, part put into circulation directly (made possible because the Mamluk dirham had no fixed weight standard itself) and part overstruck by dies bearing al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s name. Examples of these overstruck trams of Oshin (1308-20) and Levon IV (1320-42) are regularly found in silver hoards of the period.

The calligraphy and ornamentation seen on Mamluk coins vary in quality from the superb dinars of al-Aṣghar Khalīl to the crude late Bahri dinars of al-Kāhirah and al-Islāndariyya. The die-sinkers generally employed various styles of nasārī script ranging from the well executed and highly legible to the hastily inscribed, virtually scribbled. For the later Bahri period it is easy to distinguish at a glance which coins came from Egyptian mints and which from Syria. The latter show the die-sinkers to be genuinely artistic craftsmen, while those of Egypt had only mediocre abilities.

This disparity in calligraphic standards probably does not appear during the Burdjl period so that it is often difficult to tell the difference between Egyptian and Syrian issues. It is interesting to note that on the half-dirhams issued by the later Burdjl rulers from the mint of Halab the kalima is inscribed in Turkoman Kufic. Turkish influence is also evident in the style of the many small knots of felicity, scrolls and flowerets
that ornament the dies alongside seemingly random diacritical points and monumental shaddas over the word Allah.

Much has been made by numismatists of the “heraldry” [see NAME] found on Mamlük coins. However, heraldry in the European sense is totally foreign to Arab Islamic culture, although Turkish tribal tamghas, part of the folk culture of Central Asia, made their artistic influence and utility felt at a time when most people were illiterate. Traditionally, representations of animate objects on Islamic coins had been banned from the gold and silver coinage and restricted to the copper fulus. The first major exception to this was when Chuyah al-Din Kayskhusraw II, the Saldık Sultan of Rüm, placed the lion and sun, depicting the “sun in Leo”, on the silver dirhams he had struck in Konya and Siwās between 638 and 641/1240-4. While this depiction of royal power was hastily removed after his defeat by the Mongols, it may have been the precedent seized upon by al-Zahir Baybars when he placed his badge of a prowling lion or leopard on his gold, silver and copper coinage. His son al-Saʿd Baraka Khān continued to use it during his brief reign, 676-8/1277-9, but after that the placing of a lion of gold and silver coinage was discontinued. Moreover, none was used on the long series of copper “dirhams” struck in Egypt in the second half of the 8th/14th century. A rich variety of animate and inanimate designs, the choice of which was probably left to the local die-sinker, were placed on the copper fulus struck for local use to make it impossible for silver-washed copper to pass as silver dirhams. This anti-counterfeiting measure was also used by many other dynasties, including that of the Othmanlis. While many designs may be associated with an individual Mamlük ruler, and may also have been employed on metalwork made for his use, the fulus were generally too insignificant for any consistency to be applied to their designs.

In conclusion, the evidence furnished by the Mamlük coinage may be said to provide an accurate reflection of the political and economic challenges faced by late medieval Egypt and Syria during the time of the Black Death, uncertain political leadership and the growing European economic influence in the east. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained their traditionalism.

Bibliography: Mamlük numismatics has been well served by the masterly study by P. Balog, The coinage of the Mamlük Sultans of Egypt and Syria, ANS Numismatic Studies no. 12, New York 1964, with exhaustive source notes and supplemented by many additional articles by him and others since then. For a valuable modern summary, see the section Mamluk in S. Album’s Checklist of Islamic coins, “Santa Rosa, Calif. 1998, 51-3.” (R. Darley-Doran)

MANSÚRÁT (A.), the term for the letters, responas and edicts of Muhammad (Abd ad-din) b. ‘Abd Allah (d. 1885), the Sudanese Mahdī [see AL-MADHIDIYĀ]. These individual documents were transcribed by his followers in numerous manuscript collections, three of which are described in P.M. Holt, Three Mahdist letter-books, in BSOAS, xviii [1956], 227-38. An authorised text was lithographed in Omdurman (Umm Durman) during the Mahdiya in four volumes: the first consists of general and doctrinal pieces, including Muhammad Abd ad-din’s justification of his claim to be the Mahdī; the second (al-ānqāf) contains his letters and proclamations summoning various individuals and groups to join the Mahdiya (cf. Holt, The Sudanese Mahdīs and the outside world, in BSOAS, xxi [1958], 276-90); the third (al-akhīrāt) gives his rulings on matters of law and custom; the fourth (al-ādāb) comprises his sermons. Photographic reproductions of these volumes were published in Khartoum in 1963 under the auspices of the Sudanese Ministry of the Interior. The editor (not there named) was Dr. Muhammad Ibrāhīm al-Abā Salīm, who has also produced an invaluable guide to the documents and their sources as al-Muṣāhāt li‘l-wathīq al-Mahdī, Khartoum 1969, and a selection of these and later Mahdist documents in Ṭanāfīrat al-Mahdīyya, n.p. [Beirut] 1969. He has now published a complete edition of the Mahdi’s writings, al-Amār al-kāmilah li‘l-Imām al-Mahdī, 7 vols. Khartoum 1990-4.

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(P.M. Holt)

AL-MAR'A

6. In Southeast Asia.

The Muslim peoples of Southeast Asia are found in the modern states of Indonesia, Malaysia (and in these two states they comprise the majority), Thailand (in the five southern provinces, culturally very close to the neighbouring region of the northern Malay Peninsula) and in the Philippines (Mindanao). Islamisation of these populations has been ongoing since the 15th century and continues in the 21st century (total population estimated at 220 million). Travelers to the region from the earliest times have remarked on the prominence of women in commerce, agriculture and spiritual life. Bilateral kinship systems are still the norm for most societies in the region, with some notable exceptions such as the matrilineal Mindangkabau of West Sumatra, also found throughout Indonesia and in Negeri Sembilan on the Malay Peninsula. Although Islam assumes a patriarchal descent system, the traditionally high status of women in Southeast Asian societies means that women continue to play a public role in many areas of social and, especially, economic life, which contrasts with the situation in many other Muslim cultures. In some cases, this has also led to local and particular interpretations and applications of the Sharīʿa, especially in matters of inheritance.

Before the 20th century, the traditional power structure of the region was based on small fiefdoms led by charismatic rulers and local chiefs. The fiefdoms in turn were oriented towards centres of influence (e.g. Sriwijaya, Melaka, Mahapahit, Aceh and Ayuthia), which shaped the cultural and religious forms of their satellites. The elites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained older traditions. Thus, when Islam was accepted by the leaders of centres of power such as Melaka and Aceh, it was added to a spiritual armoury already consisting of a broad mix of animist and ancestor cults, and also of Hindu and Buddhist beliefs, in all of which women played important roles. There was an eclectic expression of Islam with a special appreciation of Sufism and less concern with scriptural prescription. In this context, the traditional role of women as important figures in spiritual matters continued. This came under threat, however, in the early and mid-19th century when Southeast Asian pilgrims were influenced by Wahhabī concerns and attempted to institute “reforms” in their local areas (see b, below).

(a) Status of women before the 19th century.

The status of women was such that at the courts of the Muslim kingdoms of Aceh (nominally estimated at 594,000 in northern Sumatra) and Patani (now in southern Thailand), four queens ruled for extended periods during the 17th century. Female rule in Aceh ended late in the 17th century when a female ruler was succeeded by a male. The last female ruler was obtained a fatwā from Mecca stating that women could not be rulers. It has been usual...
The mosque (1262-3) of al-Zahir Baybars

The mosque (1335) of al-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel with the eastern minaret and the dome over the mihrab (the dome is a modern reconstruction)
The funerary complex (1284-5) of Sultan Kalāwūn, with the funerary complex (1384-6) of Sultan Barkūk in the back (B. O'Kane)

Interior view of the mausoleum of Sultan Kalāwūn (B. O'Kane)
The double mausoleum (1303-4) at the khānqāh/madrassa of the amirs Salar and Sandjar

The funerary khānqāh (1306-10) of Baybars al-Djashankir
(Dept. of Egyptian Antiquities)
The double mausoleum known as Sulṭāniyya (1450s-60s) with the minaret of Kawṣūn to the left.

The funerary madrasa/djāmiʿ (1356-62) of Sultan Ḥasan.
The funerary *madrasa* (1356) of the *amīr* Šarghitmiš (Dept. of Egyptian Antiquities)

The funerary mosque (1472-4) of Sultan Ḵāyībāy
The mihrab of the mosque of Sultan Hasan

The minarets (1415-20) of Sultan al-Mu‘ayyad on the Fatimid gate, the Bab Zuwayla
The mausoleum dome of Sultan Kayibay (B. O'Kane)

The interior of the mosque of Sultan Kayibay
Late Mamluk tin-coated copper bowl in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection

Fourteenth-century Mamluk lamp in the Davis Collection, Copenhagen

Mamluk scraffito ceramic bowl (14th century) in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection
Mamlük underglaze-painted jar (14th century) in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection

Fourteenth-century Mamlük enamelled glass bottle in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection

Late Mamlük lidded bowl, so-called "Veneto-Saracenic", in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection
to regard the period of female rule as indicating a weakened monarchy vis-à-vis male chiefs. However, because it seems that the queens served as mediators to regard the period of female rule as indicating a fitness to maintain harmony. In both Aceh and Patani, the period of female rule was characterised by commercial prosperity and an increase in revenues from foreign trade; this has been attributed to the cooperation rather than rivalry between the queen and local merchants. This alternative model of female rule did not develop, and in the latter part of the 17th century the queens were followed by males. It was not until recent times that the issue of a woman as head of state again became a possibility with the success of Megawati Sukarnoputri as a political leader (see d, below).

In Java there are no records of female rulers, but several Sultans maintained large corps of women trained to bear arms and serve as palace bodyguards and sentries. More important was the contribution of women intellectuals in advice to rulers (as in India). For example, in the early 18th century, the grandmother of a teenage ruler of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram prepared three impressive texts for the guidance of the young sultan. Known as Ratul Pakubuwana (died 1732), she is celebrated for her Muslim piety and knowledge of Sufism. Her manuscripts retell stories of the great Muslim warriors and heroes to emphasise the benefits of becoming a pious and ascetic Sufi ruler. In the mid-18th century, there are references to other aristocratic Javanese women composing manuscripts also inspired by Islamic literature. Women of the court, in both Java and the Malay areas of the archipelago, were actively engaged in writing and collecting manuscripts from at least this period until the demise of the courts in the early 20th century.

Records from this period indicate that non-elite women (rather than men) organised domestic commercial activity, such as the buying and selling of local produce in the markets, with both dominating transactions with foreigners. However, it is clear that some elite women used their own wealth to provide the capital for overseas trade conducted on their behalf by men.

(b) Status of women in the 19th century

As with the earlier period, the historical record is incomplete and focussed on elite rather than non-elite women. However, it is possible to gain an impression of their status from descriptions of several notable women. In the early 19th century, for example, in the Malay-Bugis kingdom of Lingga-Riau (which encompassed Johor, Pahang and Singapore), one of the Sultan’s wives was given an island, its appanages and revenues to remain in her family in perpetuity. In the mid-1820s, this woman was able to supply the capital for her brother to undertake a trading voyage to raise money for the Hajj. It was not apparently the custom at this time for women to cover their heads in public but, by the 1850s, the male rulers of this kingdom, and that of their kin, encouraged women to wear a veil when in public. This concern that women cover their heads was accompanied by similar requirements for men to dress modestly, and was a trend apparent also in other areas of Muslim Southeast Asia where returning pilgrims spread Wahhabi teachings.

If the elite women of this Riau-Lingga kingdom are in any way representative of the position of women in other Malay courts (and there is no reason not to extrapolate from their experience), then it is clear that they had the opportunity to learn and write and that they were concerned to apply Muslim teachings in their daily lives and to influence others to do the same, especially when raising children. Of particular interest is a compendium of charms beneficial for marital relations composed in 1908, just five years before the Dutch abolished the Riau-Lingga kingdom. Its author was a commoner, known as Khadijah Terong (1885-1955), who incorporated Kur’anic verses into the charms in a manner which indicates her familiarity with and knowledge of more than just the basic tenets of Islam (see Mukherjee, in Empowered women, 1997). Khadijah’s charms are designed to provide satisfaction and pleasure for both husband and wife, so ensuring that each is content in the marriage. The didactic writings of the women of Riau-Lingga may be described as forerunners of the “Guides for women” (Panduan wanita) which became popular in the 1980s and are still being produced and are selling well in Muslim bookshops in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Elite women were tutored in their own residences and were almost self-sufficient within their domains, although if they chose to travel (usually by sea) they were free to do so if accompanied by appropriate attendants or their husband. Non-elite women did not have the same degree of leisure nor the means to travel. Their access to intensive education, under the guidance of expert teachers, was also restricted, but the large number of local Kur’anic schools in southern Thailand, the northern Malay Peninsula and Java and Madura (late 19th century Dutch figures estimated there were 15,000 of these schools with about 230,000 pupils) suggest that girls as well as boys attended for basic religious instruction.

(c) Status of women in the 20th century

At the turn of the century, resistance to direct colonial rule was prolonged and violent in some areas. In this context, there are several notable examples of women joining or leading men in holy wars. In the late 19th century resistance to the Dutch control of Aceh (northern Sumatra), an area renowned for its late 19th century resistance to the Dutch control of Aceh (northern Sumatra), an area renowned for its devotion to Islam, a widow, Cut Nyak Dien, took over the leadership of a band of guerrilla fighters after her husband was killed by the Dutch in 1899. She continued to resist until captured in 1905. She died in exile in 1906 and is now an Indonesian national hero, whose struggle for Islam and her homeland has been celebrated in a very popular 1960s Indonesian film.

The adoption of new technologies such as printing, and improved communications, enabled greater contact between the heartlands of Islam and Southeast Asia. Of particular significance to women was the spread of modernist teachings, especially those of Muhammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905), which were disseminated in a weekly publication, al-Imam (published in Singapore, 1906-8), which was clearly inspired by
for the rights of Malay women within Islam in terms reminiscent of the heroine of Farida Hanom. She was an influential figure in Malaya, and in the early 1950s led the women’s wing of the UMNO (United Malays National Organisation). No one has been more encouraged to establish new schools (madrasah) based on Egyptian models where Islamic doctrine, Arabic, English, and secular subjects such as mathematics and geography, were taught to both girls and boys. It was considered especially important that young women receive a “modern” education (including secular knowledge as well as religion), because as future mothers they bore the prime responsibility for the “correct” upbringing of the next generation.

In 1913 a number of co-educational schools offering both religious and secular subjects were established in Java by the Jam’iyyat al-Islah wa ‘l-Irkshad, an organisation led by the reformist Sudanese teacher, Shaykh Ahmad Surkati, who founded the establishment of new schools in 1918 and 1920. By 1922 there were 15 Diniyah schools in Java and Sumatra which attracted young women from as far afield as the Malay Peninsula and Java. Graduates spread the message of reformist Islam and urban modernity through their work as teachers and journalists and as modern-minded mothers. Further impetus for the education of women came from the writings of Sayyid Shaykh b. Ahmad al-Haḍī (1867-1934), a šari‘i law firm, religious teacher, author and successful publisher who settled finally in Penang. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the ideas of Muhammad ‘Abdul and Rashid Ridā who translated many of their writings into Malay for publication in al-Imām. He went on to use fiction to promote progressive interpretations of Islam, and in 1925 and 1926 published the two-volume best-seller Faridah Hanom. The eponymous heroine is an aristocratic Muslim woman living in Cairo, educated in both Islam and western teachings, and an admirer of ‘Abdul, who is written into the text. The popularity of the books, which were reprinted innumerable times up to the 1970s, ensured that the heroine’s message of applying God’s gift of intelligence to the understanding of Islamic teachings, linked with a dedication to improving contemporary social conditions, had wide exposure. The story of Faridah Hanom ends with a description of how the heroine uses her wealth to found schools for young women, and notes that from these schools came women who went on to lead the struggle for women’s emancipation, citing real women such as Hūdā Sha‘rāwī (q.v. in Suppl.), who founded L’Union Féministe Égyptienne. Sayyid Shaykh al-Haḍī invested the profits from the success of this book in his printing business, and from it funded the publication of works of non-fiction. One of these, Kitāb Al-Amām Perempuan (“The world of women”), 1930, continued the themes of Faridah Hanom and argued forcefully that the most pressing matter for Muslims was the education of women so that the whole community would benefit.

In peninsula Malaya, Hajjah Zainon Suleiman (1908-1989) responded to Sayyid Shaykh’s calls and worked actively for the education of Malay women. She was supervisor of one of the leading girls’ schools for nearly 20 years and in 1950 founded the first Malay women’s association, the Johor Women Teacher’s Union, and a magazine for its members. The magazine, Bulan Melayu, became an influential publication for women and provided a forum for women writers to express their views on contemporary issues. Ibu Zain (as she was known) was an important advocate of women’s organisations in Malaysia. The most recently formed group, Puteri Islam (Sisters in Islam), was officially established in 1991 by a small group of professional women (lawyers and academics) to re-examine the sources of Islam for a better understanding of women’s status in Islam. Through high-profile activities in the press and media and through seminars and workshops, members of Sisters in Islam have had considerable impact on public perceptions of women’s status in Malaysia. Their interpretations of the Kūrān and Hadīth have aroused critical reactions from conservative religious scholars, and the resulting public debates have highlighted issues such as the role of Islamic law in a modern nation state. In Indonesia (then the Netherlands East Indies) one of the earliest Islamic women’s organisations, Aisyiyah, was established in 1917 by members of Muhammadiyah, a reformist movement which began in Java in 1912 and spread quite rapidly through the Indies. By 1938, Aisyiyah had set up over 1,700 schools (from primary to secondary levels) as well as teacher training colleges, health centres and orphanages. Members were encouraged to guide other women in their Islamic duties and to spread knowledge of Islam to diverse classes of women so as to increase their awareness of religious duties, rights and responsibilities.

The Muslimah Nahdatul Ulama, the women’s branch of Nahdatul Ulama, the Islamic mass movement in Indonesia (with a current following of over 30 million), was established in 1946. Like Aisyiyah, its members have been working to improve education and health care for women and they helped establish the “Advisory Council for Marriage and Divorce” (Badan Penasihat Perkawinan dan Penyelesaian Perceraian) which assists women who have to take marital disputes to court. Although the Nahdatul Ulama movement has been characterised as less progressive than Muhammadiyah, during the 1980s, under the leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid, greater attention was given to social issues, including the status of women. One illustration is the work of the Association for Social and Pesantren Development (Perkumpulan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat) whose work includes a successful education program for traditional religious teachers (both men and women) about women’s reproductive rights.

In Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand, the post-colonial state has accommodated the šari‘i but restricted its formal application to matters of personal law [see MARA]. In South-East Asia, the issue of polygamy has highlighted the differences between modernising and conservative elements in Southeast Asian Muslim communities, and has focussed on the absolute difference between revealed and secular authority. One example is the 1974 Indonesian Marriage Law, which was introduced in Cairo’s al-Manar. Widely read all over the Indonesian archipelago and through the Malay Peninsula, al-Manar’s articles urged Muslims in the region to improve their knowledge of Islam and to pay greater attention to education. In this context, the establishment of new schools was encouraged and the deep culture of the region. For example, for a woman was elected to the central board of PAS. There are at least four other Muslim women’s organisations in Malaysia, each of which is engaged in welfare work among Muslim women, including marriage counselling, assistance for domestic violence victims and fund raising for charities. The most recently formed group, Puteri Islam (Sisters in Islam), was officially established in 1991 by a small group of professional women (lawyers and academics) to re-examine the sources of Islam for a better understanding of women’s status in Islam. Through high-profile activities in the press and media and through seminars and workshops, members of Sisters in Islam have had considerable impact on public perceptions of women’s status in Malaysia. Their interpretations of the Kūrān and Hadīth have aroused critical reactions from conservative religious scholars, and the resulting public debates have highlighted issues such as the role of Islamic law in a modern nation state. In Indonesia (then the Netherlands East Indies) one of the earliest Islamic women’s organisations, Aisyiyah, was established in 1917 by members of Muhammadiyah, a reformist movement which began in Java in 1912 and spread quite rapidly through the Indies. By 1938, Aisyiyah had set up over 1,700 schools (from primary to secondary levels) as well as teacher training colleges, health centres and orphanages. Members were encouraged to guide other women in their Islamic duties and to spread knowledge of Islam to diverse classes of women so as to increase their awareness of religious duties, rights and responsibilities. The Muslimah Nahdatul Ulama, the women’s branch of Nahdatul Ulama, the Islamic mass movement in Indonesia (with a current following of over 30 million), was established in 1946. Like Aisyiyah, its members have been working to improve education and health care for women and they helped establish the “Advisory Council for Marriage and Divorce” (Badan Penasihat Perkawinan dan Penyelesaian Perceraian) which assists women who have to take marital disputes to court. Although the Nahdatul Ulama movement has been characterised as less progressive than Muhammadiyah, during the 1980s, under the leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid, greater attention was given to social issues, including the status of women. One illustration is the work of the Association for Social and Pesantren Development (Perkumpulan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat) whose work includes a successful education program for traditional religious teachers (both men and women) about women’s reproductive rights.

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response to continued pressure from women’s organisations and was to provide some security for women, particularly regarding divorce and polygamy. It was perceived by some Muslims as a strategy for secular (state) authority to displace Islamic jurisdiction and was therefore opposed by others who wanted to enact an amended statute permitting polygamous marriages and unilateral divorce, with Syariah courts retaining authority to make judgements in these areas (see Butt 1999). However, the jurisdiction of Syariah courts has been steadily eroded by the Indonesian government, so that although polygamy has not officially been forbidden, it is extremely difficult to practise.

In Malaysia, the Federal Government introduced the Islamic Family Law Act in 1984 and set minimum ages for marriage and restrictions on polygamy and divorce. Although similar laws were enacted in each of the constituent states of Malaysia by 1991, Islamic authorities at the local levels have tried to undermine some of its provisions, particularly those concerning polygamy. When this occurs, and aggrieved women bring it to the attention of national activist groups (such as Sisters in Islam), there is widespread public debate and increasing pressure on traditional religious teachers to adapt to contemporary conditions.

In matters of inheritance, Muslims theoretically follow the Syaria but detailed interviews with women in Indonesia and Malaysia indicate that many parents circumvent the provision of greater portions for male heirs by distributing some property to female heirs before death. This has been seen as maintaining the parity of sons and daughters as expressed in traditional (pre-Islamic) kinship systems.

The rise of the middle classes in the Muslim populations of Southeast Asia, with an increase in higher education and greater participation in the global cash economy, has caused some women in this group to seek to reaffirm their identity as Muslims. Participating fully in the public life of their nations, many of these women wish to understand Islam better and follow all the classical texts of Islam which some Indonesian scholars put forward. In 2001, Abdul Rahman Wahid lost the confidence of the Indonesian parliament and Megawati replaced him becoming the fifth president of the Republic of Indonesia. Political expediency overwhelmed the objections of a minority of ulamā’. The debate over female leadership, however, is a useful point on which to conclude this survey of Muslim women in Southeast Asia because it exemplifies some of the features of Islam which are characteristic of the region. First, that it is not unusual for women to play prominent roles in public life; second, that women’s leadership is seen as being distinctly different in style from that of males; third, that the religious arguments concerning the possibility of a female head of state have revealed the division between traditional (conservative) approaches to Islamic law and more modern (liberal) interpretations; and finally, that specialist knowledge of Islam throughout Southeast Asia is still dominated by men.


3. Malaysia: Aihwa Ong, State versus Islam, Malay families, women’s bodies and the body politic, in Bewitching women, power men. Gender and body politics in Southeast Asia, ed. Aihwa Ong and M.G. Peletz, Berkeley 1995; Sharifah Zaleha Syed Hassan and S. Cederoth, Managing marital disputes in Malaysia. Islamic mediators and conflict resolution in the Syariah courts, Surrey 1997; Maila Stivens, Becoming modern


(Virginia Matheson Hooker)

MARID (A.), rebel or revolutionary, someone practising marid or tamarid, resistance to the established order, from the root m - r - d to be resistant.

The word marid is strongly polysemic; it includes both the idea of audacity and revolt, and also extreme pride and insolence (al-lāti al-thārid, according to LA). Also present in the root is the idea of youth, with amrad meaning “young, beardless youth” (see Ibn al-‘Adīm, Ḣizba, ed. S. Dahhān, Damascus 1951, i, 260, concerning beardless ghillān, concomitant with the idea of a leafless tree (qāfghara mardīs), and sometimes with that of a young slave boy, the equivalent of ghillān [gu], with additionally, the connotations of violence, insolence, rebelliousness and, equally, of pedantry and homosexuality, as frequently found amongst young soldiers.

It should be noted that the central meaning of marid’s revolt is semantically associated with that of the rebellion of djinn and demons (qayītān), as LI directly indicates. It follows that, in classical Arabic, the term marid has negative connotations and that, in the unconscious collective mind, it goes back to the revolt of djinn against God and rebels likewise to that of a member of the community against the ruling power, considered as a fatal source of trouble and instability. In Modern Standard Arabic it retains these two concepts, since it means, first, rebel, insurgent, refractory person, and second, demon or evil-working spirit. Other roots are more frequently used by medi-aeval arab historians to describe rebellion. Thus qaghaba “to wander away from the road, excite people against each other, kick up a row”, and tadd “to rebel (to be connected with ḥād “to strike with a stick”), go against other people”, whence al-lāti “the rebel”, the name given to the Orontes river. The Sunnis, from the time of the establishment of the ‘Abbāsid to the 1970s (the execution in jail of ‘Abd al-Nāṣir [q.v.] by ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s army, taken at Siffm in Suppl.) was to give rise to the first, Sunni Islamic doctrine justifying the use of violence and killing, not only against a power which was self-styled Muslim and Sunni but not respecting the Islamic law, but also against every individual, Sunni Muslim or of any belief or absence of belief, of either sex, child and adult, not joining in the revolt), were considering that challenging the ruling sovereign Muslim power, whether just or unjust, legitimate or having seized power for itself, was risking committing an offence against Islam and that a vacuum of power was worse than a corrupt ruling power [see AL­MAWĀRĪ, IBN TAMIMYYA].

In practice the hijra of A.D. 622 enabled the Prophet Muhammad to institutionalise Islam by creating at Yathrib/Medina the umma [q.e.], a society which involved personal commitment to the revealed Law, a concept opposed to those of nasab and nisba [q.e.].

The fragility of the umma at the outset led to condemnation of any rebel who put in jeopardy the unity of Islam by disobedience, provocation or revolt. In appealing to ancient family, tribal, ethnic or territorial solidarities, the rebel thereby pushed the community back to the chaotic time of the Dāhilyya [q.e.]. This is why, when Muhammad died and the tribes thought themselves freed from this voluntary solidarity by which they had been united with the person of the Prophet, ‘Abd Bakr suppressed the ṭālīda [q.e. in Suppl.]; from this time onwards, the Medinan concept of voluntary adhesion to Islam only functioned in that unique instance. The new convert, like all Muslims, including the child born of a Muslim father, saw himself constrained—before his birth, as at Mecca—and
until his death, by his nasab of “Muslim” to profess Islam as long as he lived.

The traditional history of the first century of Islam is marked by a series of violent episodes, extending from the ridda in Abū Bakr’s time to the murder of ‘Abd al-Malik. The Almoravids and Almohads, who came to the north and south against a corrupt and luxurious north and aiming at bringing regimes considered as lax back to the strict way of the Islamic law.

For the urban revolts, which have been well studied, see ABHAI, ‘AYNAR, SAFARIDS; ZUNID; etc.

Bibliography: See, in addition to the articles cited above, various contributions in M.A. al-Bakhtî and R. Schick (eds.), Bilād al-Shām during the Abbasid period. Proc. of the Fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām, 1410/1990, Amman 1991. M. Chokri, Zandīga et zandīgūl il-Kum, au second siècle de l’hégire, Damascus 1993, has clearly shown how the “AbūĪsād ruling power marshalled moral, political and social argumentation everyday at rebellion against the dynasty’s official moral basis. See also the good bibl. in M. Bonner, Aristocratic violence and holy war, New Haven 1996. (TH. BANQUTS)
Ibn al-Nadîm quotes a reliable informant (âbih) who had seen Mariqonites books and who reported that their script resembled that of the Manicheans (ibid., 19). These “numerous” Mariqonites in Khurâsân do not seem to be mentioned in any other source.

Muslim writers on alien religions offer some data about the beliefs of the Mariqonites. Some of this is manifestly taken from the standard Christian sources, e.g. when al-Mâsîdî (Tanbih, 127) states, accurately enough, that the Mariqonites taught “two principles, good and evil, and justice (read al-âlîd with Ms. L) is a third (principle) between the two”; these three are clearly the good god, evil matter, and the just god. Ibn al-Mâlîhînî (al-Mutamâd, 586-9) has two conflicting accounts of the doctrines of the Mariqonites. The second of these is credited explicitly to Abû Tâsî al-Warrâk, whose version was evidently used (directly or indirectly) by most of the other Muslim theologians who mention Mariqonites (see Vajda’s article, in Bibl.). This version claims that Marcion taught two polar principles, “light and darkness”, plus a “third essence” who “mixed the light and darkness and mangled them by way of creating a balance between them”. But this is pure fantasy, extrapolated from some vague notion that either Marcionism is like Manichaeism, or is entirely different. This latter is totally different. This Marcionite community in the Islamic world, presumably in connection with court etiquette. Harûn al-Rashîd (d. 193/809 [q.v.]) even divided his court singers into classes (al-Milâl wa ’l-nihâl, Shahrastânî, ed. Badrân, 643-5), and of apparent anarchy, and that therefore it was invented terms, adopted from al-Masûdî, al-Thâlûtî, and others, for the purpose of social standing and rank, both in his translations from Pahlavi Persian and in his original works, in which one can discern a measure of continuity with certain Sassânid values which pre-date the Islamic period. One should remember, as background, that the Sassánid sovereigns divided their population into a number of categories (A. Christiansen, L’Empire des Sassanides, 190 ff., 93 ff.; idem, L’Iran sous les Sassanides, 97 ff., relying on Ps.-Djahîz, al-Masûdî, al-Thâlûtî and other sources); neither the subjects of despised trades belonging to the lower ones, nor their descendants, would ever be permitted to serve at the royal court (Ps.-Djahîz, K. al-Tâjî, [1914], 23-27; concerning the authorship and date of the latter source, see G. Schoeder, in ZDMG, cxxx [1908], 217-25, and VÖHD, B/2, Wiesbaden 1980, 156-9; R. Brunschvicg, in Stud. Isl. xvi [1962], 49 n. 1, hesitated to accept some details in this information reported by later Muslim historiographers). Thus the Shu’ubîyya (q.v.), a cultural movement that stressed the contribution of the non-Arabic heritage (and often minimised the importance of certain Arab traditions that can be traced back to the culture of the desert), took great pride in the fact and others, for the purpose of such boasting about this Persian distinction between social classes was to emphasise the fact that the early Persians lived a life of uncontrolledness and of apparent anarchy, and that therefore it was the Persians to whom one had to turn in order to learn the concepts of government and etiquette (Sadân, An admirable and ridiculous hero, Some notes on the Bedouin, in Poetics Today, xi [1989], 474, 487 ff., with references to Goldzïber, Gibb, al-Durâfî, al-Laythî, Montroe, Talhîf and others). In Muslim society, in particular that of the ‘Abbâsîd empire, the term marûsî was used mainly in connection with cour, etiquette. Harûn al-Rashid (d. 193/809 [q.v.]) even divided his court singers into
three martaba; in this case, the categories reflect not only the quality of the singing but also friendship, sympathy and taste for various singing abilities (al-Raghib al-Ibial, Kitab al-surur, B.N. Paris ms. 3302, fol. 162b; not identical to the part edited by al-Djundj; see also al-Shayzarf, Al-Makhtaj al-maslah, Zarqa, Jordan 1987, 464-6, 578-9).

When approaching the ruler, one was expected to stop at a distance determined by one’s martaba, and there await for a sign (the verb is aswad, to notify by a gesture) from the sovereign, permitting him to sit down. The participants at the ruler’s audience were expected not to behave in a manner unfitting to their rank. The boon-companion, nadim [q.v.], had the most difficult task of deciding when an audience with the ruler was public or official and when it was a private party (which included drinking as well) in which the rules of etiquette (adab) were not to be strictly applied, although even then one was supposed to try not to exceed one’s manzila or martaba (ibid. and al-Ghuzuli, Matbat al-badur, Cairo 2000, 165) and the minimal rules implied by it. The hadib, who was the palace chamberlain and responsible for the system of granting and refusing entrance to the palace, also had the job of ascertaining that everyone sat according to the martabt al-Djaghy, al-Hajibh, in Kaufr (ibid, Cairo 1964-5, ii, 39).

Exceptionally, some people may in fact have wished to sit with those of a lower rank, since the people attending the audience with the sovereign sat in a circle (maglis, halka), and those who were near him were higher in rank but could not always see him well and might in fact have been sitting just opposite him. We rarely find a courtier or a guest who would prefer to sit opposite, out of modesty, or in order to see more clearly his host (al-Raghib al-Ibial, Madhabat al-adab, ii, 706, describes the exception; al-Makhtaj, Khiyat, e.g. i, 386-7, 389), whereas i, 390, mentions the term martaba, describes the rule: no courtier would yield his place to an inferior person; i, 443, presents, however, the irregular behaviour of a courtier who “used to take a seat at the edge of the circle of guests [during the royal meal], in order to see the caliph better and not according to the rank this courtier deserved”). It is in fact well known that the Fatimids were particularly insistent on maintaining the appropriate distance between the ruler and the other ranks: at festivals only representatives of the four Islamic schools of law were permitted to come into the presence of the caliph and greet him. In fact, they only came up to the threshold of the hall or pavilion in which the caliph was at the time, and usually it was only the caliph’s secretary who responded by uttering a greeting formula in the ruler’s name, and not the caliph in person.

However, it must be emphasised that M. Canard’s comparison (see Bibl.) of the etiquette of the Fatimid and Byzantine courts was written at a time when the rules of behaviour at the court of the Sasanids and the division of their society into classes, sadly it was not fully respected, as it should have been, in his days. Perhaps this indicates that the ‘Abbasids did not blindly imitate the Sasanid manners but only followed them as a certain social tradition.

Since the concept of rank also determined the seating order, it should come as no surprise that the word martaba ended up designating a cushion, a kind of low and soft seat. The reason for this is that cushions were the normal seats used at meetings (only the ruler himself would occasionally sit on a genuine throne, and the vizier would at times sit on a simpler chair, kast). One finds this kind of martaba cushion in texts closer to the spoken language, such as stories of the Arabian nights variety and, even more so, in documents from the Cairo Geniza (in the dowry lists of young brides, see Sadan, Martaba, in Bibl.). It would appear that these mattress-seats were arranged by day for sitting (on the arrangement of cushions in book shops and reading rooms, see also idem, Mabillet, in Bibl.; idem, Nouveaux matelas, in REI, xlv [1977], 51-6) and by night for sleeping, a quite economical and efficient system for the common people.

In addition, the rules of etiquette of the Sasanid era (in addition to references given in the article: F. Gabrieli, Etichetta, in RSO, xi [1928], 292-305; M. Canard, Le cerimonial fatimite et le cerimonial byzantin, in Byzantion, xxii [1951], 355-420; Ch. Pellat (tr.), Le Livre de la couronne attribué à Gâhid, Paris 1954; D. Sourdel, Questions de ceremonial 'abbâside, in REI, xxviii [1960], 121-48; see especially Sadan, A propos de martaba, in REI, xlii [1975], 51-69; idem, Le mobilier au Proche orient méditerranéen, Leiden 1976, 15, 16, 52-56, 90, 117, 118; idem, Adab, régles de conduite, in REI, lxv [1980], 283-300). [J. SADAN]

AL-MARUF WA 'L-MUNKAR [see AL-SAHRI 'AN AL-MUNKAR, in Suppl.]

MA'RUF BALKHI. Abû 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Hasan, early poet in New Persian, of whom almost nothing is known but who must have flourished in the middle decades of the 9th/10th century, since old verses of his survive that were allegedly dedicated to the Sâmitâm Amir 'Abd al-Malik (I) b. Nûh (I) (543-50/954-61), and he may have been at the court of the Saffârid ruler of Sistan, Khâlif b. Ahmad (532-93/963-1003). Fragments amounting to some 45 verses, mainly love poetry and satires, have been collected by G. Lazard, Les premiers poètes persans (IX-X siècles), Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 31, tr. 129-33, Persian text ii, 132-8.
MA'RUF BALKHI — MARUNIYYA

According to al-Ma'sūdī (d. 345/956), the sect first emerged into existence as a Monothelite Christian communion during the reign of the Roman emperor Maurice (582-602), its Monothelite origin (contested by Maronite historians since the late 15th century) being also affirmed by al-Kāṭib 'Abd al-Dhāfiḥī (d. 415/1024) and the Crusader historian William of Tyre (d. 1185). The first known base of the community was the monastic establishment of Dayr Mārūn (or Dār Mārūn), on the Orontes river, east of the town of Hamā, which had already fallen to ruins by al-Ma'sūdī's time. This establishment allegedly carried the name of the Syrian hermit Mārūn (Arabic Mārūn) of Cyrus (d. 433), who is claimed by the Maronite church as its patron, although he is also revered by the Syrian Melchite (Chalcedonian Orthodox) church as a saint.

While the Maronites have traditionally used Syriac for their liturgy, they appear to have been Arab rather than Aramaic-Arab in ethnic origin; their ecclesiastical and secular literature, as known directly or from reference from as early as the 10th century A.D., is entirely in Arabic. Their ethnic difference from other Syrian Christians, who were either Aramaeans or Aramaic-Arab, might explain in part why they came to be organised as a separate church. The claim of the community to be descended from the Mardaites [see MARDAYMA], first advanced by the patriarch Istifan al-Dawāyhi (1668-1704 [q.v.]), is historically incredible.

The Maronites signalled their break from the Syrian Melchite see of Antioch when they began electing patriarchs of their own in ca. 685. In that same year, the conclusion of a peace accord between the Byzantine emperor Justinian II and the Umayad caliph 'Abd al-Malik, who seems to have enabled the Byzantines to regain control over the affairs of the Antiochenese see. The Monothelite doctrine having been condemned by the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680) as a pernicious heresy, Justinian II, it appears, was bent on eradicating what remained of it in Syria.

According to Maronite tradition, the first Maronite patriarch, Yuhanna Mārūn, had barely assumed office when Byzantine persecution forced him to flee the Orontes valley and seek refuge in the rugged reaches of the northern Lebanon, where the Maronite patriarchate has remained ever since. When the Byzantines reoccupied Antioch and the adjacent parts of northern Syria, from 969, the Syrian population of the Orontes valley was still largely, if not entirely, Maronite. This Byzantine reoccupation, however, was not to last until ca. 1070, by which time the Maronites of the Orontes valley had been mostly, if not entirely, replaced by Melchites, presumably as a result of Byzantine persecution; the only notable Maronite community outside Mount Lebanon survived in the city of Aleppo, which the Byzantines had failed to occupy.

When the Crusader forces, having seized Antioch (1098), proceeded to advance southwards to Jerusalem in 1099, Maronite warriors met them outside Tripoli to offer their service as guides and auxiliaries. The first contacts between the Maronite patriarchate and the Roman Catholic Church followed, ending more than four centuries of Maronite ecclesiastical isolation. It was not before ca. 1180, however, that a body of leading Maronite clerics, meeting with the Latin Patriarch of Antioch, formally agreed to unite with the Roman Catholic Church, and also to abandon the Monothelite doctrine in favour of Roman orthodoxy. To cement this union, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), invited the Maronite Patriarch Jeremiah of 'Armišāṭ (Irmiyah al-'Armišāṭ) to Rome in 1215, ostensibly to participate in the Lateran Council of that year.

Meanwhile, a split had occurred in the Maronite church, in the course of which the party opposed to the union waged armed attacks against those in its favour. This split reached its climax in 1282-3, when, for a brief while, each side had its own Patriarch. Shortly after, however, the Mamluks of Egypt, who were already in occupation of the Syrian interior, put an end to the Crusader County of Tripoli (1289); then Acre was conquered (1291) and the last Crusaders expelled from Syria (1291). Finding itself once more in isolation, the Maronite church was able to regain its unity under Patriarchs favouring the union with Rome. However, Maronite relations with the Papacy remained casual, because of the difficulty of maintaining regular contact between the two sides once the Crusaders had gone.

The Maronites suffered sporadic persecution under the rule of the Bahśli Mamluks (1291-1382), at which time some Maronites emigrated from Mount Lebanon to live under Crusader protection in Cyprus, where a few thousand Maronites remain to this day. With the replacement of the Bahśli Mamluks regime, the fortunes of the community took a turn for the better. Starting from the reign of Barkūk (1392-9, 1390-9 [q.v.], the first of the Bahśli sultans, special favours were accorded to the Maronite mukaddamīn (sing. mukaddam "chief") of the district of Dabbat Bahārī (the mountain hinterland of Tripoli), enabling them to manage the affairs of their district much as they pleased. Subsequently, in 1444, the seat of the Maronite patriarchate, which had never been fixed before, was established in the monastery of Kannūnīn, in Dabbat Bahārī, where it remained until the 19th century.

The interest of the Roman Papacy in the Maronite Church had meanwhile been heightened following the failure of the Council of Florence (1439-44) to end the schism between the Roman Catholic and Byzantine Orthodox communions. Unable to attend this council in person, the Maronite Patriarch John of Jāf (Yuhannā al-Dādjī) had sent a Franciscan missionary to represent him there, with a message indicating his fervent commitment to Roman Catholicism and requesting papal confirmation of his patriarchal title. (Since then, all Maronite Patriarchs, though elected by bishops of their own church, have been confirmed in office by the Popes; by implication, they came to derive their Apostolic authority from the Roman See.) Subsequently, the Franciscan mission in the Holy Land (Terra Sancta), which had an important base in Beirut, was entrusted with the maintenance of Maronite relations with Rome; and, starting from 1456, the Popes began to address the heads of the Maronite Church as Patriarchs of Antioch (a title which they might have traditionally claimed). Following the Catholic Counter-Reformation, the Capuchin and Jesuit fathers were charged by the Roman see to replace the Franciscans as religious mentors to the Maronites.
In 1585, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85) established the Maronite College (Collegium Maronitarum) in Rome to train aspirants to Maronite church office in Roman Catholic orthodoxy and church discipline; and starting from 1605, graduates of this institution began to occupy the supreme church office. By the 17th century, the first major reform of the Maronite Church had been undertaken, under Jesuit sponsorship, by the Synod of Kamübiin (1596). Maronite church practice was brought closer to the Roman Catholic norm by the Synod of Luwayza (1736) (the trend has been continuing ever since). Meanwhile, the first Maronite monastic order following the Roman Catholic model has been largely Arabicised.

Starting from the early 17th century, the Maronites of the northern Lebanon entered into close political association with their Druze neighbours in the southern parts. A large-scale migration of Maronites to the Druze country followed, continuing through the 18th century to the early 19th, whereby the Maronites, in time, came to form the majority of the population of the Druze districts. Having the advantage over the Druze in numbers, and backed by the Roman Catholic European powers, especially by France, the Maronites began to entertain ambitions of dominating the whole of Mount Lebanon, thereby challenging Druze leaderships in their own home districts. Intermittent clashes between the two sides, starting from 1840, culminated in a massacre of Maronites and other Christians of the Druze regions in 1860, and other Christians of the Druze regions in 1860, and about 100,000 were left homeless.

Intermittent clashes between the two sides, starting from 1840, culminated in a massacre of Maronites and other Christians of the Druze regions in 1860, in which an estimated 15,000 were killed or died of destitution, and about 100,000 were left homeless. Intervention by the European powers, spearheaded by France, restored peace to the mountains, and in 1861, the Ottoman government was prevailed upon to grant Mount Lebanon the privileged status of a mutasarriyya administered by an Ottoman Catholic Christian mutasarrif or governor, who was appointed directly by the central government in Istanbul and assisted by a locally-elected administrative council. The decades that followed witnessed an Arabic literary revival in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, in which Maronite participation was particularly prominent.

Following the First World War, France, in 1920, was accorded the mandate over the territory of present-day Syria and Lebanon. The French thereupon expanded the territory of the Lebanese mutasarrifyya, largely in response to Maronite ambitions, to form the State of Greater Lebanon, which became the Lebanese Republic in 1926, with the Maronites politically at the helm. In Lebanon, the Presidency of the Republic, the Army Command and a number of other key positions continue to be the preserve of the Maronites.

Since the 1880s, increasing numbers of Maronites have emigrated from Lebanon to North and South America, Australia, and other parts of the world. The community in Lebanon is estimated today at one million out of a total Lebanese population of about five million, the estimate of the Maronite population outside Lebanon being at least double that number.


MASHHAD

2. History and development since 1914.

In the course of the 20th century, Mashhad has become a regional metropolis (2,155,700 inhabitants in 2004), the capital of the vast province of Khorāsān, and well integrated into the economic and public life of Iran. At the same time, it has kept its character as a goal of pilgrimage, dominated by the economic and political authority of the Astānā-yi kūds-i rāzī, the administration of the Shrine waṭf, probably the most important in the Muslim world.

In 1914, despite its religious importance, Mashhad was a marginal town in regard to the rest of the country. The population of some 70,000 was ethnically very diverse, with Azeris, Hazāras, Bukhārīs, Marwāls, Berberīs, Azerbaijani, and several thousand Jews who had been forcibly converted to Islam, called ‘Arab al-Islām (Patai). About a hundred Europeans, mostly Russians, and as many again Indian subjects of the British crown, lived near their respective consulates. Trade with Russia was twice as important as that with Tehran, since the only modern road was that connecting Mashhad with ‘Ashkābād, opened in 1892 (Bhairat, 14). Like most of the towns of Iran, it kept its traditional character for the first decades of the 20th century. The only modern street, lit by electricity since 1902, was the Bālā khvāyābād leading from the entrance of the town on the western side to the Shrine and to the modest pilgrims' bazaar, since Mashhad never had a proper bazaar and the shops, just as the 37 caravanserais housing pilgrims, were dispersed throughout the town.

Riḍā Shāh [q.v.] and the Pahlavi dynasty showed a great interest in Mashhad and the Shrine of the Imām Riḍā. The ruler personally assumed the office of mutawwāli of the Astānā-yi kūds, and members of the royal family regularly made the pilgrimage to the town, where a palace was built at Bākī Malikbābūd, trusted servants were appointed as governors of Khorāsān and executive directors of the Shrine. A new town was laid out, with rectilinear streets, houses in the Russian style with two storeys and large windows; and businesses and offices were developed to the west of the holy city, which kept its houses of sun-dried brick, its alleys and the musafir-khanās or hostels and the caravanserais for pilgrims. In 1935 Mashhad was linked with Tehran by a modern road, an aerial connection in 1928 (regular service in 1946), an oil pipeline in 1953 and a railway in 1957 (Bhairat). At the end of the 1960s, there was a fresh wave of expansion. The Ferdowsi University was opened in 1966, modern hospitals, amongst the best in Iran, were built, food and textile (carpets) industries were developed, whilst sources of natural gas at Sārākhs enabled the burgeoning city to be supplied with gas. An urban plan was successfully put into operation, since over half of the built-up area and 80% of the land available for building belonged to the Shrine. A French study centre, the SCET Iran, was given the task of making an inventory of the Shrine's properties and of modernising its administration in order to increase its revenues (Hakami, Hourcade). To the west, at Akhčā, vast hotels for students, troops and officials of the Shrine were constructed. To the east, urbanisation swallowed up the small towns of Gulghār, Sakhtimān and Turuk, but was limited by the extensive agricultural holdings of the Shrine and by military lands.

After the oil boom of 1974, Muhammad Riḍā...
MASHHAD

Šâhî [q.v.] decided to make Mashhad the most important and most modern pilgrimage centre of the Muslim world. Under the direction of the governor, M. Waliyîn, the reconstruction of the old town began in 1973 with the destruction of the bazaar, caravanserais, and traditional-type hotels near the Shrine and the avenue (falâke) which surrounded it. The only part left standing was a section of the carpet bazaar. The Bâzâr-i Rîdî, a simple, modern gallery meant for the pilgrims' purchases, was opened in 1977 near the avenue which surrounded it. The only place Mashhad as the seventh of the great sanctuaries of Islam: the riots of 1963 against the White Revolution, the transfer of the capital from Tehran to Mashhad, high-class residences) and, above all, the increased scale, making the Imam Rîdî's tomb the greatest religious architectural complex in the world, still in the course of renovation and development on a grandiose scale, making the Shrine one of the most active of the local religious leaders.

As the second city of Iran in terms of population (3.3% per annum) of the great cities of Iran, after Tehran itself. This development came very rapid after 1979 because of the influx of Afghan refugees in the northeast of the city. This new Afghan quarter evokes the traditional relations of Mashhad with the Harat region towards the northeast along the Wakfilabad Avenue (new university campus, high-class residences) and, above all, to the north, the agricultural lands towards the Kîrâân road, where mass housing and industrial zones reach as far as the ancient Tûs, where Ferdowsî's tomb is to be found. From 1956 to 1996, Mashhad has had the greatest population growth (5.3% per annum) of the great cities of Iran, after Tehran itself. This development came very rapid after 1979 because of the influx of Afghan refugees in a new quarter to the northeast of the city. This new Afghan quarter evokes the traditional relations of Mashhad with the Harat region and Central Asia, reinforced by the re-opening of the frontier with Turkmenistan in 1991 at Badjgiran and, above all, after the opening on 15 May 1996 of the new railway linking Mashhad, via Sarakhs, with the rail network of the former USSR. This opening towards the east of a town and a region long isolated from Tehran takes place, however, hand-in-hand with the strengthening of political, administrative and economic relations with the capital. The revolt of 1921 by Col. Muhammad Taqî Khân Fiswân was one of the last manifestations of former isolation. Consequently, the population of Mashhad has participated actively in the crises and the political and social debates in Iran; the riots of 1963 against the White Revolution, and active participation in the Islamic Revolution (the thinker 'Ali Şârî'î was a professor at the University of Mashhad, and Sayyid 'Ali Khânînâ'î, who in 1899 became the Spiritual Guide of the Islamic Republic, was one of the most active of the local religious leaders).

As the second city of Iran in terms of population since 1975, Mashhad, now a modern city, remains the regional capital of eastern Iran, even though the province of Khurâsân, of which it is the capital, has been since 2002 divided into three different provinces. The passage through it of over ten million pilgrims each year accentuates more than ever before the religious and economic activity of this regional metropolis, which now has the second-most important airport in Iran and the most important hotel complex (more than 25,000 beds in hotels and, above all, more than 25,000 beds in hotels and, above all, musâfîr-khânâ'î), well ahead of Isfahan.


3. The Shrine, and Mashhad as a centre of Shî'î learning and piety.

The location in Mashhad of the Shrine of the eighth Imam 'Alî al-Rîdî [q.v.] has made Mashhad into the leading place of pilgrimage within Persia, the process whereby it has been accentuated by the fact that, for some four centuries, with one break of a few decades, the Shi'i shrines of 'Irâk were in the hands of the Sunnis of Turkmen, the powerful enemies and rivals of the Safavids and their successors [see further, 'Atâbi, in Suppl.], Shi'i 'ulamâ' place Mashhad as the seventh of the great sanctuaries of the Muslim world, after Mecca, Medina, and 'Atâbi, in Suppl.], but some Shi'i 'ulamâ' would rank it next after Karbalâ' (see G.N. Curzon, Persia and the Persian question, London 1892, i, 150 n. 2).

The Haram containing the Shrine seems to be essentially the creation of the last six or seven centuries, its development receiving a powerful impetus when the Safavids turned Persia into a Shi'i state in the 10th/16th century. Previously, it had been easier for non-Muslims to visit the Shrine, since the Spanish ambassador Clavijo, in route for Timîr's court at Samarkand, was able in 1404 to visit it. Thereafter, it was not till the first half of the 19th century that the British traveller J.B. Fraser was able, by dint of a feigned conversion to Islam, to enter the Shrine in 1822 long enough to make a drawing of the courtyard there (see Fatema Soudavar Farmanfarmaian, James Baillie Fraser in Mashhad, or, the Pilgrimage of a Scotsman to the Shrine of the Imam Rîdî, in JBIPS, xxxiv [1996], 101-15). Various other European travellers followed in the later 19th century (details in Curzon, op. cit., i, 149 n. 1). But the rise of the Mashhad shrine began well before the advent of the Safavids, and especially after the sack of nearby Tûs by the Timûrid prince Miran Şâh b. Timûr in 791/1389 dealt Tûs a death-blow and brought the Sanâbîr shrine into prominence as the nucleus of the later Mashhad [see 76]. Already,
Ibn Battûta had gone on from Tûs to “the town of Maqãhâd al-Riḍâ”, which he describes as large and flourishing (Ribbi, iii, 77-8, Eng. tr. Gibb, iii, 582), and Timûrdin rulers such as Šâh Kûgh and his wife Dâjwâr Šâhîd were great benefactors in the first half of the 9th/15th century; but members of the new dynasty of the Safawîds vied with each other in enriching and enlarging the Shrine. Šâh Tâhãmîs I erected a minaret covered with gold in the northern part of the Sahn-i kûhna which, with the Sahn-i mûsâ, bounds the Shrine on its northern and eastern sides, and he adorned the dome of the tomb with sheets of gold and put a golden pillar on top of it (this was to be carried off by the Shîbânsîds when in 907/1500 they invaded Khurâsân and sacked Maqãhâd). “Abbas I laid out the main thoroughfare of the city, the Khâzîbîn, running from northwest to southeast and dividing the city into two roughly equal halves; the Shrine area divided this street into an upper (bâlû) and a lower (pâlû) part. “Abbas II devoted his attention mainly to the decoration of the Sahn-i kûhna. Saiûf I, the later Sulâymân I, restored the dome of the Imam’s tomb. But there were benefactions during these times from outside potentates also, not only from the South Indian Shîs (Kûsh-Shâhî ruler Sulûhn-Kûft Khâb al-Mulûk in 918/1512 but also by the Sunnî Mughal emperor Akbar, who made a pilgrimage to Maqãhâd in 1503/1595. Although likewise a Sunnî, Nâdîr Shâh Afgân was the greatest benefactor of the city and the Shrine in the 12th/18th century, devoting a great part of the plunder brought back from India to their embellishment. Before his accession to the throne, he had in 1142/1730 built a minaret covered with gold in the upper part of the Sahn-i kûhna as a counterpart to that of Tâhãmîs I on the north side of this. He now thoroughly restored the southern half of the Sahn, and decorated the southern gateway richly and covered it with sheets of gold, so that it acquired the historic name of “Nâdîr’s Golden Gate”; in the centre of this court he placed his famous octagonal hall built by Djawhâr Shâhî, a kind of palace enviable in a not inconsiderable revenue to the Shrine. See also AKBARA, 4, in Suppl.

As with the lands adjacent to al-Nadjaf and Karbala’, the holiness of the Shrine and its environs made it very attractive for burials, and several large cemeteries lay round it, such as the Makbâra-yi katîgâh (“killing ground cemetery”) to its north. Since there was so much demand for places—not merely from Persians but also from Shîs from the Indian subcontinent, Afgânîstân and Central Asia—the same ground had to be used over and over again for burials. The fees for such burials—graves with proximity to the Shrine itself being the most expensive—brought in a not considerable revenue to the Shrine. See also AKBARA, 4, in Suppl.

The Shrine area forms the so-called Bast, thus designated from the rights of asylum and sanctuary traditionally operating there for e.g. debtors, and for a limited period, criminals (see Curzon, op. cit., i, 155, and BAST). Nâdîr’s Golden Gateway leads southwards to the area of the Imam’s shrine itself and its ancillary buildings, what is strictly speaking the Haram-i nakaddas. The almost square shrine has the actual holiness of the Shrine and its environs prescribed fashion was entitled to call himself a Maqãhâd.

For the Shrine, its administration and development in the 20th century, see 2. above.

Bibliography. Given in the article, and see that in the EI art. Maqãhâd. (M. STRICK).
have taught whilst "perambulating" (Greek, *peripatein*) with his students. While in the Greek sources the designation is restricted to Aristotle's personal disciples, the Arab equivalent is used for the Hellenistic tradition of his philosophy in general. As a term of doxography, it occurs in the *Fıkhr* of Ibn al-Nadīm (247, 16), and in the 5th/11th century *Subh al-hikma* (from the school of Abū Sulaymān al-Sīdjistānī), where the term is explained historically. According to this, following the precept of Plato to train both body and soul, "Aristotle and Xenocrates used to teach philosophy to their pupils while walking to and fro", and so they were called the Peripatetics of the Academy (*al-mashārīqīyyūn*), similarly al-Kītīf, *Ta’rīkh al-hukmā*, 26, in a classification of the various ways to designate schools of philosophy where both Platonists and Aristotelians are subsumed under this name; and likewise in al-Shahrastānī (*Mīlāt*, 253, 296).

In the introduction to his work on the philosophy of the "Easterners" (*al-mashārīqīyyūn*), Ibn Sīnā, while acknowledging the merit of Aristotle, blames those who "are infatuated with the Peripatetics (*al-mashārīqī* and *al-Shahrastānī*) that no one else was ever guided by God" (see Gutas, *Avestana*, 45), announcing the evolution of his philosophy beyond the basis laid by Aristotle, which was henceforth called the First Teacher (*al-maṣūli al-aṭwal; see e.g. Ibn Sīnā, *al-Shīrīf* al-Ihāmiyyīd, ed. Anawati et al., 392). The term "Peripatetics" is now used in explicit delimitation or criticism of Aristotle and his commentators (such as Alexander of Aphrodisias) against Ibn Sīnā's own doctrine (see *Nāṣif al-Dīn al-Tūsī*, Ṣūrūḥ al-falāsifa wa’l-ḥukmā, Tehran 1959; 1982, ii, 416, l. 10; iii, 174, l. 5, etc.) or other schools of thought.

In the subsequent development, however, it was the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā and his extensive following which, again from another standpoint, was designated as *mashārīqīyya*. It was not his principal critic al-Ghazālī, but Ibn Rushd [*i.e.* in his *Taḥfīz al-Taḥfīz* (ed. Bouyges, 178, l. 6), who pointed out *mā ṣūrūḥ bihi Abū Ḥamid al-ʾal-mashārīqī*—using the "Peripatetics" synonymously with *al-Shahrastānī* (ibid., l. 8); and see ed. Bouyges, index, 605, § 139). Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā al-Suhrawardī, in his turn, designates Avicennan concepts and doctrines as those of the *mashārīqī* (*Opera*, ii, 13 and *passim*) in contrast to his own mystical philosophy. It is this general use of the term which appears in later doxography, blurring the difference between the Aristotelian and Platonist schools of Greek philosophy vis-à-vis the following of *iṣḥākī* mysticism [*see ISHRAK; ISHRAKIYYUN*]. In this sense, the 10th/16th century Iranian philosopher Sadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] is praised by his biographer for uniting *al-mashārīqīyya*, *al-iṣḥākīyya* and Islam (Muḥsin al-ʾArūnī, *Ašafr al-Shīrīf*, Damascus and Beirut 1953-63, ix, 325).


**MAṬAR, ILYĀS DĪN** (1857-1910), Syro-Lebanese historian, medical doctor, pharmacist, lawyer and teacher. He was born into an Arab Orthodox middle-class family in the town of Ḥāshābīyya, in present-day south Lebanon. The Druze-Maronite civil war, which erupted in 1860 and spread from Mount Lebanon to other parts of Syria, forced his family to move to the safety of the city of Beirut. His father, who was a prosperous merchant and a local notable of his community, managed to escape what became known as "The massacre of Ḥāshābīyya" under the protection of the prominent Druze leader, Saʿīd Dājunbūlat.

Ilīyās Maṭar received his primary education at his confession's school, Les Trois Docteurs. He then entered the Catholic Patriarchal School, where he learned Arabic, French, Greek and other subjects. His studies widened in scope when he enrolled at the newly-established Syrian Protestant College (*SPC*), later renamed the American University in Beirut. There he studied chemistry, botany and pharmacy. During those formative years he was taught by a number of competent teachers, whose names were to become associated with the emergence of "the modern Arab renaissance" [*see NAHDA*] in the 19th century. These included Salīm Taqīd (1849-92), founder of the celebrated Egyptian newspaper *al-ʾAbrīm*; Nāṣif al-ʾAzīzīdī (1800-71), the accomplished Arabic scholar; and his fellow-townsmen Fāris Nimr (1856-1952 [*q.v.*]) who taught Maṭar chemistry.

It seems that it was upon Nimr's suggestion that Maṭar decided to write a general history of his country, Syria. This was published in 1874 under the title, *al-ʾUkšūd al-durūmiyya fī taʾrīkh al-mamlaka al-ʾṣūrīyya*. It constituted the first historical work written on Syria as a well-defined entity by a native Arab historian. Its importance lies in the manner it deals with Maṭar's country as one single cultural and territorial unit. Thus Syria ceases to be a collection of Ottoman administrative units, and becomes a fatherland (*watan*) extending from the Taurus mountains in the north and the Sinai Peninsula in the south, and from the Euphrates in the east and the Mediterranean in the west. This fatherland is then shown to be endowed with an Arab national identity and an inherent capacity to acquire the new achievements of European civilisation. However, Syrian patriotism figures in this respect as an integral part of the wider movement of Ottomanism.

Maṭar's book is dedicated to the well-known Ottoman historian and archaeologist Nasr al-Dīn al-Ḥukhūk (*Taʾrikh al-mamluks al-ṣūrīyya*, ed. al-Ḥukhūk’s pupil, Saʿīd Dājunbūlat), whom he met during his visit to Istanbul in 1874. This visit was undertaken in order to obtain his degree in pharmacy and secure the authorisation of the Ottoman Ministry of Education to publish his history. After this date, Maṭar became *Djēwdet*’s protégé, acting as his son’s tutor, assistant and adviser. It was also upon *Djēwdet’s* encouragement that Maṭar qualified as a medical doctor and became a practising lawyer. He taught both medicine and law in Istanbul, while co-editing at the same time a legal journal, *al-Ḥukūk*.

Maṭar is credited with the authorship of over thirty books, both in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish. Apart from his pioneering historical text, his output includes works on a wide variety of subjects, such as jurisprudence, public health and education.

Owing to his affliction with a fatal disease, he returned to Beirut in 1909. He died the following year (March 1910) and was buried in his family’s cemetery. (YOUSSEF M. CHOUEIRI) **MAṬARAM**, the name of a area in central Java where two kingdoms have developed.
The first kingdom bearing this name was founded by Sanjaya, who is recorded to have erected a linga in "Kunjarakunya". The inscription commemorating this event, written in Sanskrit in A.D. 792, was found in the Mataram capital of Madura where he founded the Kota Gedhe, later its capital, and his successor Daksa (910-19?) is credited with the erection of the monumental Lara Djonggrang complex near Prambanan, consisting of 190 temples, the main one being dedicated to Shiva. King Sindok (929-47), however, moved the capital to the upper valley of the Brantas river in east Java, thus founding a new dynasty and ending the history of this first kingdom of Mataram.

2. The Islamic kingdom of Mataram was founded by the Panembahan Senopati Ingala (d. 1601). His father, Kyai Gedhe Pamanahan, is famed for his killing Arya Penanggung of Janggung, the powerful and frightening enemy of Adityavija (Jaka Tingkhir), ruler of the second Islamic (Sih) kingdom of Java, Pajang (r. 1549-87). As a reward, he was given the central area of the ancient kingdom of Mataram where he founded the Kota Gedhe, later under his son to become the capital. After his death in 1584, his son was awarded the title of Senopati ("general") by the king, but Senopati soon fought against Demak and other principalities and eventually attacked the king's troops. After the king's death, he rejected Pajang's supremacy, and he added to his magic powers through meditation and asceticism and a visit to the divine Queen of the Southern Sea, Nyai Lara Kidul, thus undermining the central cosmic position of his capital—and himself as ruler—between the volcano Mount Merapi to the north and the Sea in the south. With the support of two from among the "nine holy men" (wali songo) who are said to have brought Islam to the interior of Java, Sunan Giri and Sunan Kali Jaga, he made Islam the religion of his kingdom, which by now included most of the interior of central and east Java, but not the important sea ports on the north coast, from Surabaya in the east to Cirebon (Cheribon) and Banten in the west. Senopati's grandson Agung (r. 1613-46), the greatest ruler and warrior king of the dynasty, which now, according to the panegyric chronicle of Mataram Bhadad Taniha Jasa, claimed divine descent from the ruling family of Majapahit, the last Hindu kingdom in Java (until 1527), took the title of susuhunan in 1524, and in 1641 the title of sultan was added, legitimised by a special delegation from Mecca. He succeeded in subduing the northern seaports; even Surabaya surrendered in 1626, while its dependency Sukadana in southwestern Kalimantan had already been captured earlier. Even Palembang [q.v.] was captured after 1636.

Thus Mataram developed as a maritime power as well. An attack on Batavia, then the stronghold of the Dutch Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) ended with a defeat. On his death, the island of Java was divided between the remnants of Batavia and that of Banten, to the west of Batavia, refused to acknowledge Mataram's suzerainty. His wars had entailed an enormous loss of human lives and destruction of agriculture. Court literature, however, developed and presented a combination of Sufi tradition and traditional Javanesse cosmological mythology. His successor, his son Susuhunan Amengku Rat I (r. 1646-77) turned away from professing Islam, starting his increasingly tyrannical reign of continuous warfare and killing with the murder of about 6,000 Islamic teachers together with their families. Rebellions flared up, the biggest one led by Raden Trunajaya (1649-80) from Madura, who was also supported by many religious (Islamic) teachers who encouraged him to fight against the cruel king and his ally, the "Christian" VOC. The popular hope for the imminent arrival of a Messianic ratu adil ("just king") spread widely. The susuhunan's son Amengku Rat II (r. 1677-1703) defeated his father's enemies and personally stoned Trunajaya to death, but his reign in turn was marked by continued warfare, the loss of large parts of the kingdom, and continous court intrigues weakened the position of the susuhunan continuously. The court, which in 1746 had been moved to the new capital Surakarta [q.v.], rose again in rebellion when the susuhunan agreed in a unilateral decision to the demand of the VOC to cede the ports on the north coast to Dutch administration. Thus began the Third Javanesian War of Succession (1746-57), led by the rebellious brother of Pangeran Pakubuwana II, Pangeran Mangkubumi, who, in his headquarters in Jogya, was declared Susuhunan Pakubuwana in 1749 (r. 1749-92); in 1755 he adopted the title Sultan—"for the first time after Sultan Agung—Hamengkubuwana I (r. 1746) which has been maintained until the present Sultan Hamengkubuwana X (since 1986), and made Jogjakarta [q.v. in Suppl.] his capital. Before his death, Pakubuwana II, however, had transferred sovereignty over his kingdom to the VOC, who agreed that the crown prince should become Pakubuwana III (r. 1749-88). This initiated the partition of Mataram into two major principalities, Surakarta and Jogjakarta.

The last major rebel in the court of Surakarta,
Pakubuwana III's cousin Mas Said, surrendered in 1757, and henceforth ruled, as Pangeran Adipati Mangkunegara I (r. 1757-95), over an area taken from Surakarta and inhabited by 4,000 households. During the temporary British occupation of the Dutch possessions (1811-16), the brother of Pakubuwana III (r. 1810-11; 1812-14), Natakurama, was rewarded by the British with an appanage of 4,000 households and the title Pakuan Pakualam I (r. 1813-29), playing now a similar role in Yogyakarta territory as the Mangkunegara in Surakarta territory.

Ever-increasing colonial exploitation caused a general social and economic decline, and general unrest was growing. Hamengkubuwana's eldest son, Pangeran Dipanegara (1708-1855), avoiding the court and studying Islamic textbooks and Javanese wisdom with Islamic teachers, associated himself more and more with popular discontent, until finally the last great war in colonial times in Java, the Java War (1825-30), broke out. At its end, half of the population of Yogyakarta had died, and Dipanegara was exiled, first to Menado and then to Makassar.

From the two major and two minor principalities in the territory of Mataram, only the sultanate of Yogyakarta in the heartland of Mataram could maintain some limited degree of self-government, due to the merits of the late Sultan Hamengkubuwana IX (r. 1939-86) during the early years of independent Indonesia and his co-operation with the Pakuamen VIII in modernising the administration of his territory, which is acknowledged in the Republic as the Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta ("special district of Yogyakarta"), Sultan Hamengkubuwana X (1986-90) being again its governor (since 1999).


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6. EARLY ARABIC PRESSES IN THE NETHERLANDS AND ENGLAND

The principal centre of Arabic printing in Protestant Europe was originally Leiden, where the scholar-printer Franciscus Raphelengius cut an Arabic fount and printed specimens in his Specimen characterum Araborum officinarum Plantiniana Raphelengii (1595). The characters were modelled on the Medicean fount but were of inferior elegance. After being used for the posthumous printing of his Arabic-Latin lexicon (1613) and other works, the Raphelengian equipment was bought by the pioneer English Arabist William Bedwell (1563-1632), who left it to the University of Cambridge, intending that it should be used to print his own Arabic-Latin lexicon. His wishes remained unfulfilled, and no use seems to have been made of the fount since the earliest extant Arabic printing at Cambridge (1668) differs from the Raphelengian type. In the meantime, the great Arabist Thomas van Erpe (Erpenius), Professor of Arabic at Leiden (1612-24), had established his own press there, from which he published his own works. The Medicean Press again provided the model for the typeface. About this time oriental (and specifically Arabic) studies were encouraged at Oxford by Archbishop William Laud as chancellor of the university (1630-41). Laud established the chair of Arabic for Edward Pococke in 1636, and in the following year his agent bought printing equipment for Arabic and other oriental types from stock in Leiden. This provided the fount for inter alia Pococke's Specimen historiae Arabum (1648, 1650), and it continued to be used into the eighteenth century. A third Arabic fount was that used in London for the printing of the Polyglot Bible of 1655-57 and its great supplementary work, the Lexicon Hebrepotamicum; this was modelled on the Medicean fount at Cambridge. Unlike the Raphelengian and Oxford founs, this was modelled on the characters of the Savarian Press, which had been set up by Savary de Brèves, the French ambassador at Rome (1608-14), when the Medicean Press there went out of production. Savary brought the press back to France, where it was acquired by the Imprimerie Royale and used in the production of the Parisian Polyglot (1645).


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The Persian word for kitchen, اشگاهخانه, was not in general used before the 19th century, though the terms اش "soup" and اشغ "cook" do occur in earlier texts. Before the Kâdîr period, the Arabic اشگبخک was the common term for kitchen (Elahi, 790-91, with various types of yoghurt and کشک) and other dairy products, and ways of preparing meat, all point to Central Asian origins. Conversely, olives and olive oil, so abundant in the Mediterranean and Ottoman Turkish cuisine, are virtually absent in Persian cooking (except in the Caspian province); Persians traditionally cooked with animal fat (except for Jews, who used sesame oil). The important place of rice in Persian cooking similarly suggests Asian origins, in this case Southeast Asia and India (Bazin and Bromberger, 148; Fragner 1994a, 54-5).

Legend ascribes the art of cooking to Ahiram (the Zoroastrian spirit of evil) who is said to have taught
a mythical King Zahāḵ to prepare the flesh of animals (Firdawsi, Shāh-nāma, 1988, i, 48-51, cited in Ghanoomparvar, 191). It is mainly Greek texts that offer some information on royal banquets, but otherwise we know little about food and ways of preparing it during the Sasanid period, because borrowings from Lydia and Assyria seem plausible (Schmitt; Gunter, 13-21). The situation for the Sasanid period is a little better, with information and recipes being available on the high cuisine of the court, including ingredients such as various types of hot and cold meat, stuffed vine leaves and sweet date puree (Amuzgar; Gunter, 44). The first five centuries of Islamic rule are again rather poorly documented. The available information, mostly from Muslim travellers and the occasional literary source, points to a heavy reliance on bread and cereals, an important role for (roasted) meat, including game, especially for nomads and soldiers, and the use of condiments such as pickled vegetables (turshī), sour grapes (ghūrā), dried lemons and walnuts, which would remain essential to Persian cooking (Kasāʾī). It is only in the Mongol period that the current Persian cuisine became heavily influenced by Eastern traditions and took its current shape. Ragḥīd al-Dīn, who first entered Mongol employ as a head cook in the household of the khán and who later employed a Chinese cook in his own household, may have been instrumental in the transmission of Chinese cuisine to Iran (Allen, 73-4).

The first period for which we have abundant information on eating and cooking practices is that of the Safawids. European observers were struck at the frugality of eating habits. Chardin, iv, 28-9, 47, was among those who noted how Persians skipped breakfast except for a cup of coffee and only ate two proper meals a day. Food was cooked in earthenware or copper pots coated with tin (Olearius, 595). In areas where wood was scarce, such as the central plateau, cooked food was eaten at most only once a day, in the late afternoon, and instead of cooking, people in urban areas would get their pilaw and the main ingredients on which food was consumed (Olearius, 596). Meat included mutton and goat. Chicken and pigeon were also part of the menu of those who could afford it. Beef was rarely eaten. Chardin's observation, iv, 48-9, that beef, tough and dry, was only eaten by the poor in winter is echoed for the 19th century by Polak, i, 112, and Wills, 299. Even today, Persians do not favour beef, except those living in the Caspian provinces (Bromberger, 1994, 191). Nor did game enjoy much popular appeal in Safawid times, despite the enthusiasm for hunting on the part of the elite, in part because of the difficulty of abiding by the Islamic law of hunting of the poor on a regular basis. Its use was associated with certain groups, such as the hajj, who loved it as well as dark meat and fish. Turkey flesh seems to have caught on very slowly after its introduction from Europe into the New World via Europe (Tavernier, i, 712). Olearius, 596, claimed in the 1630s that turkey was not among the birds eaten, though under Shāh 'Abbas I a Venetian merchant had once brought a few to Isfahān. A generation later, Tavernier wrote that the Armenians had brought turkeys and ways of raising them to Persia, adding that the meat was only for the court (i, 712). Some sources claim that horseflesh was the most esteemed type of meat (Chronicle, i, 155). The prediction that Persians did not eat horseflesh at the court of Tūmīr (Clavijo, 106, 224) and the fact that the Māḥmūd-nāma-i Būkāhī, 318, calls it the most delicious meat, point to a Central Asian origin of the taste. Polak, i, 115, suggested regional variation by saying that Persians did not eat horseflesh with the exception of the people from Shīrāz and the Ozbek, who considered it a delicacy. Fish, not an ingredient of the nomadic diet, was naturally more confined to the Caspian coast and the Persian Gulf littoral, though trout from the Caspian region was also served at royal banquets (Tavernier, i, 545).

The information that has come to us from Safawid times mostly concerns the food of the rich and eating practices at the royal court, as described by Western visitors who enjoyed the hospitality of the shāh and administrative officials. They offer information on the royal kitchen as well as on the types of food consumed at the court.

The royal kitchen prepared food only once a day for the royal household but twice a day for the shāh himself and his direct entourage. The daily food outlay for the shāh amounted to two sheep, four lambs, and thirty chickens for his midday meal and half as much for his supper, not counting small poultry, game and fish (Chardin, v, 350-1).

The royal kitchen was supervised by the tāzmān-būdshī, an official who was subordinate to the nāẓūr al-haydūdī, the steward of the royal household. The tāzmān-būdshī was responsible for the quantity and quality of the meat served at the court, preceded the procession of the meat dishes all the way from the kitchen to the royal quarters, and also acted as the royal taster (the mihār "chamberlain" would taste all royal food a second time) (Minorsky, 137; Olearius, 672; Richard, ii, 15, 274; Chardin, v, 349-50, 378; Kaeppelin, 279-80). Another important official was the saḥraūr-būdshī, who was in charge of arranging the floor cloth (sūbrū) on which food was consumed (Olearius, 672; Richard, ii, 15, 274; Chardin, v, 351). Other officials working in the royal food and drink department were the kasāʾī-būdshī or sulākāshī-būdshī "the butcher", the hasūqūr-būdshī, who supervised the poultry yard and the scullery, the sabzī-būdshī, who was responsible for green salads, the turgāšī-būdshī, who supervised the preparation of pickled vegetables, the halwātī-būdshī, or confectioner, the shahrāštī-būdshī, or supervisor of the sherbets and syrups, the ābdār-būdshī, who was in charge of drinks, and the kāhūštī-būdshī, who headed up the shahāštūr's official bakery (Allsen, 1991, 406-11; Minorsky, 67, 94, 97, 98; Chardin, v, 352-53).

Meat was often eaten in the form of kababs, which Fryer, iii, 146, described as "roastmeat on skewers, cut in little round pieces no bigger than a sixpence, and ginger and garlic put between each". The same author, i, 147, notes that it was most often made into a pilaw, "their standing dish".

Rice had become an important ingredient in elite cookery after the Mongol domination of the country, gradually edging out pasta and groats (bulghūr) (Frager 1987, 789). Though it is not clear whether rice was grown in Persia before the advent of Islam, it has been part of the Persian diet since Sasanid times (Balland and Bromberger, 184; Bazargan, 161). At least since early Safawid times, Persians have eaten rice in various ways, either as chawāl or as pilaw. Unlike the situation in parts of China and India, where rice is a staple and a basic nutrient, in Persia rice has always been a prestige food and a luxury item not eaten by the poor on a regular basis. Its preparation has always been time-consuming. Cooking is the same, involving a laborious process of soaking and steaming, resulting
in rice that does not stick together, but the main
difference is that chilaw consists of rice and clarified
butter and sumac, which, served with kabab, a raw
onion or herbs, has become in modern times a
favourite restaurant meal. Pilaw, on the other hand,
is rice mixed with a variety of ingredients (for cook-
ing and types of pilaws, see Ballard and Bromberger,
154; and Bazargan, 161). Fryer, iii, 147, describes
the making of pilaw as follows: "To make pullow, the
meat is first boiled to rags, and the broth or liquor
being strained, it is left to drain, while they boil the
rice in the same; which being tender, and the aque-
ous parts evaporating, the juice and gravy incorpo-
rates with the rice, which is boiled almost dry; then
they put the meat again with spice, and at last as
much butter as is necessary, so that it becomes not
too greasy or offensive, either to the sight or taste;
and it is then boiled enough when it is fit to be
made into goblets, not slably, but each corn of rice
is swelled and filled, not burst into pulp." Rice with
lamb was the most common form of pilaw, but it
was also prepared in numerous other ways, with
spinach or cabbage, with roasted or boiled meat, with
almonds and raisins, with onion and garlic, and it
was served in various colours, depending on the con-
diment, which could be currant, pomegranate or
saffron (Olereius, 595-6; Kaempfer, 278). Chardin,
iii, 185-6, noted five or six different pilaws during a
meal served by Shâh Sulaymân for a Russian envoy,
with garlic crust, lamb, chicken, eggs stuffed with
meat, and with fish. He also gave more than twenty
as the total number of pilaw varieties (iv, 54). Twenty-
five kinds of pilaw are mentioned in a Persian source
from the Safavid period (Jâhânbîyan, 371; see Afsâh,
1378, 98).
Then as now, meals were consumed synchronically;
unlike French cuisine, there was no time sequence to
the order of the eating food and courses are not
divided (Spoonier, 253; Chehabi, 47). Kaempfer, 278,
describing a royal banquet, noted, however, that con-
fection and sweetmeats tended to precede the main
course (see also Lettres dîflantes et curieuses, 115). All
Europeans commented on the silence observed during
meals, their short duration, and the fact that nothing
was drunk until afterwards. They also noted that no
silverware was used, except for a large wooden spoon
that was used for eating soup and drinking the vari-
ous juices that were served as part of the meal (Della
Valle, i, 641; Olereius, 596; Kaempfer, 281; Lettres
dîflantes et curieuses, 119). While ordinary Persians ate
from porcelain or earthenware, at the court gold dishes
were abundantly used as well (Herbert, 262; Kaempfer,
262; Kroebl, 30). Kaempfer, 153, estimated the total
value of the royal dishware at 10 million gold ducats. Afgâr
and turghi (pickled vegetables) served as condi-
ments (Kaempfer, 278). Kaempfer, 262, describes the
desserts served on the occasion of an audience: can-
died fruit, fresh fruit, various kinds of cake and sweet-
meats. Jam, murabbcf, was very popular and came in
many varieties (Afgâr 1991, 417). Sugar was used
in great quantities in the ubiquitous confectionery.
According to De Bruyn, the Dutch East India Com-
pany annually brought 12,000 packs at 150 pounds
each to Isfâhân (De Bruyn, 178).
Common people ordinarily consumed bread, veg-
etables and fruit. Bread has always been the staple
for the overwhelming majority of the population, and
its central role in the diet is reflected in popular
expressions and folklore (Kastî, 112). The Caspian
region, where bread has been spurned as unhealthy
until modern times, is an exception (Orosei, 171).
Types of bread used in Safavid times were remark-
ably similar to the ones eaten today; such as bawârz, a
thin unleavened bread that doubled as a spoon and
a napkin, and sangâl, long bread baked on pebbles
(Chardin, iv, 50). Olereius 596, however noted that dates
were preserved in syrup mixed with buttermilk was
seen as a precious food. He called the cheese dry,
blue and hard, as being worst on the Gulf coast and
best in Mazandaran (Herbert, 260, 262). Butter came
from the tails of sheep. Nothing like restaurants existed.
However, given the prohibitive cost of burning wood,
many people ate at the ubiquitous public food stalls,
dukkân-i tabbâkhâ, where simple hot rice dishes were
prepared (Iskandar Beg Munjî, 188; Chardin, iv, 57).
Persia had since early medieval times been a cross-
roads for vegetables and fruits, serving as a source of
diffusion or an east-west conduit for such plants and
crops as sugar cane, lemons and sour oranges, spinach
and eggplant (Watson, 26, 44-5, 62, 71). In the Safavid
period, the movement was generally in the opposite
direction. Europeans introduced parsley, asparagus,
artichokes and cauliflowers into Persia, and these
were cultivated in the vegetable gardens of Shâhrukh
and Isfâhân (Ange de St. Joseph, 102-3; Tavernier,
i, 422).
The first cookbooks—as opposed to texts in which
food is described for its medicinal use—also date back
to the Safavid period (see Afsâh 1360). Of the two
that have come down to us, one, called Kârnâmâ dar
bâb-i tabbâkhâ va saântâ an, dates from the time of
Shâh Ismâ’il I (early 16th century) and was written as
a gift to a nobleman. The second, Maddât al-khâtûs,
Risâla dar tâm-i tabbâkhâ, was probably written for Shâh
Abbâs by his chief cook, Ñur Allâh, who may have
been a descendant of Muhammad ‘Ali Bawarcî, and
was perhaps even commissioned by the ruler. It is
likely that both were composed for colleagues in the
profession rather than as collections of recipes to serve
as guidelines for the cooking of common people
(Fragner 1984, 329; German tr. of the pilaw dishes
in Nur Allah’s Maddât al- khâtûs, in ibd., 943-60). For
the Kâdiri period, we have the informative Safâr-i
atfûma, a compendium of cooking and eating practices
written for Nâsur al-Dîn Shâh’s personal physician,
the Frenchman Tholozan, by the royal cook.
The menu in Kâdirî times does not seem to have
differed greatly from that in the Safavid period. Persian
sources as well as foreign observers still note the bread
and the cheese, the chilaw and pilaw, the âgh and
the ah-i gushî, the various legumes, such as beans,
cucumbers, aubergines (egg plant), in addition to car-
rots, turnips, radishes and cabbages, as well as condi-
ments in the form of turghi, and the prodigious quanta-
ties of fruit (Wills, 170-1; Nâdir Mirzâ, 307-10,
and see the references to food in Bâsf al-Mulk,
Rznâmâ, intro. by Afsâh, pp. XL-LII). Confectionery,
too, continued to be an indispensable part of the
Persian diet (Wilson, 249-56). A new feature was that
food items originating in the New World, such as
tomatoes and potatoes, began to make modest inroads
into the country’s kitchens. Potatoes, which were appar-
ently introduced into Persia in the 18th century, were
long called âgh-i Malûm “plums of Malcolm”, after
the British envoy Sir John Malcolm, who is commonly
but probably erroneously thought to have brought
potatoes to Persia (Par-i Dâwîd, Hamaizd-nâmâ, 176;
Binning, ii, 87-8). Though potatoes were cultivated in
Persia, Muslim Persians in the early 19th century did
not particularly care for them, and they mostly served
the Armenian population and European residents

Rich and poor naturally continued to eat differently both with regard to table manners as to ingredients. Beginning with the court, members of the elite began to adopt western cutlery in the late Kâdgâr period, and the habit of sitting at the table in arm chairs was introduced in the early 20th century as well (Chehabî, 55-6). The rich used imported sugar while the poor made do with syrup and honey (Polak, ii, 154). The rich consumed different kinds of pilaw and khrîsh, stews, with lamb meat, fowl or fish. The muddling classes did not ordinarily eat pilaw and khrîsh only once or twice a week, but mostly had to satisfy themselves with abî-î gûst (a stew on the basis of mutton stock, which seems to have become the staple of the poor in the course of the 19th century; see Elb art. Ab-gûst). The poor ate mostly bread (and in times of scarcity, even acorn bread; A. Wilson, 63). Cheese and fruit, could afford abî-î gûst only occasionally, and in the winter months rarely were in a position to eat any meat. They served pilaw and khrîsh only during holidays and festivals. All ate large quantities of fruit, which was cheap (Darâbî, 247-8; Polak, i, 121; Kucânî, 18; Mustawfî, i, 284). Fish was a staple in the Caspian provinces, and dried salted fish was also consumed inland. Fresh-water fish was little esteemed. On the Persian Gulf coast, prawn, artichokes and salmon or river fish were prepared on a regular basis (Khosrowkhavar, 149-52), yet the peasants and the urban poor in the arid and semi-arid interior, while rice is consumed by every-
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The legendary city of Qom, in St. Ir., ii (1975), 243-53; Bromberger, ‘Identité alimentaire et alterité culturelle dans le nord de l’Iran’, in Iran: des pretensions imperiales a la culture de la cuisine’, in A. C. Gunter, ed. Afshar, 2 vols., Tehran 1350/1971; Fītimad al-Saltana, Cihil ... beneath it and a round black turban, girt with the golden Arab sword, and mounted on the royal steed (faras).

Then he returned and entered Cairo by Bab al-Nasr. (mawkib ḥd’il).

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IN THE MAMLUK SULTANATE

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In the early Mamluk sultanate, maweek designates specifically the royal ride which formed an item in the sultan’s installation ceremonies. The term is explicitly used by Ibn Taghribirdi (Naṣīf, vii, 41) on the accession of al-Mansūr ‘Abī b. Aybak: “He rode on Thursday, 2 Rabi’ II [655/19 April 1257] with the insignia of the sultanate from the Citadel to Kubbat al-Naṣr in an awec-inspiring procession (mawkeb ḥd’il). Then he returned and entered Cairo by Bāb al-Naṣr. The amirs dismounted and marched before him. ... Then al-Mansūr went up to the Citadel and took his seat in the palace of the sultanate.” On the insignia of the sultanate in the Citadel to the throne-room, as described by al-Kalkashandf, see al-Kalkashandf, (izl al-Dīn al-Hillf, Amīr ibn al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad b. Kalawun) up to Bab al-Naṣr. They entered Cairo, with which had been magnificently decorated, on foot bearing the ghādghiyya. The amirs busied themselves with the raising of the [royal] parasols (?). He passed through the city with his amirs, riding at his side. Robes of satin, watered silk and gold were spread before him until he returned to his Citadel (al-Raʿī al-zāhir, ed. Khūwāyirī, 204). After the time of al-Naṣir Muhammad b. Kālūwān in 693/1294 (cf. Naṣīf, vii, 47). Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir gives an interesting account of the royal ride of al-Saʿīd Baraka Kāhān, when appointed joint sultan with his father, al-Zāhir Baybars, on 13 Shawwāl 662/8 August 1264: “He [Baybars] caused his son, al-Malik al-Saʿīd, to ride with him. ... and the sultan reattends at his ghādshiya. The amirs dismounted and marched before him. ... Then al-Mansūr went up to the Citadel and took his seat in the palace of the sultanate.” On the insignia of the sultanate from the Citadel to the throne-room, as described by al-Kalkashandf, see al-Kalkashandf, Subh, iv, 6-9. Similar accounts in more or less detail, and not always using the term mawkeb, are given in connection with the accession of several sultans down to al-Naṣir Muhammad b. Kālūwān in 693/1294 (cf. Naṣīf, vii, 47). Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir gives an interesting account of the royal ride of al-Saʿīd Baraka Kāhan, when appointed joint sultan with his father, al-Zāhir Baybars, on 13 Shawwal 662/8 August 1264: “He [Baybars] caused his son, al-Malik al-Saʿīd, to ride with him. ... and the sultan re-...
A cookshop at the turn of the 20th century. Source: Kāshḵūl (Tehran), 1st year, no. 31, p. 2, Saturday, 13 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1325/18 January 1908
MAWAKIB — MAWLID

al-nawbd). He would proceed with the amirs in front and the ghadiiya before him, while the qawwas chanting and the royal flutes played, surrounded by the halberdiers, until he had crossed from Bab al-Nasir Muhammad in 742/1342:

"The sultan held another court (mawkib al-a£im) and bestowed robes on all the amirs, ... in a great procession (mawkib 'azim) with those amirs who were in his company."

The term mawkib was also used for other state appearances of the sultan in which there was a procession, such as his attendance at congregational prayer on Fridays and the two Feasts, at polo in al-Maydân al-Akbar, at the cutting of the dam, and on royal progresses. Al-Kalkashandi (Subh, iv, 46-9) does not use the term consistently on each of these occasions, but it appears to apply to all of them. Uniquely Egyptian were the proceedings at the cutting of the dam at the height of the Nile-flood in Cairo. The sultan, when notified by the master of the Nilometer [see nûks] that the flood was at its height, rode at once in modest state (without full insignia and with a reduced escort) to the Nilometer, where he held a banquet for the amirs and Mamluks. A vessel of sal-iron was given to the master of the Nilometer, who swam across the well and perfumed the column and then the sides of the well. The sultan’s barge was brought alongside, and the sultan swam in the river, surrounded by the barges of the amirs. Followed by the boats of the spectators, the amirs’ barges and the sultan’s great barge entered the mouth of the canal of Cairo, with the craft manoeuvring and cannons firing. The sultan sailed in his small barge to the dam, which was cut in his presence, and he then rode back to the Citadel.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P.M. Holt)

MAWKIF (A.), a term of Sûfi mysticism, referring to the intermediate moment between two "spiritual stations" (mâdâm), represented as a halting (awkâf) and described as a state of supor and of the loss of reference points acquired since the preceding stage. The mawkif is a dynamic psychological state, in which the connection between the mystic and God becomes overturned, and sometimes suspended (annihilation in God, the so-called fana [see BAKA' WA-RAX]). The best example of the course of such an experience is given in the work of al-Niffârî (d. ca. 566/976-7 [q.v.]), his K. al-Mawâkif wa l-maâhkabât, ed. and Eng. tr. A.J. Arberry, London 1955, Fr. tr. M. Kâîbal, Le Livre des stations, Paris 1989; see also P. Nwyia, Textes inédits de Niffârî, in Trois ouvrages inédits de mystiques musulmans, Beirut 1973; idem, Exégèse coranique et langage mystique, Beirut 1970, 348-407. The term continued to be employed in classical Sûfism (e.g. by Ibn al-'Arabî, Fûtâhî, Cairo 1329/1911, 392-3, who refers explicitly to al-Niffârî).

MAWLID

3. In the Maghrib.

Unlike the use of the term mawlid in other regions, e.g. in Egypt and the Sudan, where it also includes the celebration of the birthdays of various saints (see 1., in Vol. VI, 895), in the Maghrib the term mawlid is restricted to the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad.

In this part of the world, alongside the 'id al-fitr and the 'id al-’adhâ [q.v.], the mawlid is among the most important festivals of the year.

The oldest known mawlid celebrations in the Maghrib were held in the court of al-Nasir Ahmad b. al-Nasir Muhammad in 742/1342: this festival was introduced into this city by an 'ulamâ named Abu l-Abbâs al-’Azafi (d. 633/1236 [q.v.]) in order to call a halt to the participation of the people in Christian festivals and to strengthen the Muslim identity of Sabta in a period of Christian successes during the Reconquest, both at land and at sea.

After his son Abu l-Kâsim al-’Azafi had seized power in Sabta in 647/1250, he officially introduced the mawlid and propagated the festival throughout the rest of the Maghrib. Through this celebration of the mawlid, Abu l-Kâsim al-’Azafi was able to display his religious enthusiasm, and as the result of his largesse during the festivities he increased his popularity with the people. Moreover, during the mawlid celebration the hierarchical relationships among the various groups within the realm were confirmed and the loyalty to the ruler expressed in specially-composed songs.

Since then, in a similar way the celebration of the mawlid has always played a role at an official level in legitimising the power of various dynasties which have ruled over parts of the Maghrib: the Hafsids (Eastern Maghrib); the ‘Abd al-Wadîds (Central Maghrib); and the Marinids, the Wattâsids, the Sa’dids and the ‘Alâwîs (Morocco) [q.v.]. Today, the celebration of the mawlid plays a role in the consolidation of the power of the ‘Alawid king of Morocco, who traces his descent, together with the concomitant prestige, to the Prophet Muhammad himself.

In addition to the state-sponsored celebrations at the courts and elsewhere, the mawlid has always been and still is immensely popular among the people, not only among the Arabised sections of the population but also among the Berbers. The way in which the popular mawlid is celebrated displays an enormous variety, both in duration and in ritual, changing from one place to the other. Common elements in all celebrations are the taking of a holiday, the cheerful atmosphere, illuminated parades on the eve of the mawlid, festive meals, sweets, special dresses, the exchange of gifts, music, dance and, under the influence of Sûfi brotherhoods, visits to shrines of saints and singing of mystical chants.

At times, these popular celebrations have given, and still give, rise to protests by the ‘ulamâ', who do not consider these permissible from the point of view of the religious law because of the nature of the activities which take place during the celebrations, many of which are regarded as unlawful. The oldest discussions about this originate from the time of Abu l-Abbâs al-’Azafi, but the debate reappears with regular intervals. In the first decades of the 20th century, under the influence of Salâfi ideas from Egypt [see SALAF, 1], there were various attempts to exclude certain practices from the mawlid celebration. In very recent times, inspired by Wahhâbi ideas, the mawlid has again come under severe criticism. Despite these protests against the celebration of the festival, as a major manifestation of popular religion, the mawlid is as vital as ever.


**MAWSÛ'A.**

3. In Turkish.

The fascination which the Ottomans entertained for compendia of facts and the ordering of knowledge can be traced to their origins outside Anatolia. Although not strictly speaking an encyclopaedic work, the *Diwan baghîr al-turk* written by Mahmûd al-Kâshgîrî in the second half of the 5th/11th century and providing a dictionary in Arabic or early Turkish, partakes also of the nature of a thesaurus, with information on the early Turks, including their onomastic, their folklore, proverbs, poetry, etc. [see *AL-KÂSHGÎRÎ*.]

As one would expect, the earliest examples of encyclopaedias in the Ottoman world were written in Arabic. It is clear that these types of encyclopaedic reference works appeared for the first time this period. Rûkûn al-Dîn Ahmed made a translation of al-Kâzîmînî's *Aqîdî 'l-makbîkât* from Arabic into Turkish and presented it to the Sultan. It is most likely that the concept of the earth as an orb was introduced into Turkish scientific literature through the work of translating encyclopaedic works from Arabic into Turkish, this being an important step in the development of reference tools for the use of Ottoman scholars.

As early as the reign of Mehmed I (816-24/1413-21), the first translations of encyclopaedic works appeared. For example, this period, Rûkûn al-Dîn Ahmed made a translation of al-Kâzîmînî's *Aqîdî 'l-makbîkât* from Arabic into Turkish and presented it to the Sultan. It is most likely that the concept of the earth as an orb was introduced into Turkish scientific literature through the work of translating encyclopaedic works from Arabic into Turkish, this being an important step in the development of reference tools for the use of Ottoman scholars.

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The first original encyclopaedic works in the Ottoman empire can be dated to the 9th/15th century. There are also compilations of this work prepared in the same format. Another distinguished example of the bibliographic compendium is *Hâddîjî Khâli'a* (Kâthî Şîlebi) *Kadî al-zûnân*. He started compiling it in 1042/1633 and took about twenty years to complete it. It contains bibliographic information on ca. 14,500 books and biographical information on ca. 10,000 authors.

Erzûrûmî İbrahim Hâddîjî 'sîrînî-nâme is the last example of the classical encyclopaedic works, reflecting the author's interest in Islamic mysticism. The work consists of selected topics chosen from arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, mineralogy, botany, zoology, anatomy, geography and physics.

After promising beginnings in compiling compendia of knowledge, the movement seems to have petered out, perhaps a victim of its own success; it was perhaps felt that there was no need to be filled by expanding or adding to these compendia. It is thus not surprising that the next stage of Ottoman compilation of encyclopaedias should be the introduction of European-styled encyclopaedias which surveyed European science. The first of these were introduced during the Tanzîmînî (q.v.) period in the mid-19th century. Titles of these works reflect the lexicographic approach and understanding of their compilers, so that the word *kâmîs* "dictionary" was generally used in their titles. The first examples, are unfortunately incomplete. The first encyclopaedic work was planned by Alî Su'âtî (q.v.) who escaped to France in 1867 because of his opposition to the ruling regime in the Ottoman empire. He attempted to publish this first encyclopaedic work as an appendix to his newspaper *Ulûm* in 1870, entitled *Kâmîs al-ulûm* ve 'l-mêrîfît, it was published in fascicles and only five of these appeared, since it fell victim to the siege of Paris by the Prussian Army. In this encyclopaedia subjects were arranged in alphabetical order, contained illustrations, and each fascicle comprised sixteen pages. Other major, equally incomplete, attempts are, in chronological order: *Kârî* by Ahmed Nâzîm and Mehmed Rûghiî, both of them officers in the Ottoman Army, in 1888, of which only one sample fascicle appeared; *Makîzên al-ulûm*, another general subject encyclopedia, by Mehmed Tâhir and Serîk Orpîyan, of which only one volume appeared in 1898; and a specialised subject encyclopedia on mathematics and astronomy, *Kâmîsî ri'âdîâyât*, prepared by Sâlih Dheki (Zekî), a mathematician, in 1897, of which again only one volume appeared.

The *Makîzên al-mêrîfît* was prepared by Emr Allâh Efendi, who was the first philosophy lecturer at the Dar al-Fûnûn in Istanbul, in 1900. Only one volume
appeared, but it had importance as the first comprehensive general encyclopaedic work in Turkish, and its title was subsequently adopted as the Ottoman term for a general encyclopaedia. After Emir Allah Efendi’s appointment as the Minister of Education, a commission was set up under his chairmanship and consisting of 132 specialists. The aim was the preparation of his encyclopaedic work for the second time in 1910. The title of this new encyclopaedia accordingly became Yeni muhtəşəl al-mədərf, but this attempt was also short-lived, and only one volume appeared.

The first complete work in the genre was, in fact, the Layhə-i tərəvəzə ve dəyəmə fləfrəyə “Historical and geographical dictionary”, prepared by Yaghikjijsıāde Ahmed Rıf‘at in seven volumes in 1882–3. Although its title suggests that it was limited to historical and geographical matters, it in reality covered subjects such as new inventions, machinery, as well as the natural sciences physics, chemistry and botany.

The ḫəmμəs al-‘alām of the linguist Ƣemırl Şems el-Din Şəmî [g.v.] was compiled between 1888-98 as a historical and geographical encyclopaedic dictionary in six volumes. Şəmî relied on oriental and western sources for his work, and it remains a valuable reference source for historical research today, since the work contains not only historical and geographical terms and words used in the Ottoman language but also biographies of historical personalities and their works as well as the names, histories, and ethnic complexion of locations within the empire. It was issued fortnightly in fascicles, and its publication was completed in eleven years.

A similar work, the Memalik-i əqlənəmərin tərəvəzə ve dəyəmə ləyət “Dictionary of the history and geography of the Ottoman Empire”, was prepared by ‘Alî Dəvəd, and published in 1893-9 in four volumes. It comprised two sections, the first, in three volumes, was devoted to the natural, historical, and economic aspects of the Ottoman provinces and their localities, while the second section, the fourth volume, contained biographical information on Ottoman statesmen and poets.

All these efforts were personal and self-motivated, and no financial or academic support was provided from any public or private institution. Within the same period, another initiative directed by a commission was launched in 1913 under ‘Alî Rəşəd, ‘Alî Şeydil, Məhəmməd ˙Izət and L. Füllət, the Məmüəder də ələrət al-mədərf “Illustrated circle of knowledge”, but only two volumes were issued 1913-17. The harsh social, economic and political conditions of the last decades of the Ottoman empire were certainly a contributing factor to the lack of success in completing these potentially promising works in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Two notable biographical works appeared, however, towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. A national biography, the Sığ diminish’a ‘Olcənmə i “Ottoman register”, was prepared by Məhəmməd əbləreyyə [g.v.] in four volumes and published in 1886-9; it contained approximately 20,000 biographies of civil servants and statesmen. A bio-bibliographical compendium of Ottomans began to appear in 1914, the “Ottoman authors”, compiled by Bursall Məhəmməd Tələh, listed 1,600 books and gave the biographies of their authors. Its aim was to record the scientific and literary taste of the Ottomans for the new generation, and its subsequent was that it became one of the main sources for encyclopaedias published later.

After the establishment of the Republic in 1923, the government encouraged the publication of new books, especially for children, to alleviate the problem of illiteracy. The French word for encyclopaedia was used for the first time in Turkish as anısklopedi, with the publication of the Cod Iraq anısklopedisi “Children’s encyclopaedia” in 1927. Four volumes appeared up to 1928, and after the change of alphabet in November 1928 the publication of this work was suspended until 1937. This encyclopaedia has a significance in Turkish encyclopaedia publication, being the last work begun in Arabic script before the change of alphabet, the first encyclopaedia work completely in the Latin script being that prepared on the initiative of a daily newspaper, Cumhuriyet, and published between 1932-6 in ten volumes. This publication was based on Compton’s illustrated encyclopaedia and American educator, and additional entries related to Turkey were written by specialists.

Several special-subject encyclopaedias have appeared in the Republican period. One of the most important of these is Resad Ekrem Koçu’s Istanbul Anısklopedisi, which began in 1946 and ceased publication in 1975 on the death of the author. The significance of this incomplete work in eleven volumes is that the historian Koçu prepared it single-handed as a work limited to the city of Istanbul. Given the supreme importance of Constantinople/Istanbul in the history of the eastern Mediterranean world, further encyclopaedic works were prepared upon the death of Koçu. The Istanbul kütül ve sanat anısklopedisi “Encyclopaedia of the culture and art of Istanbul” was prepared by specialists and published by a daily newspaper, Tercuman, in 1962; unfortunately, it was never completed. The other encyclopaedia, Jaddar buğusu Istanbul anısklopedisi “Encyclopaedia of Istanbul from yesterday till today”, was published by the Ministry of Culture and the Historical Foundation in eight volumes in 1993-4; although not as detailed as Koçu’s work, it gives general information on almost every subject in 10,000 articles.

From the 1940s onward, the Ministry of National Education (Masruf Vekaleti) decided to initiate the publication of encyclopaedic works as well as its publications and translations of classical works. The first was the Islam Anısklopedisi begun in 1940. A committee was set up, and the encyclopaedia was based on the original Encyclopaedia of Islam published in Leiden in 1913-36 [see maWSO³’A. 4]. However, amendments were carried out and in some cases, expansions were made in articles which were only briefly covered in the Leiden edition. The work was completed in 1968 in thirteen volumes, of which two volumes have two parts.

Meanwhile, a decision was made by the same Ministry to prepare a general, national encyclopaedia in 1943. The first four volumes were issued under the title of İswini anısklopedisi, the name of the President of Turkey at the time [see ismet inonu, in Suppl.], altered to Türk anısklopedisi in 1951. The encyclopaedia consists of thirty-three volumes, and publication was completed in 1966. This work has a significant place in the history of official publications in the Turkish Republic. Since it was published over a span of forty-three years, it reflects the political approaches and the use of Turkish language by the various governments in power through the period, and it further illustrates how the publications of government agencies can be affected by the political ideology of these governments. The Ministry of National Education also commissioned Celal Esat Arseven and Məhəmməd Zəki Pəkəl in 1943 and in 1946, respectively, to publish
the Sanat ansklopedisi “Encyclopaedia of the Arts” in five volumes and Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü “Dictionary of Historical Phrases and Terms” in three volumes.

From that period until the 1960s, no new projects for a general encyclopaedia were initiated with the exception of the Hayat ansklopedisi “Encyclopedia of life,” begun by a private publisher in 1961 and by 1963 completed in six volumes. In a very short period, 100,000 copies were sold, indicating the need for a general encyclopaedia by an increasingly literate society.

The Meydan Larousse büyük lagat ve ansklopedisi is the largest Turkish encyclopaedic work initiated by a private publisher, with publication beginning in 1969. It is an encyclopaedia as well as a dictionary, being a translation of the Grand Larousse encyclopédique published in 1960-4 in ten volumes. Some subjects and entries related solely to French language and culture were omitted, and subjects related to Turkish and Islamic culture inserted. The encyclopaedia was issued in fascicles and was completed in 1973 in twelve volumes, with two supplementary volumes issued in 1974 and 1985, respectively. The publication of Meydan Larousse was a turning-point in the history of commercial publication of encyclopaedias in Turkey, and as a result of the enthusiasm with which the Meydan Larousse was greeted by the public, other publishers have seen the commercial opportunities offered by publishing encyclopaedias.

Hence during these years, a handful of publishers began to specialise in such reference works. The major publishers today are Anadolu Yaymcihk, Gelşim, Gösrel and İletişim, who publish not only general encyclopaedic works but also encyclopaedias on specialised subjects, such as Yurt ansklopedisi “Encyclopedia of the Homeland”, which gives information on the history, economic and social conditions of the cities of Turkey in alphabetical order; Türk ve dünya tarihi ansklopedisi, a biographical reference source; Gelşim genel kültür ansklopedisi, a general encyclopaedia; Anadolu weydişk ansklopedisi, an encyclopaedic publication on Anatolian civilisations; and Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansklopedisi, which covers the development of various fields in the Republican period such as the constitution, archaeology, the press, energy, mining, librarianship, etc. Anı Britannica ansklopedisi is a translation and adaptation of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, published in 1988 by Anadolu Yaymcihk. The publisher has also published yearbooks in order to update the necessary information. The second Turkish edition was initiated in 2000 and it is still in progress. Finally, Türkiye diyanet ve hukuk islam ansklopedisi, an Encyclopaedia of Islam, is being prepared and financially supported by the Turkish Religious Foundation. The publication started in 1988 and twenty-two volumes, covering the letters A-V, have already appeared. The encyclopaedia contains not only subjects related to Islam but also wider aspects relating to the Islamic community throughout the world. Most of the Islamic subjects are very detailed, and the articles have comprehensive bibliographies.


5. In Urdu.

Here there does not seem to be any significant tradition of any antiquity, leaving aside modern Urdu translations of such reference works as Chamber’s Encyclopaedia, the Encyclopaedia Britannica and, of course, the Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam, which draws on material from the Western Encyclopaedia of Islam, published in Leiden.

MEHMED TĀHIR, BURSAI (1861-1925), Ottoman biographer and bibliographer.

Mehmed Tahir was born in Bursa in northwestern Turkey on 22 November 1861, the son of Rifat Bey, clerk to the city council, and grandson of Usküdarlı Seyyid Mehmed Tahir Pasha, formerly a commander in sultan ‘Abd ul-Medjid’s imperial guard. He studied at the Bursa military academy from 1875 and at the elite Harbiye (War) academy in Istanbul from 1880. Graduating in 1883 he spent the next twenty years teaching geography, history and rhetoric at military schools in Manastır (and one year in Uskub) in Macedonia, as part of the Ottoman Third Army. In 1904 he became director of the military high school in Selânik (Salonica). Whilst at the Harbiye academy he had become a member of the Melâm order of dervishes, by whom he was profoundly influenced in his teaching, publications and political outlook. In Manastır he first conceived the notion of collecting bio-bibliographical data on poets and learned men, and in 1897 published his first work Türklerin ‘âlam ve fonunun kâhidümleri “The Turkish contribution to arts and sciences” (1853). In 1316/1899 he also published a full-length bibliographical study of the Arab mystic Ibn al-‘Arabî.

Mehmed Tahir was dismissed from his teaching post in December 1906 for his Şâfi‘i involvement and his membership of the Ottoman Freedom Society (‘Othmanî hüriyet cemiyeti). From 1908 to 1911 he served as deputy for Bursa in the first representative assembly of the Second Constitutional period, and subsequently served in the Ministry of Charitable Endowments (Eskî milîyetler) on a committee to inspect the holdings of institutional libraries. In 1915 he became director of the Topkapı Sarayı library. The date of Mehmed Tahir’s death is uncertain, but was probably 1925. He was buried in Istanbul.

Mehmed Tahir’s principal work is ‘Othmanî milîyetlerî, a three-volume bio-bibliographical compendium published between 1915 and 1923, listing 1691 Ottoman authors and their works. Despite many lacunae and acknowledged errors, ‘Othmanî milîyetleri was unique in its comprehensive scope and immediately became a standard reference work. Aside from the works already mentioned, Mehmed Tahir also compiled over twenty lesser biographical works, either of particular individuals (e.g. Kâtûb Çelebi) or of groups of Ottoman sheikhs and ‘ulama.

Bibliography: For a full bibliography, see the detailed article by Omer Faruk Akun, in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslam Ansklopedisi, vi (1992), 452-61, on which the above is based. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

MEZISTRE, MIZISTRE, the Turkish name for Greek Mystras, Latin Mistras, a famous Byzantine necropolis on a hill slope west of modern Sparos in Laconia in the Peloponnese [see MORA], which was a major centre of late mediaeval Greek civilisation and capital of the “Despotate of the Morea” till the Ottoman conquest. It has numerous Byzantine and Frankish monuments from the 13th-15th centuries, and was immortalised, albeit inaccurately, in Goethe’s Faust. The name has been connected with the shape of the conical-hill on which it stands.

The Frankish castle of 1249 was built by William II de Villehardouin of the Achaia Principality, but passed to the Byzantines in 1262. The ravages of Franks and Turkmen from Western Anatolia (see
saved through the intercession of the local metropolit. But in autumn 1770 a Turco-Albanian force returned and sacked and burnt much of the town, not sparing even the metropolitan who had intervened to save their city. After the Russians took the fortress in 1786, Pavlos and the GreekEnuma decided that the building of modern Mystras. With the outbreak of the Greek Revolt (1821), Mezistre surrendered to the powerful local Mainostoldi clans of Mavromichalos and Giarrakos and the Turkish garrison was allowed to flee to Tri-polita, but it was once again plundered and burned by Ibrahim Pasha's army in 1825, as vividly described by C. Swan in his Voyages in the Eastern Mediterranean, London 1826. These ravages signalled the town's aban-donment, since—except for a few families—the exa-perated inhabitants descended to the settlement of Neo-Mystras and thence to modern Sparta, inaugu-rated in 1834 by a decree of King Otto I and built by 1837-8.

MIHMĀN [P.], literally "guest", the equivalent of Ar. ḏīyf [q.v. for this sense]. The Persian word occurs in various compounds, such as miḥmāndīr and miḥmān-ḵāna. In Šafāvid Persia, the miḥmāndīrs were officials appointed to receive and to provide hospitality for guests, including foreign ambassadors and envoys, with a court head official, the miḥmāndīr-ḵātīr, supervising these lesser persons. In Kāḏār times, the miḥmāndīrs seem to have been appointed ad hoc. See the references to the accounts of European travellers in Šafāvid Persia (Chardin, Kaempfer, Sanson) in the anonymous Taḏhkīrat al-mulūk, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1943, comm. 110 n. 2.

The institution of the miḥmān-ḵāna in its more modern form goes back to Nāṣīr al-Dīn Shāh Kāḏār after his first visit to Europe in 1873 (cf. Sir Denis Wright, The Persians amongst the English, London 1985, 135). He had the laudable intention of providing rest houses along the routes to the capital Tehrān, from such entry points to his kingdom as Enzeli on the Caspian coast, which would provide travellers with something better than the traditional caravanserais or ḵāns [q.v.] and the ʿapar-ḵāns [see a description of these last in Kūrāsān given by the Hon. G.N. Curzon, Persia and the Persian question, London 1892, i, 249 ff., and cf. the remarks on the ʿapar system in general in Sir Richard Burton's handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc., London 1895, 285-6] and which would possess in some degree the amenities of a western-type hotel. Western travellers in Persia during the later 19th century found the concept good, but its execution left much to be desired. E.G. Browne commented that the miḥmān-ḵāna "has all the worse defects of a European hotel without its luxury"; he contrasted the insolence and rapacity of the servers there with the hospitality he had received in humble peasant homes, and the "new-fangled and extortionate" nature of the venerable and commodious caravansārāy (A year amongst the Persians, London 1893, 85-8, 177-8). It was not until after the First World War that European-type hotels began to spread from the capital Tehrān into the provinces.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also MANZIL. 2. [C.E. Bosworth]

MILJANĀ [see MILJĀNA].

MĪR TAḴĪ MĪR [see MĪR MUḤAMMAD TAḴĪ].

MIṬRAḎĪ


The ascension of the Prophet of Islam is, for Persian literature, an account, kisā-i miʿrāḏ, one drawn from a long tradition, haḏīth-i miʿrāḏ and an account that takes an autonomous form, miʿrāḏ-nāmā. This account thus has a history. The progressive organisation of the narrative elements constituting the whole is derived from the context (Kurʿān, tradition and exegesis) not from its original milieu (Iranian and, furthermore, millennial).

The celestial journey was a familiar theme throughout the Near Eastern world. Having exclusive regard to the Iranian cultural domain, Zarathustra, according to the Avesta, had asked for immortality and this was granted: he did not die but departed, alive and intact, into the beyond through "assumption" (aḏiṯ; Kellens 1999). From this point onward, according to another source, he spent ten years "in the best existence", guided by Vohu Mano "while maintaining contact with Ahūra Mazda". Then, strengthened, he descended again to join his kinsmen (Mole 1967). As for the soul of the virtuous deceased, the Avesta describes the four stages through which it passes, guided by the same benevolent genie, before reaching the throne of Ahūra Mazda (Duchesne-Guillemin 1962). The tale in Middle Persian of the magian Ardā Virāz, who used methods of a shamanic nature to make a journey to Heaven, was well known in its time. The magian visited Heaven and Hell, bringing back valuable instances of mārān. At Medina the practice of the cult (Gignoux 1984). Also celebrated was the visit of the angel which began the prophetic voca- tion of the founder of Manicheism (Ibn al-Nadim, al-Fihrist, tr. B. Dodge, ii, 774-5). As regards the Iranian calendar from the start of the Islamic era, al-Birūnī (al-Āṯār, 216) relates that on Nawrūz [q.v.], the festival of the first day of the year, the ascension to Heaven of the great king of ancient times, Djamāḥīṭ, was celebrated. On his throne and in a kind of apothes- isis, he went there to defeat death and the demons.

When Persian prose emerged, in the 4th/10th century, Kurʿānīc exegesis had already travelled a consider- able distance in constructing the account of the ascension of the Prophet. It was also at this time that the commemoration of this ascension began, in Jerusalem (see AL-KUDS, at Vol. V, 329). The original translation into Persian of the commentary on the Kurʿān (al-Tafsīr) by ʿAlā-ibn-Ṭabarī, on the initiative of the Samānīd Mansūr b. Nūr (d. 437/1045) [q.v.], is one of the greatest monuments of early Persian literature. Gathered here is the best of what exegesis had hitherto elabo- rated, on the basis of ḥadīṯ which focused the reading of notable passages of the Kurʿān on the "night journey" (isrāʾ) (Kurʿān, XVII, 1) and on the two visions of the Prophet (Kurʿān, LIII, 1-18 and LXXXI, 19-25). It may be noted that the mīrāḏ is involved here three times. The account is first developed broadly at the end of the commentary on Sūra II (Persian Tafsīr, i, 182-98), while with Sūra XVI, that of the "night journey", the commentary offers at the end of the sūra only a summary (Persian Tafsīr, iv, 909-18). Through this style of repetition it can be understood what at that time constituted the nucleus of the story of the ascension. On arriving in the Seventh Heaven, Gabriel invites the Prophet to speak before God. The dialogue is contained in the verses 285-6 which conclude Sūra II. Then, for greater precision, Gabriel will say, in the account which follows Sūra XVI, that the object of the journey is "that you address your prayers to God" (Persian Tafsīr, iv, 910). Thus at its birth, Persian prose was located at the end of a process of exegesis which had made from Kurʿānīc verses which did not require it, an account of the ascent to Heaven, of dialogue with God and of red- descent, which had long been part of the religious and cultural ambience of the Near East.

But for a third time, at the end of the translation of Sūra LIII (Persian Tafsīr, vii, 1766-8) there is a further instance of mārān. In the context of the translation of the story of the arrows, the Arabs were competing at archery. The Prophet was then transported to Heaven, after which God told him that he had been closer to Him "than the distance of two bow-shots". This was the interpretation of the two well-known Kurʿānīc verses which did not require it, an account of the ascent to Heaven, of dialogue with God and of red- descent, which had long been part of the religious and cultural ambience of the Near East.
The 5th/11th century saw a capital development in the story of the mi'raj, or the Prophet's nocturnal ascent to the Heavens, in Persian literature. This is a decisive period of evolution of the mi'raj story in Persian literature. In prose, the account of the ascension was developed within commentaries on the Qur'an. Rashid al-Din 'Umar b. Muhammad al-Nasafi (462-538/1070-1143) wrote a short prose account of the Prophet's ascent, which was, for the first time, taken from Qur'an, XVII, 1, for example, is already a form of commentary; he interprets Kur'an, LIII, 8-9, as denoting the proximity of Gabriel with the Prophet. A brief account of the mi'raj follows Kur'an, LIII, 8-11 (Tafsir, ii, 998-9), a short and powerful text which lends itself to serious consideration.

In the first half of the following century, Rasyid al-Din Abu 'l-Fadl Ahmad al-Maybudi was the author of a large commentary on the Kur'an, begun in 506/1112. He was not a scholar, but he revised a composition of al-Ansari the eminent Sufi master of Harat, d. 481/1089 [see AL-ANSARI AL-HARAVI] which he called Pir-i ta'rikat. His account of the mi'raj was, understandably, inspired by Sufism, which was a novelty. He developed this story in its place, at the beginning of Sura XVII (Tafsir, 478-500). It is not certain that he knew al-Surabadf's account; he places objections to the miracle of ascension and the responses at the start of the text, or changes the dispositions of the inhabitants of the Heavens. His true originality is his way of addressing "the station of proximity" (makam-i kurba), describing in technical terms known in Sufism the ecstasy of the Prophet before God.

Henceforward, no reader of the Kur'an could miss the account of the mi'raj nor ignore its implications regarding the personality of the Prophet and Islam, the ultimate destiny of men and their spiritual path. In his turn, a Shafi of Rayy, Abu '1-Futuh al-Razi, preacher and jurist, composed a major commentary on the Kur'an, completed shortly before his death (552/1157). He took such care in the writing of his account of the Prophet's ascension to the point of turning it into a major classic, with the quality of his Persian and the organisation of the story (Rawd al-djinan, vi, 254-73), establishing the essentials for future generations.

But before him, Sana[p.194] had for the first time introduced the theme of the mi'raj into Persian poetry. He gave to this account new weight when he composed at 33 years of age in 506/1112 (if he was born in 473/1080) the title of "Journey of the devotees towards the Place of Return" (saryr al-bidhā tāb ilā 'r-mudādā), intentionally combining in this title two words taken from Kur'an, XVII, 1, and from Kur'an, XXV, 85, thus indicating that this journey is a mi'raj (de Bruijn, 619).
paid to him by all the previous prophets; the reader  
m
letter from the name of Ahmad, to give Ahad, the  
Heavens, and the reader witnesses a lengthy homage  
pp. 11-17; tr. J.A. Boyle, 12-19) composed before  
An example that can be given is the splendid text  
Haft paykar Attar, for the  
five accounts of ascension as introductions to his five  
image of unification. Nizamf, in his turn, composed  
the end in the image of the arrow which struck the  
Angel-Holy Spirit, the Tree of the Frontier, the Sails  
!, sc.  
there remains a vast area of study which has been  
basis of numerous treatises on the fringes of litera-

ters, was also an inspiration due to the magisterial  
fashion in which he addressed  
in general  
mi'rdaj.  
Al-Mahajub,  
306-7) and the Prophet's  
of the  
Prophet was to be imposed on several  

of the  

al-abrâr, ed. introd. and notes 'A.A. Hikmat, 10  
tehran 1331-8/1529-9; Nasaf, Tafsîr, i-ii,  
Tehran 1376/1997; Râzî, Râzî al-ğâÎman wa-râîh al-  
djâdîn an = Tafsîr, ed. M.I. Kumshî, 7  
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î l-tâdîjîm, ed. M. Harawi and A.I. Khurasanî, 3  
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tions théologiques en Islam, in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.),  
Le voyage initiatique en terre de l'Islam. Ascensions célestes  
it itinéraires spirituels, Louvain-Paris 1996, 27-56; de  
Fouchécour, Avicenne, al-Qosheyri et le récit de l'Échelle  
dela storia del "mi  
c.  

the genre had matured and was growing stale. On  
the other hand, the perception of the  
mi'ndîj, the  
image of unification. Nizâmî, in his turn, composed  
five accounts of ascension as introductions to his five  
mahânâsîd. The most successful was the one that he  
wrote, some years after 'Atâr, for the  
Haft paykar  
“The seven princesses” (ed. Thravayîyân 1998, 64-8),  
which shows excellent knowledge of the traditional  
tale and an incomparable spiritual and poetic sense  
(Fouchécour 1989).  

The many Persian poets who were inspired, over  
the course of several centuries, by the  
mi'ndîj gûndîj, the  
“Five treasures” of Nizâmî, composed accounts of the  
mi'ndîj in their turn. But with the 6th/12th century,  
the genre had matured and was growing stale. On  
the other hand, the perception of the  
mi'ndîj of the Prophet “as a prototype of the experience of the  
mystic rising from Heaven to Heaven in his lifetime”  
(Corbin, En Islam transen, iii, 1972, 346) formed  
the basis of numerous treatises on the fringes of literature  
and the science of religions. On these fringes,  
there remains a vast area of study which has been  
little explored, concerning the themes essential to the  
mi'ndîj, such as the Opening of the Chest, the Celestial  
Mount, the Night of the Rescript (gâb-i bârût), the  
Angel-Holy Spirit, the Tree of the Frontier, the Sails  
of Light, the shape of the Stars, the dwellings of  
Paradise, etc. And if “the nocturnal ascension is the  
nucleus of the religious vocation of Muhammad”  
(Massignon), the account of it cannot be irrelevant to  
the essentials of Islam.  

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MIRZA SHAIF WAHID TABRIZI (b. 1794 Gandja, d. 1852 Tablisi). Azerbaijani poet. Born into a family from Tabriz, at ten years old he lost his father, who was a stonemason, but with the assistance of his relatives he attended a traditional school where he learned literary Persian as well as Arabic. His knowledge of Persian literature introduced him to the works of renowned Persian poets such as Hafiz and Niẓāmī. Because of his anti-clerical views, he was expelled from school and began to earn his living both as an accountant and a teacher in calligraphy. His position as accountant brought him the title of Mirzâ. As a teacher of calligraphy, he taught the young Mirzâ Fath 'Alî Akhundzâda [q.v.] and persuaded him to end his religious studies. In 1840, the persecutions that he endured from local clerics compelled him to leave Gandja and settle in Tablisi. There, Akhundzada assisted him in securing a teaching position in Persian and Azerbaijani languages. In Tablisi he published the first Azeri Turkish language guidebook, Kâtib-i turki, and formed a cultural society known as Divân-i hikmat, where learned figures of the city occasionally gathered to debate literary, philosophical and social themes. Amongst those who attended these conventions was Friedrich Bodenstedt (1819-92), a German traveller who was interested in oriental studies. While following Mirzâ Shâfi’î’s courses on Persian and Azeri Turkish, Bodenstedt collected the original manuscripts of Mirzâ Shâfi’î’s poems, both in Persian and in Azeri Turkish. Bodenstedt translated these verses into German and published them in Berlin. The eventual translation of this book into almost all European languages soon made Mirzâ Shâfi’î a renowned Azerbaijani poet outside of the Caucasus. In 1846 Mirzâ Shâfi’î left Tablisi for Gandja and continued his teaching career. But ca. 1850 he returned to Tablisi and taught in a local Gymnasium until his death. Little remains of Mirzâ Shâfi’î’s works, and it was not until the Soviet period that four of his ghazals and a few lines of his poems in Persian and Azerbaijani were found and published. The German translation of his poetry has been surrounded by some controversy. While some scholars recognize Mirzâ Shâfi’î as a lyricist with an inclination towards oriental mysticism, others claim that Mirzâ Shâfi’î’s understanding of poetry did not go beyond the common knowledge of the learned in the East. Bodenstedt himself was not consistent in his appreciation of Mirzâ Shâfi’î’s literary status. While in his earlier writings he had acknowledged Mirzâ Shâfi’î as the original poet of the German translations, he later decreased Mirzâ Shâfi’î’s role to being merely that of a source of inspiration for his own poetry. Bibliography: F. Bodenstedt, Tausend und Ein Tag im Orient, Berlin 1850; idem, Die Lieder des Mirza-Shajfi’, Baku 1851; idem, Gedichte, Bremen 1853; idem, Aus dem Nachlaß Mirza-Schajfi’s, Neues Liederbuch mit Prolog und erläuterndem Nachtrag, Berlin 1874; art. s.v., in Buckhaus, 14th ed., Leipzig 1892; Mirza Shaji’i Wadjih, Baku 1926; K. Sundermeyer, Friedrich Bodenstedt und die “Lieder des Mirzâ-Schajfi’,” Kiel 1930; M. Rafili, Mirzâ Fethâh Akhundov, zin‘i’i toxavest, Moscow 1956; A. Ismailov (ed.), Azerbaijani obeyi, Baku 1960; Mirzâ Fath ‘Alî Akhundov, Azisal-yi guhit wa malakht, ed. Hamid Muhammed-zâda and Hamid Arashi, Baku 1963; M. Ibrahimov (ed.), Azerbaijanian poetry: classic, modern, traditional, Mosocow 1969; Faridun Adamiyut, Andishah-ye Mirza Fath ‘Alî Akhundzâda, Tehran 1970. (T. ATABAKI)

The history of Cairo over the 19th and 20th centuries is primarily one of status, from being the important capital of an Ottoman province, it became the capital of independent Egypt. During the two centuries under consideration, the city experienced first of all a long period of stagnation; then, from the early 1870s, a strong political will brought an unprecedented development which pointed the way to the modern city. Some years later, the financial situation of Egypt put a brake on urban growth, which then entered upon a period of slow consolidation until the end of the First World War. The years 1920-30 are marked by a new departure, whose determinants are not so much political as migratory. After independence, and up to the end of the 1970s, Cairo became the city of superlatives, with municipal services expanding in all spheres. Then, the slowing down of the migratory movement, whose effects were felt from the beginning of the 1980s, allowed the municipal authorities to resume their policies. Hence the last two decades of the 20th century were devoted to replacing equipment and public services. At the end of the century, Cairo stretched out at the same time into the desert zones and also into the agricultural lands along the outskirts as far as some 30 km/18 miles from its historic core. The city’s history during these two centuries is also one of the progressive slipping away of its centre. At the present time, the places making up the centre are spread out around several focuses without nevertheless the older centres, the ancient city as much as the quarters developed at the end of the 19th century, being abandoned. A difficult start, 1800-68. In 1798 General Bonaparte established his headquarters at Cairo, at a time when the city had 263,000 inhabitants. The French plans for the improvement of the road system were ambitious, but the results were scanty. The re-establishment of Ottoman authority a few years later was unfavourable for the city, whose population declined. However, Cairo experienced some changes which were to be determining factors for later works. At the outset, the governor of Egypt Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha [q.v.] embarked upon the first act of the discontinuous development of the urban agglomeration: the building of a palace some 12 km/7 miles north of the city. Nearer to the centre, the strengthening of the embankments for containing the floodwaters of the Nile allowed the laying out of vast gardens and the construction of palaces between the fringes of the old structure of the city and the river banks. In regard to urban administration, Muhammad ‘Ali took up again the structures of power from the previous century but put in place a new dividing out of the administrative which served as the base for the geographical extension of local public services. Heavy industry, whose development the Pasha embarked upon vigorously, was
Some 30 km/18 miles from Cairo, a new quarter was founded—around 1864—containing barracks, a palace and a school—a new quarter to the north of the city, sc. ‘Abbāsīyya. The first constructions for piping water began during this period but it was long before results were seen. Finally, in the framework of an agreement with the British, a railway was built between Alexandria and Suez via Cairo, with the Cairo railway station opening in 1856. At this time, the city’s population was almost the same as it was a half-century previously.

A filly to urbanisation, 1869-75. The succession of Ismā‘īl Pāsha [g.e.] at the beginning of the 1860s formed a turning-point. Taking as a pretext the need to receive fittingly European dignitaries for the opening of the Suez Canal at the end of 1869, he developed an immense project of extending the city westwards. Paris was the model, but Ismā‘īl retained only the general picture of the French model rather than the exact procedure; nevertheless, the permanent markets and properties strongly resisted the project. In order to promote the new quarters, the Khedive had set up at this time some public buildings erected there and enormous buildings to be let out in flats, and he gave other stretches of land gratis to those who contracted to build there quickly. After several checks, the beginning of the 1870s was marked by a resumption of works. At that time, Ismā‘īl opened up for urban development the zones farthest away from the centre as far as the left bank of the Nile, and he founded the spa town of Hulwān [g.e.] some 30 km/15 miles to the south. More than 200 ha (the equivalent of one-fifth of the urbanised zone by ca. 1865) were offered to the land market over a few years. This development was interrupted as rapidly as it had been started up; in the mid-1870s, Egypt’s bankruptcy dealt a brutul blow to the works. During this time, Cairo became the place of privileged exile for Syro-Lebanese intellectuals who formed the nucleus of the Nahda [g.e.] or Arab cultural awakening and who contributed considerably to the development of cultural life and the formation of the first press devoted to conveying an opinion. It was also a high-point of the national movement whose activities were to lead to the British occupation of the country at the end of 1882.

Slowing down and consolidation, 1875-1918. This period was first of all one devoted to the servicing of the public debt. The greater part of resources was pledged to developing agricultural production for export. Cairo was in practice left to its own devices by the administration. After fifteen years of consolidating the quarters founded by Ismā‘īl, new works were begun. But the municipal services were now deprived of all means of state intervention; urban development was left to the initiative of private companies, utilising capital which for the most part emanated from outside the country. It was above all in the sphere of transport that these companies provided for the city’s future.

The first suburban railway dates from 1888, whilst the tramway system dates from a decade later. At this time, Cairo comprised 570,000 persons on the right bank of the Nile. In the wake of this process and the intense speculation which followed, numerous quarters were founded. In 1906, a Belgian tramway company obtained an authorisation to create a new city, in the desert a few kilometres to the northeast; Helopolis (‘Ayn Shams [g.e.]) was thus born. But not all private capital was invested in land speculation. Industrial production also enjoyed a substantial development; this brought about the impoverishment of an important part of the population which was regrouped in a very dense and crowded precarious habitat, in quarters sometimes established in insalubrious areas. Two worlds and two cities were thus established check-by-jowl, often in close proximity.

The period of growth, 1918-50. After the First World War, the slowing down of agricultural development and improvements in public health brought about an excess of population in the countryside, causing an acceleration of migration to the great cities. Cairo now became a great safety-valve for this rural population growth, with its population jumping from 791,000 in 1917 to 2,320,000 in 1947. During these thirty years, the city went through numerous changes. The construction sector, private as well as public, was very dynamic. The campus of the University at Dīzah (Gizeh), the building for the Mixed Courts, the Parliament building, etc., all date from this period. Intervention by the public authorities in matters of urban development is less conclusive. Despite the first general development plan dating from the later 1920s, the works undertaken were largely those done from necessity. They affected mainly the structure of the old city, and if the public road system was improved, this was more a response to traffic problems than a project looking to the future. At the end of the 1940s, the first social housing appeared in Cairo. The period was also marked by a strong patriotic feeling expressed, in particular, in an abundant artistic and cultural production. Its exportation to the lands of both the Maghrib and the Mashriq made Cairo the cultural capital of the Arab world.

The period of bursting activity, 1950-80. After the Free Officers’ coup d’état of July 1952, the rulers of Egypt adopted new approaches for the development of Cairo. Great projects multiplied, including expressways along the banks of the Nile, additional bridges, etc. The first master plan for the Cairo agglomeration, prepared in 1956, was soon out of date: the population predicted for the year 2000—5.5 millions—was reached in 1956, was soon out of date: the population predicted for the year 2000—5.5 millions—was reached. However, on the basis of this plan, the state built large quantities of low-cost housing. But the problem of the living environment was not thereby solved, and it led to an intolerable increased density of the old quarters, whose service infrastructure was now revealed as inadequate. From 1950 onwards, the city spread out in all directions, but above all on the left bank, which now saw an unprecedented development. It became covered with new, planned quarters, with a fairly low density, of thousands of villas and small dwellings. The city also developed in favour of the dividing-out of agricultural lands on the outskirts near to the developing urban area, pushing into zones not prepared for building and improvements in public health brought about an excess of population in the countryside, causing an acceleration of migration to the great cities. Cairo now became a great safety-valve for this rural population growth, with its population jumping from 791,000 in 1917 to 2,320,000 in 1947. During these thirty years, the city went through numerous changes. The construction sector, private as well as public, was very dynamic. The campus of the University at Dīzah (Gizeh), the building for the Mixed Courts, the Parliament building, etc., all date from this period. Intervention by the public authorities in matters of urban development is less conclusive. Despite the first general development plan dating from the later 1920s, the works undertaken were largely those done from necessity. They affected mainly the structure of the old city, and if the public road system was improved, this was more a response to traffic problems than a project looking to the future. At the end of the 1940s, the first social housing appeared in Cairo. The period was also marked by a strong patriotic feeling expressed, in particular, in an abundant artistic and cultural production. Its exportation to the lands of both the Maghrib and the Mashriq made Cairo the cultural capital of the Arab world.

The period of overflowing development, 1980-2000. At the beginning of the 1980s, demographers predicted the worst possible case for Cairo. The publication of the 1986 census put a stop to these suggestions: it showed that the population growth was less and less the result of migration. This change gave rise to a lowering of the density of the ancient urban structure which, as a counterpart, became increasingly occupied by the sector of semi-artisanal production.
It also provided an adequate respite for the public services, allowing the preparation of a new master plan at the beginning of the 1980s and the inauguration of several great projects of re-developing public services; the city became an immense construction site. Between Cairo and Alexandria, the first new town, Mokattam al-Saudat, saw the light. These constructions, large enough to accommodate three government ministries, were never to be occupied.

Despite the state’s almost total withdrawal from the sphere of housing, the construction sector remains dynamic. Although the critical situation is obvious, with half the population of the agglomeration living in poverty in 1986, there has been a massive surge of house building for the middle classes. Areas of empty housing units, the result of pure speculation, reached several hundred thousands of units by the mid-1990s.

At the turn of the millennium, the urban agglomeration held ca. 12 million persons. The plan for establishing new towns has been scaled down, the results of these being much inferior to what was envisaged. The idea of balancing living units and industrial or artisanal units in these places is one check to their growth; they function at the price of the daily movement across the city of thousands of employees. If, with regard to population, Cairo is far behind the greatest cities of the world (fifteenth in 1990), it is one of the most dense, with ca. 250 persons per hectare. As a reaction to the inconveniences brought into being by this situation, a new form of development in the desert zone—houses or small properties grouped in an enclosure—appeared towards the end of the 1990s. It has caused a very rapid growth in the surface area of the agglomeration. In favour of these extensions, the groups of population become more homogeneous, but the distances between those living in security and the rest continue to deepen.


Great Britain’s post-1882 occupation of Egypt was a classic case of indirect colonial domination. Formally, Egypt remained a province of the Ottoman Empire ruled by a Khedive [see qibā‘i] selected from the family of Muhammad ’Ali (Muhammad Tawfik 1882-92; his son ’Abbās Hilmi II [q.v.] 1892-1914). A bureaucratic apparatus staffed by Egyptians and members of the polygot elite that had emerged over the course of the 19th century administered the day-to-day affairs of the country. They did so, however, under British supervision and in accord with British directives. A British military garrison was the ultimate guarantor of British control. The key British official in Egypt was its Consul-General. British policy and the course of Egyptian development were shaped particularly by the first Consul-General Sir Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer (1883-1907); Cromer’s successors Sir Eldon Gorst (1907-11) and Sir Herbert Kitchener (1911-14) had shorter tenures and less impact. At lower levels, British advisers were gradually appointed to different Egyptian ministries and British nationals employed in the Khedivial bureaucracy.

Under this ‘veiled protectorate’ from 1882 to 1914, Egypt experienced considerable economic growth but little structural change. Financial stabilisation, agricultural expansion and the maintenance of security were the main concerns of Egypt’s British overlords. Egypt’s financial situation was stabilised through the reduction of government expenditures and a new international agreement for debt repayment; the construction of new irrigation works contributed to a doubling of the total value of Egypt’s agricultural output between 1886-7 and 1912-13; and the rough edges of Khedivial administration were smoothed under British supervision (e.g. the abolition of compulsory peasant labour on public works projects). On the other hand, little was done to encourage the development of an industrial base under the British. Egypt’s social structure changed little between 1882 and 1914. The landed elite which had emerged earlier in the century consolidated its position and expanded its holdings after 1882, and the European/Levantine population which had become prominent in trade and banking under Muhammad ’Ali’s successors continued to dominate the commercial and financial sectors of the economy.

Under the compliant Khedive Muhammad Tawfik, there was little overt opposition to British domination. ’Abbās Hilmi II was more assertive, providing financial support for opposition newspapers and encouraging the formation of nationalist secret societies among Egyptian youth. Nationalist sentiment and activism became more pronounced in the decade prior to World War I. The catalyst was the Dinghāway incident of 1906, when an altercation between a hunting party of British soldiers and Egyptian peasants near the Delta village of Dinghāway resulted in one soldier dying and led to the arrest, trial by military tribunal, and subsequent execution, imprisonment, and public whipping of the peasants involved. Dinghāway is credited with galvanising Egyptian opposition to the British occupation. Several political parties were formed in 1907, the most important being the firmly anti-occupation al-Hizb al-watani led by the lawyer Muḥammad Kāmil [q.v.] and the more gradualist Hizb al-‘umma, whose chief spokesman was the journalist Ahmad Luḥf al-‘Ayyād [see Luḥf al-‘Ayyād]. Despite a higher level of Egyptian opposition to occupation thereafter, Great Britain’s position in Egypt was not significantly eroded before 1914.

Major change occurred during and after World War I. The entry of the Ottoman Empire into the
war in late 1914 had immediate repercussions for Egypt. In December 1914 Great Britain severed the Ottoman connection by declaring a British Protectorate over Egypt. Simultaneously, it deposed the pro-Ottoman Khedive 'Abbas Hilmi II, appointing his uncle Husayn Kāmil [q.v.] as titular ruler with the new title of Sultan. The latter was succeeded by his brother Ahmad Fu'ād [see FU'AD AL-ANWALL] in 1917.

The war itself generated massive pressures as well as new expectations within Egypt. Forced sales of grain and animals to British forces operating in the area; the use of Egyptian labourers to construct military facilities; wartime inflation; the behaviour of British and Imperial troops temporarily garrisoned in the country; not least Allied rhetoric pegging self-determination for submerged peoples after the war; all these contributed to Egyptian discontent with the new Protectorate. On 13 November 1918 a delegation of Egyptian notables led by the lawyer-judge Sa'd Zaghlūl [q.v.] visited the High Commissioner, Sir Reginald Wingate, to request Egyptian representation at the Paris Peace Conference. Over the winter of 1918-19 Zaghlūl and associates organised a broadly-based nationalist front, the Wafd [q.v.] or “delegation”, committed to working for Egyptian independence. When in March 1919 the British arrested Zaghlūl and two of his colleagues, Egypt exploded in protest. Daily demonstrations and work stoppages brought normal life to a standstill in Egyptian cities; the countryside witnessed attacks on British personnel and communications facilities.

The Revolution of 1919 set in motion a process of political change which eventually brought Egypt formal independence. The turbulence of 1919 inaugurated a brace of key oppositions between the British government and different Egyptian notables (sometimes the Wafd, sometimes ministers supported by the Sultan, Fu'ād) aimed at defining a new Anglo-Egyptian relationship. After three years of futile discussions, in February 1922 the British issued a unilateral declaration of Egyptian independence. It was ringed with qualifiers, however, the British reserving the four areas, those of Imperial communications, the defence of Egypt, the status of foreign minorities and the Sudan, as matters of British concern. But at last Egypt had independence—of a sort.

From 1922 to 1952, Egypt was a technically independent parliamentary monarchy. Sultan Fu'ād became King Fu'ād in 1922 and reigned until his death in 1936; he was succeeded by his son Fārūk [q.v. in Suppl.] from 1936 to 1952. A constitution establishing a parliamentary system of government, but reserving significant powers for the monarch, was drafted in 1923. An electoral law of the same year provided for a Chamber of Deputies elected by male suffrage and a partially-elected, partially-appointed Chamber of Notables. Egypt’s first parliamentary elections in December 1923-January 1924 saw the Wafd emerge triumphant.

The dynamics of the parliamentary monarchy have often been described as a triangular struggle among the King, the British and the Wafd. The Wafd, the nation’s premier popular movement at least through the interwar period, won every relatively free parliamentary election yet held ministerial office for only somewhat over eight of the 28-plus years from 1924 to 1952. Egypt was more often governed by “minority” parties of non-Wafdist or Wafdist dissidents ruling with the covert or overt backing of the King. British influence rested primarily on the continued presence of British troops in Egypt, and was exercised through the British High Commissioner (from 1936, the British Ambassador) meeting regularly with Egyptian Prime Ministers and rendering advice which the latter disregarded at the risk of incurring British opposition to their continued tenure in office. From its inception, the Egyptian parliamentary order was a flawed system characterised by the domination of politics by an elite, electoral corruption and frequent turnover in office, and—at least until after World War II—by a neglect of socio-economic adjustment or reform on the part of the country’s politically dominant upper class. On the other hand, the period of the parliamentary monarchy was also one of political pluralism, of considerable freedom of expression, and of cultural efflorescence, as a galaxy of prominent intellectuals engaged in spirited debate on the relative merits of Egypt’s inherited Arabo-Islamic culture versus patterns of social and political life modelled on those of the West.

The shortcomings of the parliamentary monarchy became more pronounced over time. The 1920s were years of economic prosperity and relative political optimism. The 1930s were a darker era marked by economic depression and extended periods of overt royal autocracy. A Wafdist interlude in office in the mid-1930s witnessed the main political development of the decade, the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance in 1936 which regularised but did not totally eliminate the British military presence in Egypt. The years of the Second World War from 1939 to 1945 saw more overt British interference in the country’s political life. Of particular importance was the “incident” of 4 February 1942, when British tanks surrounded the Egyptian Palace and threatened King Fu’ād with forced abdication unless he complied with a British ultimatum to install the by-then more pro-British Wafd in office. The incident served to discredit both the Wafd, now seen as willing to accept British support in its quest for public office, and the King who had bowed to British power. The postwar years were ones of great political turmoil. Labour troubles and peasant unrest perturbed urban and rural Egypt respectively; anti-British demonstrations and agitation over the Arab-Jewish clash in neighbouring Palestine added to the turbulence of the later 1940s; deep-seated animosity between the supporters of rival political tendencies produced a wave of political violence, including the assassination of two prime ministers and of the charismatic leader of the anti-parliamentary Muslim Brotherhood [al-Islāmiyyun al-Muslimūn [q.v.]], Ḥasan al-Bannā’ [q.v.], between 1945 and 1949; and in late 1951 to early 1952, the Wafd, once again in office, terminated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance and mounted a guerrilla campaign to pressure the British out of their remaining military base in the Suez Canal zone. The culmination of postwar unrest came on “Black Saturday”, 26 January 1952, when huge crowds, angered by a British massacre of Egyptian police in the city of Ismā‘īliyya on the previous day, surged through Cairo, and organised bands of insurrectees undertook the systematic torching of commercial, primarily Western-owned, establishments in the city. The conventional narrative of 20th-century Egyptian history portrays the parliamentary monarchy as politically discredited and morally exhausted by 1952.

Bibliography: General works in Western languages which cover all or most of the 1882-1952 period include J. Berque, Egypt, imperialism and revolution, London 1972; M.W. Daly (ed.), The Cambridge history of Egypt. II. Modern Egypt from 1517 to 1952.


D. 9. Republican Egypt 1952 to the present.

On 22-3 July 1952, a military coup effectively brought the era of the parliamentary monarchy to an end. The seizure of power was carried out by a clandestine movement within the army, the "Free Officers" (*al-dabbâh al-ghurâr*); the key figure in the movement was Colonel Djamal 'Abd al-Nâşîr [*q.v.* in *Suppl.*]. From July 1952 onwards, executive decisions were made by a committee of leading Free Officers, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC).

A new political order emerged only gradually. On 26 July 1952 the sylharite King Fârîk [*q.v.* in *Suppl.*] was hustled into exile. At first a civilian ministry held formal power. By September, General Muhammad Nagîb [*q.v.*], an associate but not a core member of the Free Officers, was appointed Prime Minister. Existing political parties were banned in January 1953. On 18 June 1953 the monarchy was formally abolished and Egypt declared a Republic; Muhammad Nagîb became its first president. The crucial phase in the consolidation of the military regime came in early 1954, when President Nagîb, supported by remnants of the old political order, mounted a challenge to continued RCC rule. In a month-long crisis marked by street clashes between partisans of the two camps, 'Abd al-Nâşîr and the RCC outmanoeuvred Nagîb and his supporters. By the end of 1954, after an abortive assassination attempt on 'Abd al-Nâşîr by members of the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwan al-Muslimân [*q.v.*]) provided the occasion for a crackdown on the Brotherhood, the military group gained supreme in Egypt. A new constitution promulgated in January 1956 established a presidential form of government for Egypt. The constitution was ratified by popular referendum in June 1956; at the same time, Djamal 'Abd al-Nâşîr's nomination as President was overwhelmingly approved.

There was occasional formal but little substantive change in Egypt's political structure from 1956 to 1970. 'Abd al-Nâşîr remained President until his death in September 1970. This period was characterised by Egypt and Syria in the United Arab Republic (UAR) which in early 1958 necessitated a new provisional constitution and the expansion of the National Assembly to include Syrian representatives; but real authority remained in the hands of 'Abd al-Nâşîr. Syria's secession from the UAR in September 1961 prompted further adjustments. A Charter of National Action of 1962 now specified a socialist agenda for the United Arab Republic, as Egypt continued to be known until 1971. Another provisional constitution was promulgated in 1964, to remain in effect until 1971.

The years from 1952 to 1970 witnessed major changes in Egypt's economic policy, social structure, and international orientation. A policy of agrarian reform was inaugurated in 1952 and extended thereafter. By 1970, something over 800,000 faddûns of agricultural land, roughly one-eighth of the cultivated area, had been taken from large landlords and redistributed to some 340,000 peasant families. The foreign interests which had controlled much of the commercial sector of the economy were abruptly dispossessed as a consequence of the international crises of the late 1950s, their holdings now coming under state ownership. The heights of the domestically-owned urban economy also came under state control in the early 1960s, when Arab Socialism became the slogan of the UAR and the government nationalised much domestically-owned business and industry. The resulting economic structure was one of a privately-owned but state-directed agricultural sector and a huge state-owned public sector controlling most large-scale enterprises in the commercial and industrial sectors of the urban economy.

The social policies of the 'Abd al-Nâşîr years were distinctly populist. The new revolutionary régime made major efforts to bring the benefits of modernity to the mass of Egyptians. Educational facilities were rapidly expanded; health care was extended to the countryside through a network of rural health clinics; new laws relating to hours of work, minimum pay, and social security entitlements attempted to improve the standard of living of Egypt's labouring population.

Externally, the 'Abd al-Nâşîr years witnessed dramatic shifts. A negotiated Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1954 arranged for the withdrawal of the last British troops from Egyptian soil in 1956. The mid-1950s
witnessed major transformations in Egypt's international position. Egypt broke with the Western powers and turned to the Soviet bloc for military and economic assistance; simultaneously, it assumed a leadership role in both the Arab nationalist movement and the Afro-Asian bloc of non-aligned nations. Successful resistance to armed attack by Israel, Great Britain, and France in the Suez Crisis of late 1956 consolidated Djamal 'Abd al-Násir's position as a major figure in world affairs. Thereafter he was unquestionably the leading personality in inter-Arab politics (leading to Syria's request for unity with Egypt in the UAR in 1958), as well as one of the most influential spokesmen in African and non-aligned politics. 'Abd al-Násir's regional dominance and international prominence eroded over the course of the 1960s. Syria's secession from the UAR in 1961 was a huge setback; inconclusive involvement in a prolonged civil war in Yemen from 1962 onwards drained the resources and prestige of the UAR; military defeat by Israel and the loss of the Sinai Peninsula in June 1967 irrevocably damaged 'Abd al-Násir's aura as an Arab champion. Suffering from an unresolved military confrontation with Israel and a stagnant economy, the later 1960s were difficult years for Egypt/the UAR. The massive outpouring of Egyptian grief upon his death in September 1970 notwithstanding, Djamal 'Abd al-Násir left a difficult legacy for his successor.

The Vice-President Anwar al-Sadat [q.v.] assumed the presidency of the UAR upon 'Abd al-Násir's death. A popular referendum in October 1970 ratified Sadat's accession. A veteran member of the Free Officers movement, at first Sadat governed under 'Abd al-Násir's shadow. Rivalry with other members of 'Abd al-Násir's entourage and public discontent with the ongoing situation of no war–no peace with Israel marked the early 1970s. Sadat consolidated his personal position only in October 1973, when a combined Egyptian-Syrian attack upon Israeli positions in the territories Israel had occupied in June 1967 created a new strategic situation in the region. From late 1973 onwards Sadat was his own man, free to move Egypt in new directions.

He did so with a vengeance. Change was most pronounced in international relations. Sadat signalled over the 1970s, a phenomenon which eventually cost Sadat his life. On 6 October 1981 Anwar al-Sadat was assassinated by a group of Islamist militants. The Vice-President Husni Mubarak ascended to the presidency. A referendum in October 1981 ratified his accession; subsequent referenda in 1987, 1993, and 1999 extended Mubarak's term in office.

By and large, the hallmark of the Mubarak presidency has been continuity. Under Mubarak, Egypt has maintained its generally pro-Western stance, its strategic alliance with and material reliance upon the United States, and its peace with Israel. Sadat's economic approach was different than the formal socialist orientation of the 1960s was jettisoned as new legislation gave incentives to foreign investors and to greater scope to private capital. Socially, the era of the Opening was one of an accentuation of class cleavages between Egypt's more affluent upper and middle classes, who were the main beneficiaries of the country's more open economic system, and the mass of Egyptians suffering from accelerating inflation and a decline in social benefits. This deepening social schism forms part of the context for the growth of Islamist activism and militancy in Egypt over the 1970s, a phenomenon which eventually cost Sadat his life.

Economic growth improved over that of the 1980s. The micro performance was more troubling. The rate of unemployment remained high; wages formed a decreasing share of GDP and the reduction of state subsidies affected particularly the standard of living of poorer Egyptians.

More relaxed political atmosphere prevailed in Mubarak's early years in power. The scope for political expression decreased thereafter. Greater political protest and violence in the later 1980s in turn led to more governmental repression of opposition voices and groups. Faced with a low-level Islamist insurgency in Egypt's sprawling shanty-towns and in the economically depressed countryside of Upper Egypt in the early and mid-1990s, the government asserted greater and greater control over political opinion and activism. Emergency laws first enacted in 1981 were renewed through the decade; Islamist violence was met with massive state repression and the brutalisation of families and communities suspected of harbouring militants; non-violent critics of the regime have been subjected to government harassment and muzzling; and the parliamentary elections of 1990 were boycotted by opposition groups in protest against electoral restrictions, and those of 1995 were marked by the systematic repression of the opposition as well as by unprecedented electoral violence and blatant fraud. Egypt at the close of the 1990s may have turned an economic corner, at least in terms of national economic indicators if not of popular well-being; its political situation, on the other hand, appeared to be one of increasing governmental authoritarianism and the
progressive alienation of its leadership from the bulk of the population.


Accounts of Egypt's international relations under 'Abd al-Nâṣir include Muhammad Abd el-Wahab Sayed-Ahmed, Nasser and American foreign pol-


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MIZADJ [lit. "mixture", a basic term of mediaeval Islamic medicine, to be translated as "temperament, balance of elements within the body"].


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MIZADJ [...].
heat (ba'ara ghazziga) which a man has at birth, goes on decreasing when that person reaches the end of his life. They considered as proof of this the cold that old persons feel and that the physician can observe at the time of palpation, not to mention the coldness of a corpse after death. The corollary of the mizdaj is the theory of humours, which the Greek and then the Arabic physicians developed. Even today, such ideas remain strongly connected in the popular imagination, since we speak of a person having a sanguine, a phlegmatic or a choleric temperament. The 19th century was for Islam a period of revival. (a) The early period. For this, see MOZAMBIQUE, Vol. VII. (b) The 19th and earlier 20th centuries. The 19th century was for Islam a period of revival and djihād aided by the opening up of shipping across the Indian Ocean and the trade routes into Central Africa. Already at the beginning of the 19th century it was estimated that there were 15,000 Muslims in the Cape Delgado region and some 20,000 in the coastal hinterland of Mozambique Island. According to oral tradition, one Musa Momadi from Angoche, as a young man accompanied a relative who was a sharīf and a ḥadīthi on an extended dawa expedition into the interior. His relative was concerned with converting the people he came across, including the Yao [q.v.] who by this time had migrated as far as the Shire valley. In light of this sort of occurrence, it is not surprising to find the governor of Mozambique commenting on the extraordinary advance and infiltration of Islam in the interior in 1852. On Musa’s return in the mid-1850s the records indicate that he led the defence of Angoche. By 1877 he controlled an area which covered most of the coast from Mozambique Island to Licungo River and stretching 100 miles inland. His successors repulsed Portuguese attacks until 1910. As in other parts of the coast, the diffusion was primarily undertaken by people of mixed Arab and African blood. It was Portuguese policy to supply mistsicos and wagge with goods so as to procure slaves. This came to an end with the anti-slavery proclamation of 26 May 1877. The successful penetration is indicated by the fact that by the 1870s, women in their mid-twenties are recorded as having Muslim names. In addition to the Makua, the Yao and the Machemba had accepted Islam. In the interior beyond Mogabo, the Muila chief and elders observed the Islamic practices, as did Muriko, Causassio and minor chiefs like Cattur in the Luambara valley. To the north of them, Mataka represented an important centre of Islam. The Arab chief of Matibane was licensed to deal in slaves by the ex-governor Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes. Tavares, writing to the Overseas Ministry in Lisbon on 8 November 1862, mentions that the slave trade is in the hands of Arabs whose religion permits them to buy slaves. Likewise, Andrade Corvo writing to the Duke of Saldanha, the Portuguese Minister in London, on 11 March 1876 comments that, “It is easy for the Muslims to make religious proselytes among the finest and most energetic of the aboriginal races and in this way they get active and not very scrupulous agents to provide them with slaves.” Chief Matapwiri living near Kalanji was reported as selling slaves in 1886. Indian Muslims played their part, particularly in Angoche, where a Swahili dynasty was in power well into the 20th century. The slave trade in this region was primarily from Surat in western India, supplying the Persian and Arab markets. At this stage, Islamic doctrine was not observed in a pure form but was mixed with local traditions. It would seem that by the 1880s most major Yao chiefs had embraced Islam. Their settlements were centres for the spreading of Islam through the Kuru‘an schools. Coutinho records meeting Yao caravan leaders at Quelimane who claimed to be Muslims and who carried the Kuru‘an carefully wrapped in a fold of their clothes. Coastal Muslims, however, ridiculed the Yao who claimed to be Muslims, saying that they were ni ngunyakan. The growing Muslim presence is documented in a report from 1893 which shows that Muslims were active along the Licungo River and Maganja de Costa north of Quelimane. The reasons for the growing Islamisation were varied and complex, but had to do with closer associations with Muslim trading partners on the coast, and the increased prestige of Islam through the influence of the Bā Su‘id [q.v.] dynasty and its representatives along the coast. The South African influence on the development during the latter part of the 19th century can be seen in the establishment of a madrasa in Lourenço Marques by Abū Bakr Effendi (d. 1880), a Kurdisch scholar sent to the Cape in 1862. At the beginning of the 20th century there were 15 mosques and 10 Kuru‘an schools in the Angoche region. All the mosques were said to be able to write their own language in Arabic script. The Portuguese, in seeking to subordinate the north, considered that Muslims and local Africans making converts not only caused a decline in Muslim tradition, but had to do with closer associations with Muslim trading partners on the coast, and the increased prestige of Islam through the influence of the Bā Su‘id [q.v.] dynasty and its representatives along the coast. 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Arune's death in 1929 the *tanka* split was by leadership rivalries leading in 1934 to the formation of the Kadiriyya Bagdadî branch, and further splits followed over the next decades. Developments which facilitated the growth of Islam during the second decade of the 20th century included the construction of the railroad from Lumbo, on the mainland opposite Mozambique Island, which began in 1913; the advance of Indian Muslim merchants beyond the coast; and towards the end of World War I, the presence of a considerable number of Muslims in the British forces engaged in the war in German East Africa with Von Lettow-Vorbeck's forces. As a result, the *tanka* established branches in the principal settlements such as Nampula and Cabo Delgado. Mosques were constructed for the men and *zandika* (enclosed space) for women. As in the rest of the East African coast, Muslims from different parts of the Muslim world arrived bringing a variety of cultural and sectarian backgrounds. This has had its repercussions into the present, so that Muslims in different parts of Mozambique have tended to be and are isolated from one another.

Indian Muslims had their own mosques which were well built and ornate. They had cemeteries for their own exclusive use and brought and supported their own imams from India. They observed the ordinances of the Kur'ân and the *Shari'a* strictly. They avoided what was *harâm*, fulfilled the requirements of ablutions and frequented the mosque assiduously. The African and mestizo Muslims had their own mosques which were like thatched huts, hence indistinguishable from other huts. Their observance of Islam was less rigorous. Their attendances at mosques were less frequent and their prayers and recitations less perfect because of their ignorance of Arabic and the absence of any of the required texts. All male Muslims, whether Indian or African, practiced circumcision. They wore the *malaia*, also referred to as *cabaia*, and the *roflo* or a turban.

The statistics available indicate that there were around 66,000 Muslims in Mozambique in the mid-1950s. By then it was estimated that there were 1,356 Oriental and under Indians. At the end of the 20th century, estimates of Muslims in Mozambique vary between 10 and 16% in a population of 19 millions. Muslims in Mozambique consist of *mohikes*, those from the Indian sub-continent, as well as *moors* who have an Arab or Turkish origin, and the Swahili. They looked to Zanzibar as the centre of Sunni Islam and source of Islamic publications; they viewed the Bû Sa'îdî Sultan as their protector, remembering his name during Friday *qâqha*, even though he was theologically an Ikhâdí. The leader of the Kadiriyya Sadate between 1929 and 1963 referred to himself as the Sultan's representative to Mozambique.

Historically, Islamic revivalist movements have opposed colonial rule in northern Mozambique. In the 1920s, some Muslim leaders protested against the abuses of forced labour, low wages and land appropriation in the Quelimane area. From the 1930s onwards, Muslim Africans and various Indians organized themselves into interest groups which carried out political action under the cover of social, mutual aid, cultural and athletic activities. The situation became even more acute from 1942, when Mozambique became *Portugal Ultramar*. Forced labour, arbitrary taxation, the obligation to plant cash crops and the lack of social improvement, produced a serious discontent among the Africans which led to the awakening of a national consciousness.

By the 1960s, the isolation of Muslims in Mozambique was breaking down. Muslims were seeking education in Tanzania and Arabia. Islamic publications from Cairo and Mumbai were available and Muslims went on education in Arabia. People were listening to Cairo radio and were becoming aware of their religious roots. Arab and Islamic records and tapes from Egypt were circulating. African nationalism, linked to Arab anti-Portuguese propaganda, was gaining ground among the Muslims. It seems possible that clandestine Islamic associations were being established as early as the 1950s.

Given the total absence of liberty to form political organisations under the Portuguese, African Mozambicans living abroad in Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Malawi came together in a common front and formed the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) in 1962. An armed struggle began in 1964, but not until after the 1974 coup d'état in Portugal did Mozambique gain its independence (1975). During this period, a colonial policy was designed to win the support of the Muslim community against the forces of FRELIMO, which the colonial authorities thought had alienated the Muslims because of its Marxist tendencies. The policy was to work through the Muslim religious leadership, i.e. the *pânák*, which they considered a conservative, local force against more radical, internationally organised expressions of Islam bent on political subversion. The Portuguese authorities, capitalising on the new situation that arose after the abolition of the Sultanate of Zanzibar in 1963, utilised the new links between the Muslim leadership in Northern Mozambique with the Comoros and invited the Mufifi there to settle disputes between the *pânák*. They also embarked on publishing an official, Portuguese-language version of abstracts of al-Bukhârî's *Saîth*. In view of the fact that the liberation struggle was predominantly centred on the north, it is not surprising that the Muslims of Indian origin who lived in the southern part of the colony and adhered to the Hanafi legal tradition, with their orientation to Durban and Karachi, did not play an important role.

Nevertheless, the Muslim presence and growing Islamic influence can be seen by the fact that FRELIMO's representative in Cairo was a Muslim by the name of Shaffrudin Muhammad Khan, and an office was also opened in Algiers. Islam's influence received a boost when various Arab countries offered to train the "freedom fighters", and some 130 of them were sent to Algeria. FRELIMO established international relations with the Arab League and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. There is no mention in FRELIMO's educational programme of Kur'ân schools, but traditional institutions like the *poro*/*sande* institutions were acknowledged, and it is possible that, to some extent, Muslim influence may have been spread through these. The Indian Muslim communities which represent non-Sunnî groups such as the Ithnâ'î Ashârî, Ismâ'îlî Khodjas and Bohorâs ran small-scale commercial ventures, bush trading centres and small shops in towns. As closed communities, they had hardly any contact with Africans, Europeans or other Indian groups. Some Asian students attended universities or professional courses at technical schools in Portugal.

(c) Independence and after.

After independence in 1975, the Muslim leadership which had co-operated with the colonial authorities was disgraced. Some Muslim associations were banned in 1976, while those which had had restrictions
imposed on them during the colonial period gained some freedom; but the civil war which erupted soon after independence and lasted until 1992 between FRELIMO as a Marxist-Leninist party and the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO), which sought to bring democracy to Mozambique, did not serve the Muslims well. By 1980 Mozambican Muslim students in exile in Dar es Salaam denounced the repression of Islam by the new government. Until 1982 the régime showed hostility to organised religion in general. There was considerable harassment of Muslims, including throwing pigs into mosques. Virtually all religious communities lost property through nationalisation. Religious associations were forbidden and attempts made to prevent religious activities anywhere but in mosques. Attitudes began to change after the establishment of RENAMO. FRELIMO found that its treatment of Muslims provided reasons for both Saudi Arabia and 'Umnūn to send supplies to RENAMO. South Africa and the Comoro Islands also served as conduits for supplying RENAMO in 1983-9. That situation made any allies, including the religious communities, acceptable. Thus in 1983 FRELIMO officially recognised the new national Council of Muslims Mozambique (CISLAMO). There seems to have been an enthusiastic attitude to religion in RENAMO circles. Their bases exhibited this in the form of mosques and churches. With the accession of Chissano in 1987, FRELIMO began a gradual restoration of social legitimacy to religious bodies of all kinds. In that year, Mozambique hosted the fifth Southern Africa Islamic Youth Conference. By mid-1988, confiscated properties were being returned. The situation improved further when article 19 of the 1975 constitution was changed in 1990 to state that "The state shall respect the activities of religious denominations in order to promote a climate of social understanding and tolerance and to strengthen national unity."

The elections of 1994 returned FRELIMO to power. In further attempts to gain the support of Muslims, FRELIMO recognised the Islamic holy days of 'Id al-'Adha and 'Id al-Fitr as national holidays in 1996. But in the 1999 elections it is revealing that, out of FRELIMO's 117 deputies, only one seems to be a Muslim, whereas out of RENAMO's 117, 12 were Muslims.

By the end of the 1990s, Mozambique had become a member of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), thus securing economic benefits. Tensions between the Súfi leaders of the majority of Muslims in the north and the more radical reformers based in the south have led the former to split off from CISLAMO to form the Congress Islámico.

had mocked that city and how the Isfahanis had in some way held Khākān responsible for the attack, an accusation which he rejects energetically. The commentators identified this “demon” with ‘Amr b. ‘Abd al-Malik But this is perhaps merely a fanciful elaboration.

Mudjir’s *divān* contains several highly artificial poems (e.g. one in which he uses only the letters that do not take diacritical points) and a fair number in Arabic or with alternating Arabic and Persian verses. A critical edition was prepared by M. Abadī, Tehran 1350/AB 1972. "Philology: de Blos, Persian literature, v, 425-8 (with further references); A.L.F.A. Berlaert, *La qasid en honneur d’Isfahān de Xāyān*, in *Pand-o sokhan*. Mélanges offerts à Charles-Henri de Foucauche, Tehran 1995, 53-63.

**Mudjir al-Dīn Baylākanī — al-Mufaddal b. Salama**

Al-Mufaddal’s *al-Fadhl ādab* (for partial prints and the two editions, see *Mathāl*. iii. 4) has in fact a rubric in Mudjir’s *divān* poking fun at the people of Isfahān. Abu ‘l-Radžād Kummāt (Tārīkh al-Wuzūrd, ed. M.T. Danish-pazhūh, Tehran 1985, 200-1), a nearly contemporary source, cites one verse from this quatrains and then a verse with which the “people of Isfahān” replied to Mudjir’s attack (and which in later sources is ascribed to Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa, see *Mathāl*. l.ii. 12). The transmission of al-Fāhīr may in part be traced back to Ibn al-Anbārī as well; he seems to have recognised that al-Mufaddal had entered new “lexical” territory, which was then the motive for his composing the more comprehensive *al-Zāhir* (see *Mathāl*. l.ii. 5). Al-Mufaddal was less of a philologist than a collector and an entertainer at court and in the city of Baghdad. Pointers towards this include his critique (cf. Fāhrist, 43, 62, 63, 74, 82) of the Kitāb al-‘Ayn of the great al-Khalīf b. Ahmad, bearing the title: *al-Radd [var. al-Iṣṭidāk] ‘ala l-‘Ayn* (see also *Fakhrist*). This evidently did not convince the philologists and lexico-logists, who felt called upon to contradict him, even a later century (for relevant passages, see Sezgin, vii, 140). Al-Mufaddal had a preference in his work for what was novel, strange and contemporary. This can be seen in his renditions of the aetiological stories that go with the *māḥāl* (māḥāwarāt), the clever Jew (no. 223), and such things as greeting for-merly were lost (no. 441) and animal calls (no. 442). As the technical term “abridgement”, indicates, it might possibly have the same name by al-Farra (see *Mathāl*. lii. 3, 5). Al-Mufaddal is the best known of the great al-Khalīf b. Ahmad, bearing the *Ayn wa-ỉṣlāh* (for partial prints and the two editions, see *Mathāl*. lii. 3, 40. His best-known work is his much-used, unsystematic collection of proverbs (*māḥāl*; see *Mathāl*. li. 4), containing 521 items:

1. *al-Fāhīr* (for partial prints and the two editions, see *Mathāl*. lii. 4). The peculiarity of *al-Fāhīr* is the fact that, in addition to 200 proverbs, all of which can be found in the better-known, extensive collection of al-Maydānī [see *Mathāl*. lii. 12], it contains 321 turns of phrases (māḥāwarāt, such as greeting formulas, beneficences, curses, animal calls (no. 441) and similar things, not a few of them connected with the *māḥāl*, see *Mathāl*. lii. 4).
used for evading the spirit of the law whilst technically satisfying its letter [see ṣita].

Thus the mahallī is found in gambling, racing for stakes, e.g., with horses or pigeons, and archery contests being a participant who does not contribute to the stakes; see F. Rosenthal, Gambling in Islam, Leiden 1975, 53, 98-106, and kamīr, as in N. V. 1096. But mahallī is also found in marriage and divorce law, as the person instructed, usually for payment, to marry a woman who has been three times divorced and cannot therefore remarry her original husband until a fourth, dummy marriage has been gone through and duly consummated. After this tabīḥ she can legally remarry her old husband. Such an intervention was generally allowed by the Hanafis but disputed by the Malikis and Shafis, whilst the Hanbils Ibn Taymiyya denounced it as illegal in a treatise of his on divorce (cf. Brockelmann, II, 127, S II, 124) [see ṣālah I. 7].

The person acting as a mahallī in marriage and divorce is not surprisingly a figure of contempt and obloquy in Islamic literature.

**MUHAMMAD III b. HASAN**


In British usage from the later 18th century but probably of doubtful legality or in fact prohibited; it thus forms part of the mechanisms and procedures subsumed under ṣiya, legal devices, often said to be a "man of straw", in order to authenticate or make permissible some legal process otherwise of doubtful legality or in fact prohibited.
ambassador to Alamut where he conducted diplomatic negotiations with Muhammad III on behalf of the Khârazm-Shâh. In Muhammad III's time, relations between Alamut and the neighbouring Caspian provinces deteriorated. On the other hand, peace was maintained between the Mongols and the perennial enemy, the people of Kazwîn. Muhammad III had personally developed a close association with a Şûfi qâdhî of Kazwîn, Djanâl al-Dîn Gîlî (d. 651/1253), and regularly sent him an annual grant of 500 dînârs. It seems that it was also in Muhammad III's time that the Nizarî Ismâ'îli dîwâna was introduced to the Indian subcontinent by dîvîs dispatched originally to Sind. Nizarî fortunes in Persia were rapidly reversed after the collapse of the Khârazm-Shâh empire. The Nizarîns now directly confronted their most dangerous enemy, the Mongols, who were then making new efforts to conquer all of Persia. Following his abortive effort, in collaboration with the 'Abbasids, in 635/1238 to forge an alliance with the kings of France and England against the Mongols, Muhammad III made one last peace overture to the new Great Khân Guyûk in 644/1246. However, the Nizarî emissaries to Mongolia were dismissed with contempt by Guyûk Hencertopuli, and Nizarî-Mongol relations deteriorated beyond repair. By 651/1253, under Guyûk's successor Mongke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizarî towns and strongholds in Kühistan and Kûmîs. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizarî territories in Persia, 'Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad III was found murdered in Shìrkûh, the last lord of Alamut. By 651/1253, under Gûyûk's successor Mongke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizarî towns and strongholds in Kühistan and Kûmîs. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizarî territories in Persia, 'Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad III was found murdered in Shìrkûh, the last lord of Alamut. By 651/1253, under Gûyûk's successor Mongke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizarî towns and strongholds in Kühistan and Kûmîs. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizarî territories in Persia, 'Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad III was found murdered in Shìrkûh, the last lord of Alamut. By 651/1253, under Gûyûk's successor Mongke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizarî towns and strongholds in Kühistan and Kûmîs. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizarî territories in Persia, 'Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad III was found murdered in Shìrkûh, the last lord of Alamut. By 651/1253, under Gûyûk's successor Mongke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizarî towns and strongholds in Kühistan and Kûmîs. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizarî territories in Persia, 'Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad III was found murdered in Shìrkûh, the last lord of Alamut. By 651/1253, under Gûyûk's successor Mongke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizarî towns and strongholds in Kühistan and Kûmîs. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizarî territories in Persia, 'Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad III was found murdered in Shìrkûh, the last lord of Alamut. By 651/1253, under Gûyûk's successor Mongke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizarî towns and strongholds in Kühistan and Kûmîs. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizarî territories in Persia, 'Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad III was found murdered in Shìrkûh, the last lord of Alamut. By 651/1253, under Gûyûk's successor Mongke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizarî towns and strongholds in Kühistan and Kûmîs. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizarî territories in Persia, 'Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad III was found murdered in Shìrkûh, the last lord of Alamut. By 651/1253, under Gûyûk's successor Mongke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizarî towns and strongholds in Kühistan and Kûmîs. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizarî territories in Persia, 'Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad III was found murdered in Shìrkûh, the last lord of Alamut. By 651/1253, under Gûyûk's successor Mongke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizarî towns and strongholds in Kühistan and Kûmîs. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizarî territories in Persia, 'Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad III was found murdered in Shìrkûh, the last lord of Alamut.
Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm was born in the 1880s into the large Berber tribe (kaḥila) Banū Wāryāghal in the Moroccan Rif (q.v.), son of a kāḍī who had close relations with the Spanish in Melīla (q.v.) and Alhucemas Island. He studied at the Karawīyīn in Fāṣa (q.v.), and was influenced by the Salafīyya (q.v.).

After a rising against the Spanish in July 1921, he founded a government based on principles of modernisation and Salafi reform. In February 1923 various Riff tribes gave him bayya as imām; he sometimes called himself amīr al-muṣīra (q.v.), more to signify the religious nature of his movement than to claim universal leadership. His forces defeated the Spanish in 1924 and invaded the French Zone in 1925. After a joint invasion of the Rif in the autumn of 1925, Spanish and French armies crushed his state in May 1926.

Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm was exiled to Reunion until, in 1947, he escaped to Egypt on his way to France. He became the titular leader of the umbrella Committee for the Liberation of North Africa. After Moroccan independence (1956) he refused to return, saying that the American bases prevented Morocco from being truly independent. He died in Cairo in 1963.


MUHAMMAD b. 'ARAFĀ (d. 1976), ephemeral Sultan of Morocco 1953-5.

Muḥammad b. 'Arāfa was the product of the Franco-Moroccan crisis of the early 1950s when sultan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (after 1956, Muḥammad V) (d. 1961) defied the Protectorate authorities and openly supported the nationalists’ demand for independence. In March 1952 the sultan addressed a letter to the President of the French Republic demanding the abrogation of the protectorate treaty of 1912. The French not only rejected the sultan’s demand but started contemplating plans for his removal. A scheme for a dynastic change by which the Idrīsid 'Abd al-Hāy al-Kattānī would be made sultan was quickly abandoned in favour of a more realistic alternative, that of finding a candidate for the throne from within the ‘Alawīd house.

The idea of a new ‘Alawīd sultan who would be more co-operative, if not in effect a French puppet, was judged to be more acceptable in view of the wide popularity that had built up round the ‘Alawīd dynasty since the early 1950s. Upon the instructions of Augustin Guillaumou, the French Resident General, Thāmī al-Glawī, patha of Marrakesh, and ‘Abd al-Hāy al-Kattānī toured the country to gather signatures for a petition demanding the removal of the sultan Muḥammad V. The new candidate for the throne was found in the person of Muḥammad b. ‘Arāfa, a retiring per-son from the ‘Alawīd family. On 20 August 1953 the legal sultan was deposed and sent into exile in the French colony of Madagascar.

The enthronement of the new sultan was immediately met by a sweeping wave of opposition to the French occupation. The overwhelming majority of the Moroccan people as “the sultan of the French” and they therefore refused to give him allegiance. Mosque ināmān abstained from mentioning his name in the Friday sermon, and when they did this under French pressure, people simply deserted the mosques. His proclamation had for its immediate consequences the radicalisation of the nationalist movement and the outbreak of armed resistance to the French in many parts of the country. After two attempts on the sultan’s life and the deterioration of security throughout the country, the French realised the seriousness of the situation. Internationally, the French action had been widely condemned, particularly by Spain which, as a co-partner in the protectorate system, felt deeply offended by the French unilateral move. The Spanish authorities maintained allegiance to Muḥammad V, and at the United Nations the French government had also to face wide hostility to its Moroccan policy from the Arab and the Afro-Asian bloc.

For the Moroccan nationalist movement led by the Istiklāl party [see ʿIZR, i, at Vol. III, 525], the return of the deposed sultan and the removal of Ibn ‘Arāfa became the most pressing demands and a rallying cry for all political tendencies. When the French finally decided to allow Ibn Yūsuf to return from exile, they had, in fact, accepted the principle of Morocco’s independence. Ibn ‘Arāfa announced his abdication on 1 October 1955, and on 2 March 1956 the protectorate regime formally came to an end. Muḥammad b. ‘Arāfa went into exile in France and died at Nice on 18 July 1976.


MUHAMMAD b. ISMĀ’IL AL-MAYMŪN, the seventh inām of the Ḳismā’īyya (q.v.).

The eldest son of Ismā’īl b. Dāʿīr al-Sādirī, Muḥammad was born around 120/738; and on the death of his grandfather, the inām Dāʿīr al-Sādirī, in 148/765 he was recognised as inām by a faction of the Ḳismā’ī Shiʿis, who were later designated as the Mubārakīyya. These Shiʿis, comprising one of the earliest Ismā’īlī groups, affirmed the death of Muḥammad’s father Ismā’īl in the lifetime of the inām al-Sādirī. They further held that al-Sādirī had personally designated his grandson Muḥammad on Ismā’īl’s death. Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl carried the epithet of al-Maymūn, the “fortunate one”, and his followers were also originally referred to as the Maymūnīyya, another designation of the nascent Ḳismā’īyya. Soon after 149/766, Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl permanently left Medina, the residence of the Alids, for the east and went into hiding; hence his additional epithet of al-Makṭūm, the “hidden one”. Subsequently, he maintained his contacts with the Mubārakīyya (Maymūnīyya), centred in Kūfah, Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl evidently spent his final years in Khūzistān, where he had some following, and died not long after 179/795-6 in the reign of the caliph Ḥārūn ar-Raṣīd.

Until the schism of 286/899 in the early Ismā’īlī
MUHAMMAD AL-MAYMUN — MUHAMMAD 'ABD ALLAH

movement, the bulk of the Isma'iliyya acknowledged Muhammad b. Isma'il as their seventh and final Imam; and as such, they denied his death and awaited his imminent return as the Mahdi or Ka'im. In accordance with their cyclical view of the religious history of mankind the hitherto hidden esoteric truths of the Isma'ilis were revealed. Muhammad b. Isma'il was the seventh and final Imam and allowed for more than one Imamate in the era of Islam. The latter, the "dawr [q.v.]," meant the final era or age of pure spiritual knowledge before the physical world ended; he was thus considered as the Mahdi. Isma'il himself was no longer expected to return as the Mahdi. While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,} While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir Sayyid,}{years after completing his great anthology al-Durr al-farid, of which an almost complete, beautifully written, autograph has been preserved and published in a facsimile edition. After an extensive introduction on stylistics and literary criticism, the main part of the work lists single lines of poetry, mostly of the gnomic and quotable kind. They are arranged strictly alphabetically, not according to rhyme-word, but, unusually and usefully, by their beginnings. The core of the book contains some 18,000 lines, a very large number, which is, however, easily outnumbered by the lines provided by the compiler in the margin, often giving the context or parallels of quoted lines. Biographical notes and philological Commentary are also included. The poet's date from all periods, many of them well known but also including lesser-known or obscure poets. Bibliography: Muḥammad Ibn Sayf al-Dīn Aydamur, al-Durr al-farīd wa-bayt al-qādīl/The priceless pearl a poetic verse [sic], ed. [in facsimile] F. Sezgin, in collab. with M. Amawi, A. Jokhosha and E. Neubauer, 5 vols. [vii + 332, 384, 377, 534 pp.], Frankfurt am Main 1988-9 (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, C. 45); G. van Gelder, Arabic poetry and exegesis according to the introduction of al-Durr al-farīd by Muhammad Ibn Aydamur (d. 710/1310), in "DMG," ed. [in facsimile], 1996, 381-414; R. Weipert, Der Durr-al-farid des Muḥammad b. Aidamur. Ein Thesaurus gnomicischer Poesie aus dem 7./13. Jahrhundert, in W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeler (eds.), Festschrift Escofet Wegner zum 65. Geburtstag, Band 2. Studien zur arabischen Dichtung, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1994, 447-61. (G. H. van Gelder)
Sayyid, under whose personal attention 'Abd Allah learnt writing for newspapers on various educational and social themes. It was, he stated, Sir Sayyid’s guidance which inspired him actively to participate in the community’s welfare work.

After graduation with a law degree and at the expressed desire of Sir Sayyid, 'Abd Allah settled down in 'Aligarh and began his career as a lawyer. In 1902 he was married to Wahid Dughan Begam (from an established Muslim family of Dilih), with whom he had four daughters and a son.

A few of his childhood experiences of witnessing cruelty and injustice to women left deep impressions on him which were to lead him later in life to a whole-hearted involvement in social welfare work for women, especially in education. He intensely believed that, with education, women’s lot could alone be improved. With the then existing atmosphere in 'Aligarh, he became more and more concerned with the education of Muslim women.

During the 1896 session of the Muhammad Educational Conference, a section was established for women’s education; but because of Sir Sayyid’s involvement in other tasks, no practical steps were taken to attain any specific objectives toward education of Muslim women. In the 1900, the Conference, held at Dilih, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abd Allah, together with several of his friends, proposed to revive the section on women’s education, which was enthusiastically approved: thereafter year after year he kept on propagating the necessity of providing adequate education to Muslim women in India. For this purpose he began publishing a monthly periodical Khatun, the first issue of which came out in 1904 and continued to be published for the next ten years. Also in the year 1904 he was permitted by the Conference session at Lucknow to open a normal (up to eighth grade) school for Muslim girls at 'Aligarh. After three years of hard work he succeeded in establishing the proposed normal school. The modest beginning of this school in 1907 in 'Aligarh attracted the attention of the government of the United Provinces (now known as Uttar Pradesh), which granted a sufficient sum for the purpose of buying land and constructing building for the school in 1908. The school at that initial stage had no boarding facilities for girls from outside the town. The increasing popularity of this pioneer institution for Muslim girls’ education throughout the subcontinent meant that there was a need of residential facilities for girls from other nearby areas who wanted to join. In 1911 help came again from the U.P. government; Lady Porter, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, laid the foundation stone of the hostel adjacent to the school building. The school which had a modest beginning in 1907 had grown by 1936 into a renowned degree college leading up to B.A. classes. In that year it was affiliated to the Aligarh Muslim University.

Until 1947, education in all classes of the college and its affiliated primary and secondary schools was conducted under the strict rules of Islamic seclusion. The hostel followed also tradition both in observing purdah and in religious obligations. In 1947, however, after the independence of the country and promulgation of a secular constitution, the basic structure of Islamic-oriented Western education remained untouched in all the affiliated institutions of the Muslim University (Muslim Girls’ College included). The exclusion of women students and obligatory religious observances were eliminated.

The attachment of Shaykh Muhammad 'Abd Allah to the Muslim Girls’ College was so deep that he built his spacious residential house close to the buildings of the College, and from the 1940s onwards, donated a large part of this house as the hostel for postgraduate girl students. His strong attachment to the girls’ education and welfare was reciprocated by the affectionate title of “Papa Miyan” with which he came to be known by his friends.

In recognition of his pioneer work for Muslim women’s education the British Government awarded him the title of “Khan Bahadur”, and Aligarh Muslim University honoured him with the award of honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Towards the end of his life, in 1964 the post-Independence national government of India expressed its appreciation for his services by awarding him the title “Padam Bhushan”. He died on 9 April 1965 at the age of 91, and was buried in the garden of his residential house, adjacent to the buildings of the Muslim Girls’ College.


MUHAMMAD 'AKIF PASHTA [see MUHAMMAD NAXIRUDDIN PASHTA].

MUHAMMAD AL-DJAWAD [see MUHAMMAD B. 'ALI AL-RIDA].

MUHAMMAD HĀKIM MIRZĀ, Mughal prince and half-brother of the emperor Akbar [q.v.], b. 960/1553, d. 993/1585.

In 973/1566 he was governor of Kābul and eastern Afghanistan for Akbar, but when temporarily forced out of his capital by the Timurids of Badakhshān, he retreated towards India, where a group of dissident Ozbeg nobles proclaimed him emperor at Djuwpur and incited him to invade India. He besieged Lahore with his forces, but had to retreat to Kābul. For over a decade, he posed a threat on Akbar’s northwestern frontier, offering a legitimate alternative to Akbar’s rule. A fresh revolt of Mughal and Afghan nobles broke out in 987-8/1579-80, in the wake of Akbar’s maddar or decree proclaiming himself supreme arbiter of religious affairs and claiming authority as caliph, and Muhammad Hākīm was again proclaimed counter-emperor. Akbar sent his chief minister Tōdar Mal [q.v.] to suppress the rebels in Bihār, and himself marched against Kābul, entering the town in Radjab 999/December 1581. He pardoned Muhammad Hākīm and reinstated him, but it was not until Muhammad Hākīm’s death in Sha'ban 999/August 1585 that all threats from Kābul were ended and the region brought under direct imperial rule.


MUHAMMAD SĀLIH KANBO LĀHAWRĪ, Indo-Muslim historian and stylist whose exact dates of both birth and death are unknown but who flourished in the 11th/17th century under the Mughal emperors Shāh Ḥaţān and Awrangzīb [q.v.]. He may have been the younger brother of the historian and litterateur Taqāt Allah Kanbo (d. 1082/1671 [q.v.]), if Muhammad Sālih’s reference to this last person, his master and patron, as biqār-i kalān “elder brother” is to be taken literally.

Virtually nothing is known of his life, but he was
a government official in Lahore, where his tomb still exists and where in 1079/1668-9 he built a small mosque. He is famed for his detailed history of Shah Džahán and his reign, the Amál-i Sdlih, completed in 1070/1659-60, but with later additions (many ms.; ed. Ghulam Yazdani; Biol. Indica, 3 vol, Calcutta 1912-39, and also an ingdi collection, the Bahá'í sukkān, still in manuscript.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 579-81, 1317.  
(C.E. Bosworth)

MUHAMMAD-SHAHI NIZÁRIYYA [see ISMÁ'IL-LIYYA]

MUHAMMAD TÁPAR [see MUHAMMAD B. MALIK-GHÁN]

MUHAMMAD 'UTHMÁN DJALÁL (1829-16) January 1909, thus in Brockelmann, S II, 725), Egyptian translator and adapter of European drama into Arabic. He played a crucial role in the transfer of the cultural milieu of European dramatic forms into an indigenous Egyptian language and format. After a traditional secondary education, he was sent to Kif'á al-Tahtawí's [see KIFÁ BEY AL-TAHTAWÍ] famous translation school, the Madrasat al-alsun, and became thereafter one of the foremost of its graduate translators (both literary and colloquial). Alongside his achievements as a translator he also had a civil service career, firstly in the Khedive's office, then as a judge in the Mixed Courts, and later as a government minister. Various dates are given for his death, ranging from 1894 to 1909 (cf. Brockelmann, II, 627-8, S II, 725).

Moving from the practicities of administrative manuals to the more complex stylistic issues of literary genres, Djalal began his literary translation career with the Fables of La Fontaine, which he rendered into Arabic verse and published in 1858 (al-Túyín al-yuwaqiq fi 'l-anájil wa 'l-mawsiiq). In 1872 he issued his famous translation of Bernardin de St. Pierre's Paul et Virginie (as al-Amán wá 'l-minná fi hadith Khábl wá-Ward Dínná), using the lofty style of sauq (rhyming prose) and "arabising" and "islamicising" many of the discourse elements of the original French text. He thereafter turned his attention to the dramatic genre, translating four comedies of Moliere into colloquial Cairene Arabic poetry (using the form of sadf) and once again cleverly transferring the cultural context from a European to an Egyptian milieu. The four plays in question (published as a group in 1889) were: Táttuf (al-Sháykh Málih), Les femmes savantes (al-Nid' al-ulímat), L'école des maris (Madrasat al-ażwāj), and L'école des femmes (Madrasat al-xazgáj).

From comedy, he moved on to the French tragedy, translating (once more into colloquial Cairene dialect) a set of plays by Racine and Corneille: Eléazar, l'Hyppixie, and Alexandre le Grand by the former (as al-Ruáyát al-mufdi fí 'l-irán al-tarángój) and El Cid by the latter. His one excursion into dramatic writing on his own part, al-Ákhdáđámína wa 'l-mukhadramína ("Servants and agents"), 1904), was, like his translated plays, composed in colloquial verse.

In the lengthy and complex process of indigenous imported literary genres during the 19th century, Djalal's role as a translator was a central one. That his translated works of European plays were subsequently assimilated into Egyptian society can be convincingly demonstrated by the fact that al-Sháykh Málih, his Egyptianised Táttuf and most masterful adaptation, has been revived on the Cairo stage in recent times (e.g. 1963, 1971) to tremendous popular acclaim.


(R.M.A. Allen)

MUHAMMAD ZAMÁN MIRZÁ, perennially rebellious Mughal prince and brother-in-law of the emperor Humáyún [q.v.].

On Humáyún's accession in 937/1530, he allied with Bahádur Sháh of Gudjarat, provoking an invasion by Humáyún of Gudjarat via Máláwá. Muhammad Zamán was pardoned, but in 941/1534 rebelled again, this time in Bihár, but had to escape to Gudjarat once more. From here he provoked a second occupation of Gudjarat by the Mughal emperor (941-2/1535-6). Muhammad Zamán escaped; he tried to claim the throne of Gudjarat for himself on Bahádur Sháh's death in 943/1537 but failed in the attempt, submitting at last to Humáyún.


MUHDATHUN (ٌ), the "Modernists", i.e., in classical Arabic literary history, those poets that came after the ancient poets (called kadama', minatkad-dimán or ava'il) of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. The term is first applied to some poets of the two "dynasties" (muqqadramína 'l-daslatáriyín), who flourished in the middle and second half of the 2nd/8th century [see MUHKADRAM]. No formal end of the period of the Muhdathún movement is recognised, but mostly the term applies to poets of the first few centuries of the "Absháb al-Ímán period. For poets from later times, one finds occasionally the term still used, or, more commonly, expressions such as ahí al-áyir and muhdá'im "contemporary [poets]".

Critics were aware of the differences between the poetry of the pre-Islamic (díjáhí) poets and that of their successors, the muhkádramína (straddling the Dághiyía and Islam), the Islámiyyín and the Umayyad poets. However, the changes in style, themes and motifs that arose from the mid-2nd-8th century—in the wake of the fundamental social and intellectual changes that took place in that period (such as the role of the muwáwilí [see Muwála] and the impact of Greek and Persian civilisation)—were considered so fundamental that the dichotomy between "old" (kadám) and "modern" is dominant in traditional literary criticism. The distinction is important, too, in Arabic linguistics, since there was a general consensus among the grammarians and lexicographers that only early (pre-muhdathí) poetry could serve as attestation for the codification of the "pure" (fushá) language; as Ibn Djamín, quoted by Ibn Ráshid ('Umama, Cairo 1953, ii, 236), put it: "Modern poets [he uses the term muwáwilí, on which see below] may be cited as authorities (yustashhadu bihim) on motifs (ma'm), just as ancient poets may be cited as authorities on words (or expressions, or...
It is a commonplace of traditional criticism to contrast the "purity" and solidarity of the old style with the refinement and rhetoricisation of the new. The old poet built a house, the modern poet embellished and decorated it (e.g. *Umdu", i, 92); the former is like a singer singing fine melodies with a coarse voice, the latter sings inferior melodies with a sweet voice (Ibn Waki", quoted in *Umdu", i, 92). Modern verse is like a fragrant herb that smells deliciously but briefly, early poetry is like musk or ambergris, increasing in fragrance the more one rubs it (Ibn al-Arabi", quoted in *al-Marzuq", 384). The *Muhdathun* are credited with introducing *bad"* (q.v.) consciously, a term referring to various rhetorical and poetic artifices and embellishments. "Muslim b. al-Walid was the first to use *bad* on a large scale, after Bashshar had first used it...; then came Abi Tammam, who used it excessively and immoderately" (quoted by Ibn al-Mutazz, *Tabakat*, 235). Obviously, the contrast between old and new has been exaggerated and simplified: by no means all early poetry is stylistically rough and unadorned, some of it, notably Umayyad *rajaz* (q.v.), is highly rhetoricised. Conversely, much of "modern" poetry is unadorned and highly accessible, and its image is to some extent distorted because in literary criticism and theory it was mainly the rhetorical and embellished style that received attention. However, on the whole it is true that the most characteristic innovation of the *Muhdathun* lies precisely in the development of refined rhetorical techniques, a novel use of metaphor (cf. the distinction between the "old" and the "new" metaphor as pointed out by W. Heinrichs, *The hand of the Northwind*, Wiesbaden 1977), and of increasingly complex imagery and "conceits", on which see e.g. B. Reinert, *Der Concetto-Stil in den islamischen Literaturen*, in Heinrichs (ed.), *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*. V. Orientalisches Mittelalter, Wiesbaden 1990, 366-408.

It is difficult to generalise about "modern poetry", extremely varied as it is. Much of the ancient, Bedouin vocabulary and diction is abandoned, yet the so-called neo-classicist style of Abi Tammam and others indulges, at least in their formal *kiftan* and other set-pieces, in archaic words and expressions. There were some prosodical innovations: a few new metres were created and truncated forms of existing metres became popular, yet all the old metres survived. Many oddities of grammar and prosody that were condemned in old and Bedouin poetry as poetic licences (*daruwa*) were deemed faults in new or urban poetry (e.g. Ibn Rashid, *Umdu", ii, 269; Ibn Dhanani, *Mudasi", Cairo 1952, i, 323f).

The *Muhdathun* critics themselves were aware that the originality and novelty of "modern" poetry were not as great as was sometimes claimed. Ibn al-Mutazz (q.v.) wrote his seminal treatise on rhetorical figures and tropes, *al-Balid* (q.v.), in order to demonstrate that these figures and tropes can be found already in early poetry and prose (Kur'an and *Hadith*), thus he provided
a legitimisation of badi' while at the same time denouncing some of its excesses, notably Abu Tammam’s idiosyncratic techniques of metaphor, antithesis and paronomasia. The two brothers called al-Khalidiyyan [q.v.], in their Kitab al-Khalid wa-l-nagh, trace many motifs and themes current in modern poetry to their early predecessors, in order to prove the superiority of the latter; it was written in response to those who preferred the moderns.

The poetry of the Muhdathun certainly was not, and could not have been, a wholly new start. The early poets were canonised by consensus and could not be ignored by the later ones. Modern poets had to choose between slavishly imitating them, which became increasingly insipid and inappropriate for urban poets, or reacting against them (e.g. by means of parody and in the “anti-nasib” theme, common in Abu Nuwas [see nástb. d. ‘Abbasid period]), or by transforming the early themes and motifs, by blending or subtly changing them, while transforming diction and style by means of rhetorical refinement. An important characteristic of modern poetry is the pervading presence of shorter and monothematic poems, with themes that in early poetry usually formed part of the polythematic ode or kasida [q.v.]; the khamriyya [q.v.] or bacchic poem, the tedjaya [g.v.] or hunting poem, the zubayya [g.v.] or ascetic, anti-worldly poem, the “portal” poem (called nawaerya [g.v.], zabiriyya, raseediyya or rabiyya), the epideictic epigram (wasf), the gnomic epigram (khina), the obscene or scatological poem (mujjuq [g.v.]) and several others. Here, too, there are precedents in early poetry, although it is not always possible to determine whether an early short poem was conceived as an independent epigram or is a fragment of an incompletely transmitted poem.

In any case, the kasida retained its position as the most prestigious form. As before, one was not considered a great poet unless one could boast of the production of a substantial number of odes. It has been argued (M.M. Badawi, From primary to secondary Qasidas, in YAL, xi [1980], 1-31 and see his chapter ‘Abbasid poetry and its antecedents, in J. Ashitani et al. (eds.), CHAL, Abbasid belles-lettres, Cambridge 1990, 140-66) that the early Islamic and early Islamic poets brought about a more radical change in poetry than the muhdath “revolution”, a change seen in the shift from the tribal and ritualistic kasida to the mostly panegyric ode modelled on the old type but being more strictly literary, and in the shift from oral to literate transmission. Important developments, too, took place in love-poetry in pre-muhdath times (see CMAZAL. i. In Arabic poetry, and several more recent articles by René Jacob and others). It is true that most of the changes of the period of the first Muhdathun were prepared by the early Islamic and Umayyad poets, yet on the whole the traditional distinction between them and the newer school is justified and the original contributions of such innovators as Bashshār, Abu Nuwas, Abu l-‘Arīf, Abu Tammām and Ibn al-Rūmī cannot be denied. The new sensibility has been linked with the “discovery” of the individual, as a result of social and political changes, such as the dwindling of the old aristocracy, the individualistic egalitarianism espoused by Islam, and high social mobility (see Th. Bauer, Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts, Wiesbaden 1998).

Among the characteristics of the kasida among the Muhdathun is a greater concern for coherence and unity, or at least an avoidance of abrupt transitions. Even though such thematic jumps, such as from nāstīb to the panegyric section, are still found, most poets devoted care to some kind of connecting motif (takhallus [g.v.]). And whereas early poems seem to end more or less fortuitously, often in mid-air as it were, the Muhdathun often conclude with a proper peroration, ending with epistles appropriate to an envoy, such as a didactic passage or a blessing.

After the first few generations of Muhdathun poetry had become so artful, its techniques had developed to such an extent that it seemed to the following generations that it was difficult to come up with novel things: the poet and critic Ibn Tahāsāb (d. 322/934), in his ‘Iyār al-ghil (Riyād 1985, 13) speaks of the “trial” (mīna) of the poets in his days who try to please exacting patrons by means of their rhetorical subtleties and witticisms, while abandoning the truthfulness allegedly found in early poetry.

If there ever was a true querelle des ancêts et modernes in Arabie literary history, it was mostly fought in moderate terms, the majority of critics professing their respect for the ancients, even though many pointed out the superior techniques of the moderns. Thus al-Hātimī (d. 388/998) notes that the latter excelled in tāḥallus “because of the bright minds and subtle thoughts”, surpassing the primitive methods of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets (Hikmat al-muhdādara, Baghdād 1979, 215-16). Dhay al-Din Ibn Aḥiẓār (d. 637/1239 [g.v.]) calls Abu Tammām, al-Buhtūrī and al-Mutanabbi “the al-Lāt, al-Uzzā and Manāt [g.v.] of poetry” (al-Maṭyāl al-sā’īr, Cairo 1962, iii, 226) and pronounces them superior to all others, ancient and modern (iii, 274). The Andalusian anthropologist Ibn Basām (d. 543/1147 [g.v.]) explains why he only includes recent poets, speaks scathingly of ancient poetry (al-Ḫidāla, Beirut 1975-8, 1/1, 13-14). “Every thing that is recited over and over again is boring; the ear rejects ‘O abode of Mayya . . .’”, he goes on to quote irreverently the opening words of several of the Mu'allakhāt [g.v.], perhaps the most “canonical” of all Arabic poems. At the other extreme stands e.g. Ibn Khaldūn (g.v.), arch-conservative for once, who quotes with apparent approval the opinion that the rhymes of al-Mutanabbi and al-Ma‘arri [g.v.] cannot be considered true poetry, because they did not follow (ancient) Arab poetic methods (Mu'allakāt, Cairo 1962, 1296, tr. F. Rosenthal, Princeton 1967, iii, 382). However, in the controversies such as arose on account of the style and motifs of Abu Tammām or al-Mutanabbi, it is usually not a matter of old vs. new.

book of badd). For a useful survey of medieval critical opinions, see Ibn Rashid, 'Umda, i, 90-3 (fi 'l-kudamah wa 'l-muddathun), 100-1 (section on famous poets), ii, 263-45 (section on "modern motifs"); al-mu'dar al-muddathun.

(G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

MUHBIB AL-DIN AL-KHATIB, SUNNI ARAB journalist, publisher and editor, an influential life, can be described as a peculiar blend of Salafi and Arab nationalist positions (see Hurvitz, in Bib. I). From 1916 onwards, he served the "Arab Revolt", first as a member of the editorial staff of al-Khilas in Mecca, and later (summer 1919 to summer 1920) as chief editor of the Hashimite official newspaper in Damascus, al-A'mama. However, a few days after the battle of Maysalun [24 July 1920 (q.v.)] and the subsequent French occupation of Damascus, he left Syria for Egypt.

Having finally settled in Cairo, Muhibb al-Din al-Khatib in the following years rose to some prominence, in Egypt and far beyond, as owner of a printing and publishing house serving the causes of 'aribah [q.v.] and Sunni Islam, called al-Matba'a al-Salafiyya wa-Muhtabatuhd. Further more, he gained recognition as founder and main author of two important journals, al-Zahir (1924-9) and al-Fath (1926-48), and also as editor of mediaeval as well as modern Arabic texts.

Even before the fall of the Hashimite rule in the Hijaz (1925), he had declared his support for Ibn Su'lud [see 'ABD AL-'AZIZ, in Suppl.] and subsequently became an eloquent defender of Saudi-Wahhabis politics and religious practice [see WAHABISMA]. In this connection, he came forward as one of the most influential Sunni polemics in modern times against the Shi'a in general and their role in Islamic history in particular. As a result, he opposed all attempts at an ecumenical rapprochement between the two sides [see TAKRIR]. Even as chief editor of Maqalat al-Azhar (1952-9) he maintained this view (see Brunner, esp. 195-208). He is also remembered as one of the modern authors who tried to restore the image of the Umayyads in the mind of the Sunni Arab public (Ende, 91-110). He died in Cairo on 30 December 1969.


MU'INSIZ (a., t.), from Ar. mu'tan "supporter, helper" and Tkish. sz "without", a term connected with the introduction of the conscription system into the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century to indicate someone who has nobody to look after his family and other dependents if he is drafted, i.e. is a breadwinner. The decision as to who was regarded as sole breadwinner in a family depended on the age, sex and physical and mental condition of those left behind and on their degree of dependence to the potential mu'insiz. Mu'insiz were exempted from regular military service, but served as reservists: as reddif and mustahfiz (see REDIF). Once one was registered as a regular soldier, becoming a mu'insiz was rarely possible, even if personal circumstances had changed.

Although mu'insiz, as reservists, had only limited military obligations in times of peace, during times of mobilisation and war they were called up to the colours. In such cases, their families were left without breadwinners. To prevent these soldiers from worrying about their families and to obviate subsequent problems with morale and even desertion, the Ottoman state provided a separation allowance, the Mu'insiz, 'Aile Mu'tasz. First applied during the Crimean War, the allowance and the terms under which it was assigned remained rather vague until the second decade of the 20th century. The First World War forced the Ottoman authorities to become more specific. Articles 49-55 of the Mukellefyyet-i Askeriyye Kânun-u Müavenetli of May 1914 and its revised version of July-August 1915 dealt with the separation allowance. A bill for a separate, thirty-one article law on the allowance was discussed in the Şer'ii-i Devlet [see 'ABD AL-'AZIZ; DÜSTÖR, ii, TURKEY] in October 1915, but did not reach the Mejlis-i Wüdân (Council of Ministers) and the Parliament until the end of 1918.


(NICOLE A.N.M. VAN OS)

MU'AKWIIYAT (a.), a medical term, originally denoting stimulants but gradually taking on the meaning of aphrodisiacs—probably as a form of euphemism—a meaning which it has retained into the present day. It will be noted, however, that in the Kânun fi 'l-tibbî of Ibn Sina [q.v.] the term mu'akwiyah is already in recurrent use in the section devoted to impotence (ii, 539-41). This is explained by the fact that aphrodisiacs were intended to restore to the deficient man all his vigour and all his strength and to excite his sexual desire (or that of the woman, evoked
in some texts, although it is the male to whom most attention is given), whence this blurring of meanings. Medieval Arabic medical texts used, for these preparations, numerous words and expressions: mar'at, mukawwi'at al-mar'a li al-ajimd, marharri, marharri al-khad, marharri, mukawwi'at al-ajimd, marharri al-khad, marharri. All these names refer to the notion of stimulating erection, exciting carnal desire and facilitating the sexual act.

In a society where virility remained a major factor, where guaranteeing the succession was an imperative for princes and where the presence of numerous concubines was still an element of social prestige in khlassa circles—not to mention Kur'anic verses calling for the "ploughing" of wives—it was to be expected that physicians should take an interest in aphrodisiacs and that texts of erology as a literary genre should proliferate. Thus it is worth noting the significant fact that the last recipe given in the famous formulary of al-Khūn al-Attar is that of an aphrodisiac (mar'at al-sakankur, in Minhadī, 169). This medical literature is associated with the related tradition of works of erotology (tabl al-būth), the existence of which is noted, from the 4th/10th century onward, by Ibn al-Nadlm in a section of his Fihrist entitled Asma' al-tabl al-multaṣafa fi 'l-būth al-faṣāri wa 'l-hard wa 'l-rāmā wa 'l-ajimd (436). He clearly points out the suggestive function of these works ('ālā tawā'il al-būth al-muṣabbik), most of which are undoubtedly of Indian origin. Consequently, there existed a science associated with sexuality, linking empirical observations, theoretical material inspired by the predominant medical doctrines, and psychological considerations. It is thus that the Shaykh al-Nafāzawī refers to six causes of sexual desire: intensity of desire, abundance of sperm, encounter with desirable individuals, physical beauty [of the object of desire], fortifying nourishment and petting. He supplements this list with reference to eight factors predisposing the male to coitus (tabl al-būth): good health, absence of anxieties, happiness, relaxation, good diet, material well-being, variation of position and changing of partners (al-Rawd al-dīrī, 143). Sexual problems described by doctors therefore included, besides physical malfunctions, inhibitions and psychological neuroses. Obviously, the form of treatment depended on the precise definitions of these psychosomatic disorders. Medical treatises also describe impotence ('advāj, nukṣān al-būth) and functional problems related to erection (intishdr, in ṣa), generally known by the term istikhād al-khādīb, paralyses, slackening of the penis—but also female frigidity and anorgasm, which seem to be indicated by the expressions band al-rāmah or salībat al-rāmah, respectively: drying up of the uterus, sclerosis of its tissues (Ka'mn, ii, 536-9).

The therapies applied in the treatment of these disorders thus rely on a wide variety of remedies ranging from potions to massages, ointments to auto-suggestion. Medications may be either simple or compound. Looking first at what could accurately be called auto-suggestion: for the physician, this consists, in recommending that his patient read pornographic works on the multiple postures and forms of intercourse (tabl al-tabl al-mulṣafa fi ʾnās al-dīvrā al-dīvrā wa-nakhfīl al-dījma wa-'inās al-dīvrā al-dāru ṣa'īf, or even texts on erotic anecdotes (al-khājīm al-nakhfīl, in ṣa), that regrettably appear under such names as such these are for the most part warning and stimulating items such as ginger, cinnamon, sandalwood, musk, camphor and asafetida, combined with honey which remains a sovereign remedy. Types of compound aphrodisiacs are confections (mar'at) and electuaries (djūwarṣīm) which the invalid takes daily; oils (dubn) and pomades (marham), prescribed for external use and applied to the vagina, the penis, the pelvic region and the loins; and douches for female use (hūkma tukāwar ʾl-mar'a li ʾl-dīhr, Akhūdī al-Kānīnī, 144).

One of the ingredients most often cited in the Egyptian skink (sukarān). Scinax affinis Emmaev, a variety of lizard which when dried and salted was credited—and is credited still in the traditional pharmacopoeia—with remarkable aphrodisiac qualities (Minhadī, 169), to such an extent that Dāwūd al-ʿAntākī warns that this remedy can lead to death from excess of erection (Tadhkira, 194). The success of this animal seems to be explained by its phallic appearance, just as today, for the same reasons, the horn of the rhinoceros is credited, in Chinese medicine, with highly aphrodisiac qualities. This form of mind projection is featured, in one manner or another, in the choice of certain other components utilised in the preparation of aphrodisiacs: bull's penis, "fox's testicles" (knā') al-edhīl, Satyrion, Orchis hircina L) and testicles of the cock or the ram. It should be noted that, in traditional Arab medicine, use is still made, according to the theory of affinities, of the pulverised testicles of calf or bull, as well as the official skin (Bakkāhdar, 98). In conclusion, account should be taken of the extent to which, in the medieval Arab medical tradition, coitus is seen as an activity particularly beneficial to man on the psychological and physiological level, and the degree of importance attached by physicians to the physiological aspect.


MŪṢĀ AL-ṢADR: SAYYID IMĀMĪ SHI’I CLERIC AND POLITICAL LEADER IN LEBANON (1928-78). Born in Kum [q.v.] into a family of religious scholars with roots in southern Lebanon and ‘Irk, he studied in the madrasa of his home town and at the University of Tehran where he read (secular) law. From 1954 to 1959, he pursued his studies in Najaf [q.v.], his principal teachers being Sayyid Mūḥsin al-Hakim (d. 1970) and Sayyid Abu ‘l-Kāsim al-Khūfī (d. 1992). From Najaf he began establishing personal contacts with the Lebanese branch of his family, and in particular with his uncle, the influential scholar Sayyid ‘Abd al-Husayn Shāraf al-Dīn [q.v.]. Before the latter’s death on 30 December 1957, he had apparently expressed the wish that Mūṣā al-Ṣadr should succeed him as leader of the Imāmī Shi’ī community of Tyre [see sīr]. In late 1959, Sayyid Mūṣā al-Ṣadr took up residence...
in Tyre. In the following years he gained influence both locally and further afield as teacher and preacher and also as a spokesman (called Imām) for the Shī‘i‘īs of Lebanon [see also MUTAWALLI], who felt socially and politically neglected by the government in Beirut. In the face of considerable resistance on the part of the old feudal leadership as well as from certain members of the Shī‘ī clergy, he finally succeeded in setting up a Higher Shī‘ī Council (al-Madżlis al-Islāmī al-Shī‘ī‘ī al-Al‘A‘) by resolution of the National Assembly in December 1967. In May 1969 Mūsā al-Šadr was elected president of this council, the first body to represent the Shī‘a of Lebanon.

In March 1974 he launched a mass movement called Ḥasanat al-malā‘īmān, which was soon known to have formed a military wing called Aṣṣad al-muṣā‘āwāna al-bahraynīyā (AMAL). In late August 1978, more than three years after the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon, Mūsā al-Šadr suddenly disappeared while on a visit to Libya. The circumstances of this affair remain mysterious, but after a few years he was presumed dead even by the majority of his followers. Both AMAL and its rival, Hīdž Allāh, claim to be the heirs to his spiritual and political legacy.


There is a national level recitation competition held every two years in Indonesia. It is popularly known as “MTQ” (for musābāhah tāwilat Kur‘ān). Local, regional and provincial eliminations determine the selection of the final contestants, who represent all of Indonesia’s provinces in a colourful and festive complex of events lasting about ten days. The Indonesian approach to the Kur‘ān recitation musābāka conceives it to be a “national discipline” that affords Indonesia’s Muslims a chance to strengthen their religious life while enhancing their pride as citizens of the Republic. Although recitation is at the core of the event, there are also Kur‘ānic quiz shows for youth, who appear on provincial teams; an elaborate daw‘a (Islamic “missions”) exhibit with displays of publications and programmes; a parade through the streets of the host city; colourful opening and closing ceremonies with processions, special music, dance and recitation; and Islamic fashion shows. There is considerable national media coverage, as the MTQ is attended by the president, government ministers, the diplomatic corps, and distinguished Muslim leaders from Indonesia and abroad. Each MTQ is held in a different city, thus producing something like a royal progress about the country over the years.

Although recitation is governed by long-established ādāb, as far as the conduct of particular musābātak is concerned, one needs to refer to specific cases. For example, the state television service in Surabaya, East Java, has sponsored a provincial musābāka that features groups of timed recitation selections (a standard procedure) interspersed with popular musical interludes performed by Muslim “seminarians” on guitars and other instruments (cf. Roman Catholic “rock” masses). In the Indonesian national-level tournament, the reciters are divided into categories of boys, girls, women, men and handicapped (usually blind). There are separate categories for those who read the Kur‘ānic passages from a mushaf and those who recite from memory. Judges evaluate the performances according to established criteria in ādāb (deportment, etiquette), tażṣīd (technical rules and procedures of recitation), and naghmāt (musical modes and melodies). Prizes and trophies are awarded to winning individuals and provincial teams, whose return home is marked by special festivities.

**Bibliography:** There is not much scholarly literature on Kur‘ānic recitation competitions, although specific events are covered in the popular media. For Indonesia, see Khadijatus Shalihah, Perkembangan seni baca al-Qur‘ān dan Qura‘at Tijāz di Indonesia (“Developments in the art of reading the Kur‘ān and the Seven Readings in Indonesia”), Jakarta 1983, 84-97; a more popular descriptive article is F.M. Denny, The Great Indonesian Qur‘an-chanting tournament, in: The World and I (June 1986), 216-23, based on field work. The musābāka idea is motivated largely by a concern for maintaining and strengthening Kur‘ānic literacy, especially in non-Arabic speaking countries. For ways in which Indonesians approach this, see Denny, Qur‘ān recitation training in Indonesia: a survey of contexts and handbooks, in: A. Rippin (ed.), Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qur‘ān, Oxford 1988, 288-306. (F.M. Denny)

MUSAFIR (A.), literally, “traveller”. For the genre of travel account literature, see RIHÁ. For the rest houses and caravanserais set up for travellers, see ČÁN, MANZIL, and MISHÁN, in Suppl. For the commercial caravans of which travellers also usually formed part, see ČÁRÁN. For the Pilgrimage caravans, see ŠAMÍ, III and AMIR AL-MASJID. For the highways along which travellers passed, see SÍRÁ‘.
2. In Swahili literature.

The word ndiria is not well known in Swahili except in scholarly circles. The Swahili word ngano (common also in other Bantu languages) is in use for all invented tales including fables, as opposed to hadithi, which originally referred to Islamic legends about the Prophet Muhammad and the characters he uses to discuss with the Sūhābā, while seated in the mosque at Medina after prayers. Today, such hadithi contain some of the most fantastic adventure tales, including the exploits of ‘Ali against the àsīmā and qayyīfīn. Next to Arabian tales, such as Maḏǧūn and Lālā, there are tales of Persian origin circulating on the Swahili coast, such as those of Sendibad (＝ Sindbad) or Farhād and Shīrīn. India is richly represented as a supplier of motifs for the Swahili storytellers. Fables from the Panātanāta, such as that of the monkey and the crocodile (who has become a shark in the Swahili version) are well known in Swahili, although they may even go back to Sanskrit literature, such as the Tale of the Three Magic Objects from the Vaiṭalpanvamīśātkā, or the Tale of Moses (i.e. the Prophet Mūsā) and the two Angels, ultimately based on the Sanskrit Kalāhānasūritaṃga.

Swahili scholars are very well read in Arabic traditional literature, especially the Kīyās al-anbīyā (= q.v.), Creation and cosmology (‘abd al-samawād), the Sūr, Maḏḏūṭ, Mīrāţ, and the fabulous tales of al-Iṣkandar and Nābī Sulaymān.

Finally, there is the vast African heritage of narration, which includes fables for children including the Aesop-type tales, as well as bloodcurdling stories about ghosts and monsters of every description; purely religious nature with Mu‘āwīya’s poems, such as those of Sendibad (= Sindbad) or Farhad and Cīdīn, as well as those of Sendibad (= Sindbad) or Farhad and Cīdīn, against the Aīl and exchanged verses of a politico-religious nature with Mu‘āwīya’s poets, notably Ka‘b b. Ḍu‘yayl. However, he left ‘Ali’s side after the latter had him flogged for drinking wine during Ramādān, and he went over to Mu‘āwīya’s army, eventually dying at Lāhjī in Yemen.

AL-NADJĪSHĪ. Kays b. ‘Amr al-Hārithī, Arab poet of the 1st/7th century, probably called by this epithet because of his dark skin inherited from his Ethiopian mother, d. 49/669.

Born in Naḍīrān, he and his clan became converts to Islam at Medina in 10/632. His bellicose nature led him to compose virulent satires against ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥasan b. Ṭabībī, who replied with the aid of his father. On the advice of al-Ḫutay’a and Ḥasan [q.v.], the caliph ‘Umar had al-Nadīshī imprisoned for his invectives against the B. ‘Adīlān and their poet Ibn Mūkhlī [q.v.]. At the battle of Sīfīn, he joined ‘Ali and exchanged verses of a politico-religious nature with Mu‘āwīya’s poets, notably Ka‘b b. Ḍu‘ayl. However, he left ‘Ali’s side after the latter had him flogged for drinking wine during Ramādān, and he went over to Mu‘āwīya’s army, eventually dying at Lāhjī in Yemen.

AL-NADJĪSHĪ’s poetic oeuvre does not seem to have been gathered together in a dīwān by the early philologists, although Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, ed. Cairo, 157, mentions a kitāb al-Nadīshī attributed to al-Madā’inī. Modern authors, such as Schultes, Cheikhò and al-Nu‘aymī have endeavoured to piece together his surviving verses, and T. al-Ashieldī, S. Gharbāt and S. Bakkārī have tried to reconstitute the dīwān, based on some 50 sources, in Annales de l’Université de Tunis, xxi (1982), 105-201, comprising 333 verses in 64 pieces of unequal length from one to 43 verses. His themes are the usual main poetic ones: satire, praise, faţbī, elegy and erotic poetry, with his poetry reflecting the main phases of his life and times. Following al-‘Āmilī, A‘īdūn al-Shī‘a, xliii. 368-9, he may be considered as one of the main pro-‘Alī poets of the period before 50/670, with his eulogies of ‘Ali and his supporters and insults against Mu‘āwīya and his partisans at the time of Sīfīn forming over half of his surviving verses.


(TA’EE EL ACHECHE)
with sufficient means must support their parents if they are indigent. The Şehit and Imam Ştīrī hold that this obligation exists with regard to all ascendants. The Ḥanafīs extend it to all blood relatives with forbidden degrees (dawāsir raḥim maḥram).

Ownership

The owner of a slave has the duty to maintain him or her. If he fails to do so, the judge may sell the slave without the master’s consent.

Marriage

The husband’s duty to maintain his wife is regarded as a consideration for her being under her husband’s control (mabḥūsa). As a consequence, her right to maintenance arises only after the consummation of her marriage, when cohabitation begins, and does not depend on her indigence. According to most schools, the level of maintenance depends on the status of both spouses. A wife is always entitled to be housed alone, preferably at some distance from her co-wives, and not to be forced to share her accommodation with her husband’s relatives. If it is in accordance with the status of both spouses, the wife must be provided with a domestic servant.

The wife’s right to maintenance ends with the termination of the marriage by her husband’s divorce or by repudiation. Since marriage persists after a revocable repudiation (tašlīk [q.v.]; nafī) until the expiry of the waiting period (idda [q.v.]), the wife is entitled to maintenance during this period. Although after an irrevocable (bā’过多) repudiation the marriage comes to an end, the husband must provide for his former wife during the ensuing waiting period if she is pregnant. If she is not, opinions vary.

The husband’s obligation is suspended if his wife is disobedient (nashīţa). This is the case if she refuses to move to the marital home or leaves it without her husband’s consent or a lawful reason. Her right to maintenance, however, is not affected if her behaviour is justified, e.g. if the home provided by her husband does not meet the legal requirements (maskan ša’iī) or if he has exceeded the bounds of proper marital chastisement. All schools but the Hanafis (who argue that such circumstances are practically impossible to prove) regard the wife’s refusal to have sexual intercourse with her husband as disobedience entitling the suspension of maintenance.

Whereas most schools regard maintenance as an ordinary debt whose arrears are due and payable, the Ḥanafīs and the Ştīrīs regard the husband’s failure to provide maintenance as a ground for divorce for the wife. Since the Ḥanafīs doctrine on these two issues was prejudicial to women, the views of the other schools have now been introduced by legislation in many Ḥanafī countries.

For nafkā in the sense of expenditure, see Rize 3.


mentaire entre époux en droit musulman hanafite, Paris 1971. (R. Peters)

Nafkā al-Munkar

Al-Naḥy ‘an al-Munkar (A), “forbidding wrong”, in full al-umma bi ‘l-maṣfīr wa-l-nahy ‘an al-munkar, “commanding right and forbidding wrong”. The term is used to refer to the exercise of legitimate authority, either by holders of public office or by individual Muslims who are legally competent (muqallid), with the purpose of encouraging or enforcing adherence to the requirements of the Šatīrīs. This article deals mainly with the duty of individual Muslims in this regard; technically, this is usually considered to be a collective obligation (fard kifīya) [see FARD 4.1.]

1. Terminology

The term is taken from the Kur’ān, where forbidding wrong is generally held to be imposed as a duty in III, 104: “Let there be one community of you, calling to good, and commanding right and forbidding wrong: those are the prosperers.” Other verses making clear reference to forbidding wrong are III, 110, 114; VII, 157; IX, 71, 112; XXII, 41; XXXI, 17. However, there is little indication in the Kur’ān of the concrete character of the duty.

The most-cited Sunni tradition uses a somewhat different wording. In the frame-story, a man reproves the Umayyad governor of Medina (the future caliph Marwān I [q.v.]) for infringing the swām in the course of leading a ritual prayer. The Companion Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḫudrī (d. 74/693) approves the man’s action, and quotes the Prophet as saying: “Whoever of you sees a wrong (munkar), let him put it right (fa-l-yughayyir-hu) with his hand; if he cannot, then with his tongue; if he cannot, then with [or in] his heart” (Muslim, Sāhib, ed. M.F. ‘Abd al-Bākī, Cairo 1955-6, 60, no. 49). From this tradition is derived the term taṣḥīḥ al-munkar “righting wrong”, while a variant text supports the term inkār al-munkar “manifesting” (disapproval) of wrong.

The Muslim scholars take it for granted that al-nahy ‘an al-munkar, taṣḥīḥ al-munkar and inkār al-munkar all refer to the same duty. They occasionally make distinctions between al-umma bi ‘l-maṣfīr and al-nahy ‘an al-munkar, but normally assume that a single duty is involved. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [q.v.]), devised a new terminology for the duty of individuals based on the root k-r-b; thus the duty itself is bišāb, one who performs it is muḥaṣṣīb, etc. (Ṭuḥā’ ‘l-ulm al-dīn, Cairo 1967-8, ii, 398). Hereafter the duty is referred to in this article as “forbidding wrong”.

2. Forbidding wrong by holders of public office

The sources speak of the exercise of authority by the legitimate ruler of the community as forbidding wrong. This usage is especially common in Imamī, Zaydī and Bāṭī texts, where forbidding wrong is closely linked to the imamate (e.g. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḵūmī, Tāfṣīr, ed. T.M. al-Djazā’irī, Nadjaf 1386-7/1966-8, i, 306; ‘Alī b. Muhammad al-ʿĀlāwī, Ṣaḥāf al-Ḥādī ilā ‘l-Haqq Ṭahī ibn al-Ḥusayn, ed. S. Zakārī, Beirut 1972, 29; al-Bīṣaywī, Ḥāmī, Kuwait 1984, iv, 192). But such language is also found in Sunni sources (e.g. al-Mas‘ūdī, Marāṣī, §3,111, on the caliph Muḥammad b. al-Ṣafā, [q.v.]). Holders of subordinate offices may also be described as forbidding wrong, especially the officially-appointed muḥaṣṣīb (e.g. al-Mawardi, al-ʿĀkām al-ṣulṭāniyya, ed. A.M. al-Baḥḍāwī, Kuwait 1989, 315) [see HIRBA]. Despite the fact that such dictum is widespread, it is not usually an object of scholastic reflection. Where scholars writing on the role of the muḥaṣṣīb pause to analyse the duty of forbidding wrong, they
tend to borrow what they say from discussions of the duty of the individual (as in the chapter on the muta'ābih in Khundžī, Solīk al-mulākā, ed. M.A. Muwahhīd, Tehran 1362/1983, 175-99, which includes much material going back to al-Qhazālī). Opinion is divided on the question whether the wording of the use of violence in forbidding wrong.

3. Forbidding wrong by individuals in principle.

There is an extensive scholastic literature on this subject. Much material may be found in sources of the following types: Qur'ān commentaries under the relevant Qur'ānic verses; commentaries on Prophetic traditions under the relevant traditions; the handbooks of doctrine (usūl al-dīn) of some but not all theological schools; works on substantive law among the Imāms, Zaydis and Ibāḍīs (but not the Sunnis); and occasional monographs devoted to forbidding wrong.

In terms of wealth of concrete detail, the richest body of material on the duty is a collection of responsa of Ahmad b. Hanbāl (d. 241/855 [q.v.]; Abū Bakr al-Khālīlī, al-āmīn bi tawāfīr 3, n. 4, ed. 'A.A. Aţā, Cairo 1975). In conceptual terms, the most sophisticated discussions stem from the Mu'tazila (q.v.) and their Zaydi and Imāmi heirs; by contrast, the Aš'ārīyya and Māturīdīyya (q.v.) have less to say. By far the most influential account of the duty is the substantial and very clear analysis that al-Qhazālī included in his Iḥyā' (II, 391-455, forming the ninth book of the second quarter, rbt, of the work). The influence of this treatment extended to all Sunni schools, and also to the Imāms, Zaydis and Ibāḍīs.

The central theme in formal discussions of the duty is often the set of conditions under which someone is obligated to confront a wrong. In the account of the Zaydi Mu'tazīlī Mānkālī (d. 425/1034), a pupil of Mā.imreadī (d. 415/1025), these conditions are in outline as follows: (1) knowledge of law: the prospective performer of the duty must know that what he forbids is indeed wrong; (2) knowledge of fact: he must know, or have good reason to believe, that the wrong in question is in the making (ḥikāya); (3) absence of worse side-effects: he must know that his action will not lead to a greater evil; (4) efficacy: he must know, or have good reason to believe, that his speaking out will be efficacious; (5) absence of danger: he must know, or have good reason to believe, that his action will not lead to harm to his person or property (Ma'mūdī, Tābī'ī Sharḥ Sharī'at al-Usūl al-khamās, edited by 'A. Uthmān as the Sharī'at al-Uṣūl al-khamās of 'Abd al-Dā'ābī b. Ahmad, Cairo 1963, 142-3). Other scholars are likely to discuss these issues in somewhat different ways, and to disagree on details. Occasionally a scholar will reject a condition outright, but this is rare; a case in point is the Sharī'ī al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), who holds the uncommon view that one should proceed irrespective of the prospects of success, thus rejecting the fourth condition (cf. Sharī'at al-Usūl, Beirut 1987, i, 382); he is followed in this by a good number of later Sharī'īs and some non-Sharī'īs.

The means by which the duty is to be performed are generally presented in an escalatory sequence (e.g. Mānkālī, Tābī'ī, 144, 744-5; al-Qhazālī, Iḥyā', ii, 429-5; contrast the wording of the Prophetic tradition cited above). Thus one should speak politely to the offender before rebuking him harshly, and only proceed to physical action if words are of no avail. The major disagreement concerns the use of violence in forbidding wrong: can it be used by individuals, and if so, can it reach the point of recourse to arms? The use of arms finds favour among the Mu'tazīlīs, Zaydis and Ibāḍīs, and is sanctioned by some Sunnis; but many Sunnis reject it, as do the Imāms.

This is not the only issue on which tension arises between more activist and more quietist approaches to forbidding wrong. Thus there is a major disagreement in connection with the fifth condition. While it is generally accepted that danger voids the obligation (at least if the degree of prospective harm is significant), it is disputed whether, or in what circumstances, it may still be virtuous to proceed. Thus according to Mānkindī, such action would be virtuous only if it secured the greater glory of the faith (Qazāt al-dīn, see Tāfī'ī, 143), whereas the Ḥanafī Mu'tazīlī 'Abd al-Husayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1046 [q.v. in Suppl.]), likewise a pupil of 'Abd al-Dā'ābī, held that no such distinction could be made, the greater glory of the faith being at issue in all such cases (cf. al-Himṣī, al-Munkādī al-tuḥyīl, Kumm 1414/1991-4, i, 219). By contrast, Imāmī authorities condemn such action (e.g. Murtuḍī, Ḥābīḥa, ed. A. al-Ḥusaynī, Kumm 1411/1990-1, 557-8).

A closely related question is whether it is virtuous to rebuke rulers harshly for their misdeeds. Al-Qhazālī, representing a widespread view, was strongly in favour of this, and included in his discussion of the duty a substantial number of relevant anecdotes (Iḥyā', ii, 437-5). Ibn Ḥanbāl, by contrast, discouraged such activity (Ibn Abī Ya'lab, Tābāhkāt al-Ḥanābilā, ed. M.H. al-Fikī, Cairo 1952, i, 47), and the Hanbalī Ibn al-Dawwār (d. 957/1062) followed suit in his recension of al-Qhazālī's Iḥyā' (see Ahmad b. Kudāma al-Māṃsidī, Māḥṣūs al-Munkādī al-kašīdān, Damascus 1339, 130). Likewise Muhāsin al-Faydī (d. 1691/1680), in his Imāmī recension of the Iḥyā', disallows rudeness to rulers, and impugns the motives of the heroes of al-Qhazālī's anecdotes (al-Munkādī al-baydā'ī fi ḥabībī al-Iḥyā', ed. A.A. al-Ḥāfīṣī, Tehran 1339-42, 139/60-3, iv, 112-13).

A final question of this kind, for those who accept recourse to arms, is whether forbidding wrong can take the form of rebellion against unjust rule. Such rebellion is usually condemned among the Sunnis, although Ibn Ḥazm (d. 436/1046) is a striking exception (Fisāl, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 175-6). Thus Abū Hanīfa (d. 150/767-8) is quoted as rejecting rebellion on the ground that its costs would exceed its benefits (Abū Hanīfa, al-Fīkī al-ābās, ed. M.Z. al-Kawthārī, Cairo 1368, 44). But rebellion under the aegis of forbidding wrong finds approval among, for example, the Ibāḍīs (cf. P. Crone and F. Zimmermann, The epistle of Sulīm ibn Dhakūn, Oxford 2001, 140, §127 of the Arabic text), here continuing a Khārijīte tradition, and the Zaydis (e.g. Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī, Muṣaffah, San'ā' 1993, 14).

One major concern (on which the systematic discussions in Mu'tazīlī and related sources are surprisingly silent) is privacy: how far do its requirements override the duty of forbidding wrong? The basic idea is that for forbidding wrong to be in place, the wrong must in some way be public knowledge; a hidden sin, according to a Prophetic tradition, harms only the sinner (Ibn Abī '1-Dunya, Rūbūbī, ed. M.K.R. Nīsīs, Beirut 1996, 43, no. 40). Moreover, steps that would make hidden wrongs manifest are strongly discouraged. The Qur'ānic prohibition of spying (XLIX, 12) is widely quoted (e.g. Abū Ya'lab Ibn al-Ḥarrārī, al-Mumaddī fi ʿusūl al-dīn, ed. W.Z. Haddad, Beirut 1974, §355), as are versions of a Prophetic tradition that makes it a duty not to disclose shameful aspects of
the lives of outwardly respectable Muslims (also quoted by Abū Yāšt; cf. Muslim, Sahih, 1996, no. 2,380). The problematic cases arise in the grey area between public and private. Thus if one passes someone in the street who has a suspicious bulge under his cloak—suggesting that he is carrying a bottle of alcoholic liquor or a musical instrument—should one confront him (cf. Abū Yāšt Ibn al-Farrāʾ, al-Akhbār al-sulṭāniyya, ed. M.H. al-Fikrī, Cairo 1966, 232-7)?

4. Forbidding wrong by individuals in practice.

Some of the more concrete prescriptive literature also sheds light on the practice of the duty. Thus the responsa of Ibn Ḥanbāl illustrate the kinds of wrong regularly confronted by individual Muslims in 3rd/9th century Baghdād. The most frequent are making music and drinking alcoholic liquor, followed by sexual misconduct (cf. al-Ḵhallaḏ, al-Amr biʾl-maʿrūf, no. 57); a variety of other wrongs appear from time to time, such as faulty prayer, chess-playing and the display of images. The mix seems to have been much the same at other times and places.

Biographical and historical sources preserve a considerable amount of scattered anecdotal material regarding the actual performance of the duty. On the whole, this material is richer for the earlier centuries than for later periods.

One respect in which the anecdotal material differs significantly from the prescriptive material is that it is much less ambivalent about confrontations involving danger. Thus many approving stories are told of pious Muslims who rebuked unjust rulers without regard for the consequences. An example is the reproof administered by Shuʿayb b. Ḥarb (d. 196/811-12) to the caliph Harun al-Rashīd (cf. al-Khāṭīb al-Baghdāḏī, Taʾnkh Baghdad, no. 57); a responsa of Ibn Ḥanbal illustrate the kinds of wrong regularly confronted by individual Muslims in 3rd/9th century Baghdād (d. 295/907-8) [see AL-NURI] concerns himself with a cargo of wine belonging to the caliph, the boatman calls him a "meddlesome Sufi" (al-Ḫamādānī, al-Amr biʾl-maʿrūf waʾl-nahy an al-munqar, Tehran 1390/1970, 43). But more quietist trends are also at work. Thus in Egypt, Hasan al-Bānā (d. 1368/1949) [see AL-BANNA] was against forbidding wrong "with the band" (Abd al-Khāṭīb al-Ḫuṣaynī, Kitab al-dīwān al-ʿilmīyya Ḥasan al-Bānā, Cairo 1952, 73), and Sayyid Ḥūṣayn al-Ṣāḥib (d. 1386/1966 [q.e.]) considered the duty to be in abeyance in the absence of an Islamic state (Fi ṣūl al-ʿAkdaʾ, Beirut 1973-4, 494). Khalīl al-Sabti, a mainstream Suʿūdī scholar, does not share such views, but bypasses the more subversive statements of al-Ḡazzālī (al-Amr biʾl-maʿrūf, 316ff.).

There has also been an unprecedented emphasis on the desirability of achieving greater organisation for the purpose of forbidding wrong (see e.g. Muhammad Ahmad al-Ǧumārī, al-Muntalak, Beirut 1974, 144-54, for a Sunnī view, and Ḥusayn al-Ḵurṣānī, Amr biʾl-maʿrūf waʾl-nahy an al-munqar, Tehran 1990, 63, for an Imāmī view). In some Islamic countries, this has led to the creation of new organs of the state entrusted with the performance of the duty (but not to the revival of the traditional office of the official muhtasib). Thus in Suʿūdī Arabia, a system of "committees (hayāt) for commanding right and forbidding wrong" emerged in the aftermath of the Suʿūdī conquest of the Hijāz in 1343-4/1924-5, initially as a device to contain the zeal of the Wahhabi Ikhwān (q.e.) against the misdeeds of the Hijāzīs and pilgrims (cf. Ḥāfīẓ Wabba, Ḏaṯrat al-ʿArab fiʾl-ṣiṣ al-ṭirān, Cairo 1961, 309-12). In Iran, following the Islamic Revolution of 1399/1979, a plurality of organs of the state acquired responsibility for forbidding wrong and in Afghanistan, a single organisation was established (the "Committee for the Duty of the Taliban") which conquered Kābul in 1417/1996.

5. Modern developments.

Discussion of forbidding wrong has played a significant part in the modern history of Islamic thought and practice, with Imāmī scholars tending to be more innovative than Sunnī ones.

One question that has naturally received increased attention is the role of women in forbidding wrong. In pre-modern times, a few authorities explicitly excluded women from performing the duty, a few (notably al-Ḡazzālī and some Baghdādī) explicitly included them, but most said nothing either way (for al-Ḡazzālī’s view, see Ḥūṣayn, ii, 398). Modern authors, by contrast, often include women, even if they limit their role (e.g. Khalīl b. Ṣafī al-Ṣabti, al-Amr biʾl-maʿrūf waʾl-nahy an al-munqar, London 1995, 171-2, a conservative Sunnī view; Ahmad Ṭawfīq Ṣabīṭārī, Tahayya; amr baḥ maʿrūf waʾl-nahy an al-mūnakar, Tehran 1350/1971, 208, a radical Imāmī view).

There has been a widespread trend towards greater political activism, most consistently among the Imāmīs. Thus the view that it is wrong to proceed in the face of danger was qualified or rejected not just by Ḵumaynī (d. 1409/1989 [q.e. in Suppl.]) (Ṭabarī al-ʿawṣa, Beirut 1981, i, 472-6), but by numerous scholars of his and later generations. On the Sunnī side, one example among many of a strongly activist figure is the Algerian Allī b. Ḥadīḍ; thus in a talk distributed on cassettes, he quotes with enthusiasm a passage in which al-Ḡazzālī sanctioned the recruitment of armed bands in the cause of forbidding wrong (ḥiyāʾ, ii, 425). But more quietist trends are also at work. Thus in Egypt, Hasan al-Bānā (d. 1368/1949) [see AL-BANNA] was against forbidding wrong "with the band" (Abd al-Khāṭīb al-Ḵuṣaynī, Kitab al-dīwān al-ʿilmīyya Ḥasan al-Bānā, Cairo 1952, 73), and Sayyid Ḥūṣayn al-Ṣāḥib (d. 1386/1966 [q.e.]) considered the duty to be in abeyance in the absence of an Islamic state (Fi ṣūl al-ʿAkdaʾ, Beirut 1973-4, 494). Khalīl al-Sabti, a mainstream Suʿūdī scholar, does not share such views, but bypasses the more subversive statements of al-Ḡazzālī (al-Amr biʾl-maʿrūf, 316ff.).
written by Kudāma b. Dja’far (d. ca. 337/948 [q.v.], and see below) in the first half of the 4th/10th century. The title should probably still be understood in the original metaphorical sense, “The Assaying of Poetry.” Since Kudāma is very much aware of his innovative approach, the era preceding him may be called the pre-systematic period. This does not imply that all works after him were systematic, only that a new “school” of poetry started to gain popularity, that of the “Moderns” [see MUHDATHUN, iv, 70-2], and, on the other, a new “school” of poetry started to gain popularity, that of the “Moderns” [see MUHDATHUN, iv, 70-2].

In addition, there are works of a directly pertinent nature, namely al-Djahiz (d. 255/868-9 [q.v.]), K. al-Bayḍu wa ‘l-tabam; K. al-Waṣṣāx, and above all Abu ‘l-Faradj al-Isbahānī (d. 356/967 [q.v]). He “straightens out” what is “crooked” in his poems by dividing poetry into four categories: e.g. (a) and (d) put together result in sayings like “the best verse is one whose beginning makes one anticipate its end.”

Most of the critical terms and ideas mentioned so far refer to the homogeneous “timeless” body of ancient Arabic poetry, which means that the notion of literary history is absent from them. When this body was not allowed to fade into oblivion, as had been the fate of Arabic poetry in the centuries before our earliest specimens, but was collected into a corpus of classical models, a historical dimension was introduced and things gradually began to change also for criticism. The Umayyad poet al-Farazdak (d. ca. 112/730 [q.v.]) dedicates one of his poems to an enumeration of his literary forebears, twenty in all. To characterize his relationship to them, he uses the expressions waḥabu ‘l-‘aṣba‘i’dī ʿl-. . . ilā madaw “they gave the poems to me, when they passed away” and waḥabu ‘l-‘Ibārīdī “I inherited” (three times). He even mentions a book that he has of the poetry of the pre-Islamic poets, among others, of ‘Abd b. al-Malik whether he could compose and recite some poetry on the spot, and answered: “I am not drinking wine (lā ‘aṭṭahb), and I am not in an excited mood (lā āṭṭahb), poetry happens only due to one of these three” (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit., 18).

Saying that the critical terms of the literary art, such as baḥṭa‘a, ḥaḥtha, and baḥṣān, who were included in the previous century are no more taken for granted in the later period, is not accurate. These belong in the present context only inasmuch as they are normative, as they often are. They are often attributed to “a Byzantine” poet also to a “Greek” or “Persian” (see a collection, including later definitions, in al-Husayn, Ṣuhr al-ṣiḥḥ, 149-168). Combinations of these types also occur; e.g. (a) and (d) put together expressions like “the best verse is one whose beginning makes one anticipate its end.”

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Afterwards there came the transmitters and added to who discusses these matters at the beginning of his they have forged (i.e. separately, without adding it to battles and poems were [in fact] few. So they wanted the collection that is not included in the transmission falsely attributed old genuine (part), i.e. that part of of al-TusI’s main authority, al-Mufaddal al-Dabb¶ (d. 1673 [q.v.]), but which other transmitters attribute to Imru’ al-Kays. Ibn Sallam al-Djumali, who discusses these matters at the beginning of his book on the classes of poets, accuses the great transmitter Hammad al-Rawyya of habitually and intentionally misattributing poetry (wa-kana yanhalu ghfr wa-rajudt ghayrah yawzanahu ghuya ghfrin [Tabakbt, 48]). What is worse, he also accuses him of adding to the poems he transmits (wa-ya^idu fi l-`aghhr [bid]), But, as he states in another place (Tabakbt, 46-7), it is not only transmitters who are guilty of forgeries but also those tribes who in early Islamic times found the transmission of poetry and the narration of their wanted to amend the situation. Ibn Sallam’s passage is of sufficient interest to warrant translation in full: “When the Arabs [after the conquests] returned to the transmission of poetry and the narration of their battles and glorious deeds, some tribes found the poetry of their poets and the current narration of their battles to be scant. And there were people whose battles and poems were [in fact] few. So they wanted to catch up with those who did have battles and poems and [to do so] they composed poems attributing them to the poets (kala’a `ala alsnati ghurar/khi.m) Afterwards there came the transmitters and added to the poems that had been composed. To the experts (ahl al-ti”)n) the additions of the transmitters and what they have forged (i.e. separately, without adding it to an existing poem) pose no problem, nor does what the muwallis [q.v.] have forged. However, [the experts] have been confounded, if a man from among the desert dwellers and belonging to the lineage of poets, or even a man who does not belong to their prog- eny, composes [spurious] poems. That can be some- what difficult.” This is followed by a story relating how a grandson of the poet Mutammim b. Nuwayra extended the latter’s dicin imitating his style (yahnidh tala kalama”). The kind of critique that is necessary to recognize spurious poetry cannot, in Ibn Sallam’s opin- ion, clearly be expressed in words (Tabakbt, 5-7, with parallels from other craft and arts); it is a matter of intuition comparable to the art of physiognomy, and the famous transmitter Khalaf al-Al’Abb§ er is called “the best physiognomist of all, when it comes to a line of poetry” (kana `afasa l-nisi bi-bayt ghfr [Tabakbt, 23]). There is a famous anecdote, probably first attested by Ibn Sallam (Tabakbt, 7), which compares this ability with that of the money-changer who recognises a bad coin: “Someone said to Khalaf: If I hear a poem that I deem good, I do not care what you and your ilk say about it.” He replied: “If you accept a dirham and consider it good and the money-changer tells you it is bad, does your good opinion of it help you at all?” “It seems evident from this and the other references mentioned above, that the metaphorical applica- tion to the term nakd originated in the context of distinguishing genuine from spurious, rather than good from bad poetry, although the dividing line between the two pairs can be rather fuzzy. (It should be mentioned m passant that, along with misattribu- tion, scholarly forgery and tribal forgery, Ibn Sallam recognizes also a fourth category of spurious poetry [Tabakbt, 7-8]: poems that are invented and attributed to legendary figures of the past; Ibn Sallam takes Ibn Ishak’s word and describes Ibn Sallam’s attitude to such material in his Sra and refuses to call it ghfr, since it is only “words put together and held together by rhymes” [ka`aini mu’alllaw ma’kuid bi-kawdf”).

Criticism of poetry among the philologists At the same time, nakd in the sense of literary criticism is represented by various approaches. The philol- ogists who felt responsible for the integrity of ancient poetry also paid some attention to the question of its aesthetic quality. The evidence for this is partly implicit in the selections they made to produce the famous anthologies such as the Ma’salakat, the Mufaddaliyyat [q.v.] and the Asma’iyat [see al-ASMA]. Most of the explicit evidence is anecdotal and in the form described above, but gradually certain critical yardsticks start being developed. Most of the early works on poetry and poets (al-`ghfr wa l-`aghdr) and similar titles, mainly known from Ibn al-Nadlm’s Fihrist are unfortunately lost. The first extant kibar al-`ghfr wa l-`aghdr, that of Ibn Kutayba, contains a remarkable introduction that delineates a number of basic critical ideas: (1) Poetry consists of wording (la`iz) and meaning (mu`a.d), both or either of which may be good or bad. (2) Poets are either “natural” (mathluth “poete de genie”) or “pains-taking” (mutakallim “poete d’étude”), (for the French rend- ition, see M. Guadet-Demombynes, op. cit, 15); the latter spend much time polishing their poems, a fact that shows in the final outcome. (3) In a pas- sage much quoted in Western studies, he describes— and prescribes—the “movements” of the ancient ode (having in mind, however, the tripartite structure char- acteristic of the Umayyad rather than the pre-Islamic kasida and describing it as a quadripartite sequence of themes: 1. sorrow at the vestiges of the encamp- ment; 2. memory of the former beloved; 3. camel ride through the desert; and 4. praise of the addressee); he also disallows replacing the desert ambience by a sedentary one (no ruined buildings instead of the rem- nants of the encampment, no roses and myrtles for the thorny shrubs of the desert). On the other hand, he includes poets up to the early decades of the 8th century in his book and emphasises that the birth- date of a poet should not be held against him, as some of the philologists who considered only ancient poetry to be true poetry were inclined to do. 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Since Ibn Kutayba is not explicit about any awareness of the “Moderns” and their production, see M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit. 15); the latter spend much time polishing their poems, a fact that shows in the final outcome. (3) In a pas-
the profile of the fahl contains certain traits that are not in doubt: he must have a prolific output and cannot be a mukill; he must not compose only short poems; his descriptions (nafš) must stand out; he must be free of plagiarisms, which means he must not be a mukill; his descriptions (naṣaḥ) must be free from error and related to the language in which one word is the same. It is not a necessity, it is noteworthy that, with the secretaries who used it to add elegant concretes and allusions to their ornate epistles (on the theory and techniques of hall, see A. Sanni in Bhl). The close symbiosis between secretaries and poets was fertile ground for the development of literary criticism. We have a fair number of reports about gatherings in which questions of poetry and poetics were discussed, and we have some of the literature that sprang from these discussions. As already indicated, the book that made the term nakd al-shīr current was written by Kudama b. Dja'far. He was a middle-level administrator in the caliphal chanceries, originally Christian and with a known interest in Greek philosophy, especially logic. This clearly had its effect on the very systematic presentation in his book: a definition of poetry (“meter rhymed speech referring to a meaning”) [Nakd, 2] yields the four elements “metrical rhyme, wording, meaning,” which are then evaluated in isolation and in combination with each other (he finds that only the combinative scoring of wording/metre, meaning/metre and meaning/rhyme are meaningful subjects for evaluation [Nakd, 9]). In accordance with this, the book falls into two major parts, one on naʿāb “bad qualities,” the other on qaʾīb “good qualities.” It is worth noting that the vast majority of Kudama’s examples are from early poetry, although there is a sprinkling of “modern” poets as well, up to Abū Tammān (d. ca. 232/845 [g.v.]). The difference between “Ancients” and “Moderns” is, of course, known to him (Nakd, 17, 1.7), but it does not inform the structure of his book.

His contemporary Ibn Tabātabā (d. 322/934) produced an entirely different book in his Iḥās al-shīr. “The criterion of poetry”. Unfortunately, the little we know about his life does not tell us if he was a secretary in his hometown of Iṣfahān, but he certainly was a respectable poet. His book does not show a systematic arrangement; it is more like a collection of loosely connected but highly perceptive essays. He is almost painfully aware of the burden of tradition that the “Moderns” feel (his𝑣-i ʿān ʿan al-Shīr nād), and in that (a) the poetic language moves away from reality, turning to inbreeding and the construction of ever more intricate conceits, (b) the craving of the public for innovation puts pressure on the poet to oblige and, consequently, (c) the poetry becomes ever more “artificial”. Though this can only be considered a strong tendency, not a necessity, it is noteworthy that, in the section on poems that are without “artificiality” and prose-like in their easy flow, Ibn Tabātabā quotes twenty-four examples, twenty-two of which are “ancient”. Of the remaining two, one is by Abū al-Malik al-Harīthi, who is said by Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [g.v.]) to be a poet in the Bedouin vein, while the other is the well-known mubāḥaṭ Marwān b.
Abi Haša (d. ca. 182/797 [q.v.]), who was rather conservative in his poetic ways (Tabakät, 276-80). In another passage he indicates the way out for "modern" poets: he should take (akhdh, iştıdra) a poetic idea from a predecessor and improve on it (interestingly, he does not use the term sanja, as others often do (Yakut, 125, 126).

However different Kudama and Ibn Tabatabā may be in their presentations, they resemble each other in their basic goal: to identify the good and the bad in poetry, whether it reside in wording, meaning, rhyme or metre. Both have a preference for longish quotations to make their point (Ibn Tabatabā more so than Kudama), an unusual phenomenon in the literature of naqd al-šī'ā. This is tied in with the question: do both works belong to the same "genre" of meta-discourse, i.e. do they give rules on how to compose poetry (a "poetics" in the strict sense) or on how to evaluate it (a theory of criticism)? Ibn Tabatabā uses language that tells the would-be poet what to do, while Kudama does not.

Ibn Tabatabā is said to have greatly admired the poetry of Ibn al-Mu'azz, an admiration that was reciprocated (Yakut, 126, 144-5), and Ibn Tabatabā is in turn mentioned in the latter's Tabakät al-shuʿbā' al-muhdathin. Ibn al-Mu'azz was indeed a poet of the first magnitude but, as a member of the caliphal house, he was also in constant contact with high-level secretaries and was himself an accomplished prose stylist (see e.g. his Fīrūz al-lamāliḥī fi tabāqāt al-sūrān, ed. Dūrūd Kanāzī and Fāhda Abū Khadra, Damascus 1410/1989, and his Kitāb al-Adāb, ed. Saḥīḥ Rāzfīd, Baghdaḏ 1392/1972). He wrote the third important early work in the area of naqd al-šī'ā, the Kitāb al-Bādi ("The Book of the Novelty"). The term bādi', "novel, original" was already current at the time as a somewhat fuzzy technical term denoting a poetic idea (akhdh, iştıdra); the term iştıdra ("novel, original") was used by Ibn Tabatabā to refer to non-metaphoric examples. Ibn al-Mu'azz's uncertainty may reflect the vagaries of this intermediary stage.

The Kitāb al-Bādi', originally composed as a legitimation of the "novel" features of "modern" poetry, effectively launched the term bādi' as a collective noun referring to "rhetorical figures", which found its scholastic culmination in the discipline called "ilm al-bādi'". While Ibn al-Mu'azz was the controversy around the poet Abu Tammān, who used the term to refer to non-metaphoric examples. Ibn al-Mu'azz's uncertainty may reflect the vagaries of this intermediary stage.

The controversy around Abu Tammān

One of the triggers for the composition of the Kitāb al-Bādi', had been the controversy around the poet Abu Tammān, who was considered an addict of bādi' and the prototype of the sun'a poet (manārit), who uses rhetorical figures to add a new point or even a new level to a line of poetry. Ibn al-Mu'azz himself wrote a short treatise on the merits and defects of Abu Tammān's poetry (Risāla fī maḥāsin šī' Abī Tammān wa maḍāhī, preserved by al-Marzubānī, al-Mawṣūl 277f.), in which he mostly critiques single lines and mentions several times that he is not the first to voice that particular criticism. But the first large-scale critical appraisal is that of al-Ḥasan b. Bīghr al-Āmidī (d. 371/981), who contrasts the "artful" (manārit) Abū
Tammâm with his counterpart (and disciple!), the “natural” (matbû’ī) poet al-Buhturi (d. 284/897 [q.v.]); the fitting title of the book is “The Weighing of the poetry of Abu Tammâm and al-Buhturi” (al-Muważzâna bayn gârî Abû Tammâm wa 'l-Buhturi, see Bîkî). Al-‘Amîdî was a secretary, both in Basra and Baghdad, and he was also an accomplished poet and a trained grammarian (Yâkit, Isgâd, ed. Rîf‘î, iii, 75-93). This was clearly a good basis for his main claim to fame, his works on literary criticism. One might say that he set the field as a field, because he subjected a number of the existing nûkû works to a critical review. Unfortunately, we have only the titles of these works: “Mistakes to be found in the ‘Criterion of poetry’ by Ibn Tâbîbî” (K. Mî fi 'r âdî bî [Ibn Tâbîzâbâr min al-khâl], “Disclosure of the error of Kudâma b. Dî‘âfî in his ‘Assigning of Poetry,’” (K. Tâbîn ghalât Kudâma, b. Dî‘âfî fi Kîbû Nakal al-ghîr), and “Refutation of Ibn ‘Amâm’s in his faulting of Abû Tammâm” (K. al-Bâdî âlî 'l-Bîn 'Amâm fînî Khattâ fihi Abî Tammâm) (for the last mentioned, Abu T’-Abdîs ‘Amrîdî, b. Ubayd Allâh Ibn ‘Amâm al-Thâkîfî, d. ca. 314/926), see Yâkit, Isgâd, ed. Rîf‘î, iii, 232-42).

In addition, he wrote the following works in the critical genre, of which again we have only the evocative titles (omitting the ubiquitous Khâtîb):

Unstrung the string” (Nâthf al-ma‘zûm), i.e., turning poetry into prose, see above;

That the ideas of two poets do not agree by chance” (Fi anna ‘l-ghîr ‘aynna l-‘atâfìkhuma); the phenomenon noted here by al-‘Amîdî is also known as ma‘nâ ‘rā‘în al-‘aṣrîn, and is one of the ways to explain identical or similar lines, short of plagirism;

“The difference between the individual and the shared with regard to the motifs of poetry” (Fakk mà hâm al-khâys sa ‘r-muqâfîrîn min mu‘tânî al-ghîr), the distinction between attributable motifs and those in the public domain, an important issue in the discussion of plagiarism (see Sarîka, in Suppl.); 

“Preference of the poetry of Imrû al-Kays over [that of the other] pre-Islamic poets” (Tâjîfî yâhî bîr al-Kays a‘lî l-‘aṣrîn fî l-Qârîrîyîn); and “The motifs in the poetry of al-Buhturi” (Mânîtî sîrîl al-Buhturi). His main preserved work, the “Weighing,” is the first serious attempt at critical application. Before entering into the actual comparison between the two poets, al-‘Amîdî collects and discusses what the adherents of either poet have already amassed in the way of critical opinions. But he first takes the opportunity to characterise the two poets as the two opposites on the ma‘nâ–matbû’i scale: al-Buhturi is Bedouin in his poetry, natural, in accordance with the “ancients”; he does not leave the well-known “mainstay of poetry” (mu‘tânî al-ghîr), he shuns knotted syntax and forced expressions and uncouth words. Abu Tammâm, on the other hand, is strenuously abstract, a master of conceits who forces words and meanings, and his poetry does not resemble the poems of the “Ancients”.

Interestingly, he also describes the typical adherents of the two poets. In al-Buhturi’s case they are: the secretaries, the Bedouins, the “natural” poets, and the people of eloquence, while Abu Tammâm has attracted the “people who are after conceits” (al-âlîl mu‘tânî), the masters of poetic language (al-mânîtî sîrî), and those who incline to sophistication and speech philosophical (al-tadî lk wa-falsîfî al-kalâm) (Muważzâna, i, 6). Al-‘Amîdî also remarks that the admirers of Abu ‘Abbâd, who in his view was, consequently, “written in a bitter spirit” and raised some eyebrows (Ouyang, Literary criticism, 150). It was clearly vengeful nit-picking, considering the fact that Ibn ‘Abbâd later wrote a little collection with the title “Current proverbial lines from the poetry of al-Mutanabbi” (al-Mutanabbi wa-syîrîh as-yâ‘afî), Al-Hatîmî subsequently wrote this up under the title “The scalp-cleaving treatise concerning the plagiarisms of Abu ‘1-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi and his corrupt poetry” (Risâla fi ‘r-kâfî ‘an masâ’il sîrî al-Mutanabbi wa-syîrîh), was, consequently, “written in a bitter spirit” and raised some eyebrows (Ouyang, Literary criticism, 150).
the treatise does contain a number of interesting discussions of critical topics on the part of al-Ḥātimī. He was after all the author of a general book on poetics, the “Ornament of apt quotation, on the craft of poetry” (Hīfāṣ, al-maḥāfara fī sīlaḥ al-dhari). This work is mainly compilatory but brings a number of different angles to bear on literary criticism: figures of speech, best verses on specific themes and topics, a large section on plagiarism and related topics, and—for the first time in nakūd—a treatment of maṣūfa in poetry; the latter is, however, not very successful, as al-Ḥātimī uses the term in its wide application as we know it from Ibn Kūtayba, and not in the later sense of “figurative speech”, which ‘Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (see below) introduced into the literary field (cf. Heinrichs, Contacts between scriptural hermeneutics and literary theory in Islam. The case of Maṣūfa, in JGAW, vii [1991-2], 253-84). Another attack on al-Mutanabbi was launched by the Egyptian poet Ibn Wāţi’l al-Tunṣī (d. 393/1003) in “Dealing fairly with the litter and the lifting, rather than the divulgation of the plagiarisms of Abu ʿl-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi” (al-Munṣif li ʿl-ṣārık wa ʿl-masrūk fī izhār sarākīṯ Abī ʿl-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi). In an introductory section he discusses the figures of speech, basing himself on Ibn al-Mujarrad, and often against, al-Mutanabbi, there are also the transitional figure in this respect is the famous poet al-Wasṭa, who was also an expert philologist and an ardent admirer of al-Mutanabbi. He composed two commentaries on his works: al-Maṣūfa for Dīya al-Dīn, and (without naming him) al-Ḥātimī. The author who tried to right the wrongs committed against al-Mutanabbi was al-Ḳādi al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1002) in his “Mediation between al-Mutanabbi and his adversaries” (al-Waṣīfah baṣm al-Mutanabbi wa-khūṣūmih). The author belonged to the entourage of Ibn Abīdāl for a while and was later appointed chief ʿKāfī of al-Rayy; he was also a recognised poet. His book is the apex of applied literary criticism: fair to say that the discourse of the scribe is much more interesting in al-Djurdjānī than in his predecessors. His approach is very systematic, starting with ʿArabī patterns and different types of forced style (Sirr, 379-91), but he apparently did not treat this topic systematically in a separate book. However, his student Ibn Sinān al-Ḳhāṣfī (d. 466/1074) did so in his Sirr al-faḏrā (see Bīh), in which Abu ʿl-ʿAlī is quoted quite frequently. Ibn Sinān wrote poetry, but he was probably first and foremost a statesman (not a successful one, since as governor of the fort of ʿArāz he paid with his life for his temerity in seducing from his Mirdāṣid overlord in Aleppo). He says quite clearly that the discourse of the scribe is much more important than that of the poet (Sirr, 280): Poetry is a superfluity that can be dispensed with (al-ḥīṣra faḏla ʿl-yastaghnd ʿl-amūm). His book is thus more generally interesting in the general problems of literary criticism: figures of speech, basing himself on Ibn al-Mujarrad, and (without naming him) al-Ḥātimī. Alongside the books and treatises written about, and often against, al-Mutanabbi, there are also the commentaries on his Diwān to consider, as they do at times go beyond the mere explanation of a line and offer evaluative comments. Moreover there is some disagreement among the commentators, which also may have critical implications. The earliest commentaries, the two written by al-Mutanabbi’s friend, the grammarian Ibn Djinīf (d. 392/1002 [q.v.]), contain a number of interpretations and justifications that were considered incorrect by other critics, such as al-Wāḥīd (Abū Tālīb Sa’d b. Muhammad al-Azdī al-Baghdādī, d. 385/995), Abu ʿl-Ṣādīq al-ʿArūḍī (d. 416/1025) and Ibn Fūrāḏā (Muḥammad b. Ahmad, d. after 437/1045) (on criticism of Ibn Djinīf, and especially al-Wāḥīd, see I. ʿAbbās, Taʿrīḵh, 279-95; for examples see also Heinrichs, Obscurity in Classical Arabic poetry, in Mediterranea, xix [1996, for 1993], 239-59). They sometimes attacked Ibn Djinīf rather violently, and often not without reason: he was after all, in spite of his enthusiasm for al-Mutanabbi, a grammatical and expert on ancient poetry. One of Ibn Fūrāḏā’s “counter-commentaries” has been published (see Bīh). He is also quoted about one hundred times in the commentaries of al-Wāḥīd (d. 468/1075), often together with al-ʿArūḍī and here and there with other scholars, offering fascinating insights into their interpretations of the ancient poetry. The debate about al-Mutanabbi did not entirely cease after this first flurry of activity in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. Even much later, books were still composed about him, but they tend to be derivative, such as Yusuf al-Badīʿ (d. 1073/1662), al-Suhb al-Manṣūbī an ḥayḍhāṣat al-Mutanabbi, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Salṣābī et alī, Cairo 1963. A notable exception is the critical comparison between al-Mutanabbi and Abu Tāmām by the Andalusian author Ibn Labbāl (Abu ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ahmad al-Ṣaḥīfī, d. 582/1186), al-Ṣaḥīfī al-Mutanabbi wa-Manṣūbī wa-Naṣīrī, ed. M. Ibn Sharifī in idem, Abu Tāmām wa-Abū ʿl-Tayyib fi adab al-Maghārība, Beirut 1985, 197-222.

Further systematical research: al-Ḳhāṣfī and ‘Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī Later poets do not appear to have become the focus of critical attention on such a grand scale. But one unique work should at least be mentioned here: a rather original literary-critical treatment of the poetry of Imruʾ al-Kays by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Fūʿād (d. 716/1316 [q.v.]) with the title “Tables laden with date-curd, on the finer points of Imruʾ al-Kays” (Mawdīd al-hays fi jāfuʿad ʿImrū ʿl-Kāys, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿUlayyān, Ammān 1414/1994). However, in general, the nakūd literature returned to general treatments of the whole field. A transitional figure in this respect is the famous poet and aesthete, Abu ʿl-ʿAlī al-Maṣīrī (d. 449/1058 [q.v.]), who was also an expert philologist and an ardent admirer of al-Mutanabbi. He composed two commentaries on the poetry of Imruʾ al-Kays, al-Maṣīrī wa-Imruʾ al-Kāys, in ms. Istanbul, Süleymanīye, Hamidiye 1148, for the Arabic text and translation of its introduction, see P. Smoor, Kings and Bedouins in the palace of Aleppo as reflected in Maṣīrī’s works, Manchester 1985, 223-4). His other works are strewed with a number of critical ideas (see ‘Abbās, Taʿrīḵh, 379-91), but he apparently did not treat this topic systematically in a separate book. However, his student Ibn Sinān al-Ḳhāṣfī (d. 466/1074) did so in his Sirr al-faḏrā (see Bīh), in which Abu ʿl-ʿAlī is quoted quite frequently. Ibn Sinān wrote poetry, but he was probably first and foremost a statesman (not a successful one, since as governor of the fort of ʿArāz he paid with his life for his temerity in seducing from his Mirdāṣid overlord in Aleppo). He says quite clearly that the discourse of the scribe is much more important than that of the poet (Sirr, 280): Poetry is a superfluity that can be dispensed with (al-ḥīṣra faḏla ʿl-yastaghnd ʿl-amūm). His book is thus more generally interesting in the general problems of literary criticism: figures of speech, basing himself on Ibn al-Mujarrad, and (without naming him) al-Ḥātimī. The same attitude can also be found already earlier in al-Marzūkī’s (d. 421/1030 [q.v.]) important introduction to his commentary on the Hamīṣa of Abu Tāmām. One of the topics discussed there is the notion of ʿumād al-ḥīr “the mainstay of poetry”. Taking this term from al-ʿArūḍī and al-Ḳādi al-Djurdjānī, who used to characterise the ancient poets and the “natural” ones among the “modern” poets as following the ʿumād al-ḥīr, al-Marzūkī draws up a list of qualities that defines the notion, seven in all, namely, elevated appropriate meaning, firm wording, accurate description, apposite simile, coherence and...
choice of pleasant metre, affinity between donor and receptor of a metaphor, and close fit between wording and meaning. This is a veritable manifesto of anti-mannerist poetising: it clearly tries to curb the more outrageous innovations of the Mu'tazzrans.

A comparison of al-Khafajī's work with the Islamic world was the greatest genius of Arabic literary theory, 'Abd al-Kahir al-Djurjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081 [q.v. in Suppl.]). He was a grammarian and minor poet, but not a scribe. He never travelled beyond the latter focuses on Kur'ānic discourse. Both are highly original and proved to be historically most important. The Asrār concentrate on imagery, i.e. the essence and the function of simile, simile-based metaphor, analogy and analogy-based metaphor. Al-Djurjānī was the first, and in a way maybe the last, to identify a major constituent of maš'ūdātān poetic language, the takhyīlī ([q.v.], “phantastic re-interpretation of facts”, in the guise of mock analogies and a number of other techniques, often based on metaphors taken literally. This allowed him to distinguish between “rational” (al-`udh) and “phantasmagorical” (takhyīlī) motifs and to sing the praises of the latter of the as something other than verbal alchemy; he still supports, nonetheless, the greater “ethical” value of the “rational” motifs, since takhyīl entails a poetic lie (and thus does not occur in the Kur`ān). While this work should thus clearly be reckoned a part of the nakd al-shi'ī enterprise (this judgement is corroborated by the many perceptive interpretations of poetic prooftexts included in it), his book on the inimitability of the Kur`ān, though replete with valuable observations on poetry, focuses on nazm [q.v., section 2, in Suppl.]. “Syntactic ordering to achieve a certain meaning.” Nazm is the only criterion by which the iḍīqāz can be proven, since it applies to every text, and thus to every āya, while other textual phenomena that might be evaluated, as e.g. metaphors, occur only sporadically. Even metaphor itself is conditioned by nazm, i.e. the context determines the metaphoricalness of the expression at hand.

The influence of the Kur'ānic discourse

Despite the overlap between the two books of al-Djurjānī, the Diwdn belongs to a different strand of tradition. The Kur'ānic discourse of the Diwdn had, of course, its forerunners, which need not detain us here, except inasmuch as they may have had an influence on nakd al-shīr. There are, actually, at least two Kur'ānic discourses that have some bearing on nakd al-shīr. One appears as part of the works on legal theory; it often forms a section called baydān (“clarity”) and deals with linguistic questions of hermeneutics, as it is a compilation, though not exclusively, but without acknowledgment, by Abu Hilāl. The Kur'ānic discourse of the Diwdn gives the impression of “phantastic re-interpretation to achieve a certain meaning.” Nazm is the only criterion by which the iḍīqāz can be proven, since it applies to every text, and thus to every āya, while other textual phenomena that might be evaluated, as e.g. metaphors, occur only sporadically. Even metaphor itself is conditioned by nazm, i.e. the context determines the metaphoricalness of the expression at hand.

At about the same time, there was a flourishing of poetry and literary criticism in Zirid Kayrawān, which may also be considered the beginning of serious critical activities in the Muslim West. Much Eastern material was made accessible by the excellent anthologies of al-Husri (d. 413/1022 [q.v.]), in particular his “Flowers of maxims and fruits of keen minds” (Zahr al-ḥadiqat wa-maḥān an al-ḥadiqat, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bagjāwī, Cairo 1372/1953; and “Collection of jewels among jocoseness and rarities” (Qamāt al-ghawthīr bi l-ḥadiqat wa-maḥān an l-naqād, ed. al-Bagjāwī, Cairo 1372/1953). Both of them contain many passages in which the author either reports or presents critical viewpoints. Al-Husri was the mentor of Ibn Rashīq (d. 456/1063 or 463/1071 [q.v.]), who quotes al-Rummannī. It was `Abd al-Kahir al-Djurjānī who in two books (see above) cleaned up the terminological mess resulting from the interaction of the poetic and the Kur'ānic discourses. But before him there was one more interesting interface between the discourses, in al-Bākīllānī’s (d. 403/1013 [q.v.]) Fī al-kurān. Three parts of this book are especially pertinent here (these parts were translated by G.E. von Grunebaum, Tenth-century documents: (a) an extensive section on iḍīqāz “rhetorical figures”, which, however, according to him are not relevant for proving the iḍīqāz, since they are attainable by man through training and experience; (b) a critique of the Mushaf of Ḥasan (rāsā, q.v., i.e. the context determines the metaphoricalness of the expression at hand. This book might be called the first encyclopedia of literary theory, as it is a compilation, though not devoid of original ideas, from most of the earlier literature on rhetoric (ḥabīb), nakd al-shīr and iḍīqāz. Since these different strands of literary theory at times used the same term in different meanings (e.g. istadrā as “loan metaphor” in nakd, “substitution metaphor” or even “figurative speech in general” in Kur'ānic discourse), certain contradictions in the materials collected by Abu Hilal remain. This lack of homogeneity also besets other authors, such as Ibn Rashīq (d. 456/1063 or 463/1071 [q.v.]), who quotes al-Rummannī.

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a collection of notes on various topics of literary criticism, including very sublimo instances of intertextuality (see especially the chapter on takhlīl, Kūndā, d. 95-106, “piecing together” a line of poetry from two or more existing lines, a method skilfully used by Ibn ‘l-‘Abd al-Mu‘āammad al-Makdāma [q.v.] that his evaluation of earlier poets is preserved in a large number of poets is followed by a second part, in which general guidelines for the critic are developed, in part on the basis of a critical, and moralistic, reading of verses from the Mu‘alāka and other poems by Imrā’ al-Kays [q.v.]. Particularly noteworthy is the literary genre of the makāma [q.v.] that Ibn Sharaf has chosen for his presentation: he attributes the critical opinions in his work to one Abu ‘l-Rayyān and he says unmistakably in his introduction that he “invented” (ikhthālatu) the narratives included in his work.

At about the same time, al-Andalus also entered the scene with important commentaries disregarding how the works that introduced Eastern techniques and ideas into al-Andalus, like the adab encyclopaedia “The unique necklace”, al-Bīd al-fardī of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbūṭ [d. 326/940 [q.v.]] and the “Dictations”, al-Amālī, of al-Kāfī [d. 356/967 [q.v.]]. The eminent poet Ibn Shuhayd (d. 426/1035 [q.v.]), needled by adverse criticism of his poetry, wrote an imaginative and imaginary report, full of wit and haughtiness, about his visit to the country of the jinn and his discussions with the familiar spirits of famous poets and prose writers, with literary critics among the jinn, and, finally, with two animals, a mule and a goose, who turn out to be the familiar spirits of two contemporaries. Much of the story revolves around the question of talent and training as prerequisites for successful poetic activity; the translator, James Monroe (see Bibh.), discovered a Neo-Platonic blueprint underlying the author’s theory of “creativity”.

Ibn Shuhayd’s friend, Ibn Hāzīm (d. 456/1064 [q.v.]), should be briefly mentioned here, because he is the logical work “Bringing close to the definition of logic” (al-Takhrīb ilā ḥadd al-mantiq) leads over to the philosophical poetics in the next paragraph, although it is still very much “Arabic” in its contents. Two ideas stand out in his presentation. One is the notion that the essence of poetry is that it consists of false statements. This is not a new statement, being both part of the Greek tradition known to the Arab world (see below on Ibn al-Banna’) as well as the indigenous one, where the adage ayyama (var. khaṣra) ‘yā‘ārī ʿaqlabatuh “the best poetry is the most untruthful one” is often quoted. However, the exclusivist view maintained by Ibn Hāzīm is rare (on the various non-formal definitions of prose and poetry, see Heinrichs, Dichterische Rede). The other unusual notion is his tripartite typology of poets: to the usual types characterised by tabh “natural talent” or sinda’a “artfulness” he adds a third one, distinguished by barda’a “virtuosity”. From this description his type appears as a synthesis of tabh and sinda’a; barda’a is the ability to make intricate conceits appear natural (on this and related topics, see G. Schoeler, Eine Grundprobleme der autokratischen und der aristotelischen arabischen Literaturtheorie [AKM, Band xii, 4], Wiesbaden 1975, 33-56, and his additions in ZDMG, cxvi [1976], 79*). Philosophical poetics and the Maghribī “school”

A short aside on philosophical, or logical, poetics is appropriate here. Aristotle’s Rhetoric and Poetics were translated from Synrac into Arabic. The former exists in a nākī kalim, an “old” pre-Humayn translation, the latter in the translation of Abī Bīrāḥīn Manatī (d. 328/940 [see Matta B. Yūnus]) and, in the commentaries, also in a revision by Abī Bīrāḥīn’s disciple Yabīha b. Ḍait (d. 363/974 [q.v.]). These translations remained for a very long time the domain of the logicians, because since the days of the Neo-Platonic Alexandrian commentators the Rhetoric and the Poetics had become part of the Organon, the logical writings of Aristotle. We have summaries and commentaries on these two texts by a number of important philosophers, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rūḥād [q.v.] among them, and many short characterisations of them in general expositions of logic. The basic notions of Arabic logical poetics are takhlīl “image-creation in the listener’s mind” and muḥdāth “image-creation from reality”, the latter going back to the Aristotelian mimesis but here reinterpreted as “imagination” (for further details, see Takhlīl). Probably due to the compartmentalisation of knowledge into Arabic and Ancient disciplines, the indigenous theorists of poetry did not show any interest in the logical approach, except in the Muslim West. While in the East Ibn Bishr Matta (d. 328/940 [q.v.]), in his translation of his work “Bringing close to the definition of logic”, the polemical format of this work precludes a systematic introduction of technical terms; but the central terms of philosophical poetics, takhlīl, muḥdāth and ayyāna ʿaqrīyya, are employed (see Tanbihāt, 125, 134 and 135, respectively), and muḥdāth is used in the sense of “imaging” by means of similes or metaphors.

The most important among “philosophising” critics is Ḥāżim al-Karšāḏanī (d. 604/1205 [q.v.]), who used the two basic notions of the logical approach, takhlīl and muḥdāth (the latter further reinterpreted as “image-creation by both descriptive and figurative processes”), in order to give a foundation to the hitherto more analytical and taxonomic indigenous approaches in the theory of poetry (for the details of his theory, see Minhāj, 62-129, translated in W. Heinrichs, Arabische Dichtung und griechische Poetik, 173-262).

His younger contemporary al-Sījdāmī (d. after 704/1304 [q.v.], in his “Novel method in classifying the modes of figures of speech” (al-Manzā’ al-baḥtī fi tajyīn al-lakūb al-baḥtī), like Ḥāżim quotes al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā verbatim but understands takhlīl in the narrower sense of “imagery”, including takhlīl “simile”, istārā “loan metaphor”, mumāṣṭala “analogy” and madā‘aj (see Manza’, 218-61, 406-7; note that takhlīl here is used as a synonym of muḥdāth, due to a pas pro toto application of either term for the entire activity of the poet of shaping images from reality and creating corresponding images in the listener). It is noteworthy that madā‘aj in al-Sījdāmī equals the Djurdjanian takhlīl (see above) (on this strange use of the term, see Suʿād al-Māni’, Maḥfūz muṣṭalḥ “al-madā‘aj” ina ‘l-Sījdāmīsī fi al-ḥakīkāt bi-muṣṭalḥ “al-takhlīl”, in Abūdāh al-Yammāk, xxvii [1420/1999], 89-137).
The last of the “philosophizing” Maghribi critics, who is known to us through his own work, is Ibn al-Banna’ (d. 721/1321 [q.v.]); there are a few others, about whose views we know little (see M. Ibn Shaddad, ‘Ibtidā’īnīn, Ibn ‘Amira, ‘Abd al-Haqq, 32). Ibn al-Banna’ gives a short overview on the various truth values of the logical disciplines (burhān, ḍajdat, khatāha, ṣirī, muqālata) and defines poetry as “address by means of false, image-evoking (mukhayyila) statements based on image-making (muḥdkaṭa), which result in the excitement (istifadh) [of the listener] by those fanciful (tauswahmati)” (see Rasd, 81, and cf. 103). By stressing the falseness of the poetic statements he diverges from Ḥazm and al-Ṣūjīnīnī, who declare “true” and “false” as immaterial in poetry; Ibn al-Banna’ resumes another tradition, which also has Greek roots and later Arab adherents (see above).

Much of the literature devoted to the criticism of poetry ultimately feeds into scholastic rhetoric (‘ītim al-balāgha), on which see BALAGHA, BAYAN, AL-MA‘ĀNĪ WA-L-BAYAN, AL-SAKKĀRĪ AND AL-KHĀṬĪB AL-KAZWĪNI. But the main goal of rhetoric is as a tool to understand the fiṭḥa al-kur‘ān [q.v.]. The whole literature based on the third chapter of al-Sakkākī’s Miftāḥ al-‘ulum will thus not be treated here. The same is also true for the later works outside the al-Sakkākī tradition.

The main topics of nakan

The historical outline presented so far should be complemented by a short topical outline of the basic themes of nakan al-šīr. (1) Poetry vs. prose. The most popular definition of poetry is the formal one proposed by Kudāma, Nakd, 2: kand al-mawzan muqaffa’ yadhdhul ‘alā ma‘ṣura “metrical rhyme utterance incorporating a meaning”. This would include didactic versification [see NAKD] and thus cannot be considered satisfactory. Some authors have, therefore, tried to establish an essential difference between poetry and prose (cf. Heinrichs, Dichterische Rede). Three approaches can be distinguished:

(a) The first is based on the idea that reality can be expressed in different ways. Al-Zandjānī (d. 650/1252 [q.v. in Suppl.]) in his “Yardstick for students of the disciplines concerning poetry” (Miftāḥ al-nażzārī fi ‘ulām al-ṣa‘ārāt) utilizes the threefold system of denotation (dalallā, i.e. muḥtakha “congruence”, “house” denotes a house), tadammun “implication”, “house” denotes a ceiling and iṭtizām “concomitance”, “ceiling” denotes a wall) and says that muḥtakha is the “original denotation” (dalallā wa‘l-ṣinayya) and is used in the rational sciences (“ulām ‘akhyarah), while tadammun and iṭtizām are “rational denotations” (dalallāt ‘akhy-yātāt, i.e. one has to think about their meaning) (Miftāḥ, ed. al-Aṣghar, 5-7). Of these, ʿīṭizām is the kind of denotation that matters in “eloquence” (balāgha), because the “concomitants” (tawzīzām) are numerous and there are many ways, good and bad, in which a certain idea can be conveyed. Two points need emphasis here. (i) Although this book is devoted to poetry, in this passage he speaks about “eloquence”, which, of course, extends to ornate prose as well; and (ii) the opposite of eloquent speech is scientific texts. Al-Zandjānī’s approach may thus be somewhat askew when it comes to defining poetry. (Asmus notes, we might mention that al-Sakkākī uses the same theory of denotation but applies it only to imagery, bаяn, see Miftāḥ al-‘ulum, ed. Na‘im Zarzur, Beirut 1403/1983, 329-30.) There is a certain similarity between al-Zandjānī and Ḥazm al-Ḵaṭṭāḏgānī in this respect. The latter defines poetry, with the help of terms from the Aristotle-Pārābārī tradition, as a speech that “imitates” (muḥtakha) the object by describing its accidents and then “generates representational images” (iṭṭizām) of the object in the mind of the listener/reader.

Scientific propositions, on the other hand, consist in naming the essence of things and creating understanding (īṯān) (Minḥāḏ, 98-9, 118-20). Again we have a dichotomy of poetic and scientific speech.

(b) The second attempt at defining poetry is based on the idea of “untruth” (kaḏḏīb). The adage ʿulās ‘ulā ‘iḏābub “the best poetry is the most untruthful one”, sometimes said to be of Greek origin, has been interpreted as referring to (overblown) hyperbole (ghulūt) (Kudāma, Nakd, 24-7) and to al-Djurjānī’s “phantastic re-interpretation” (iṭṭizām, see above), thus to “distortions” of reality (or of the mirror quality of language) in the course of increasing mannerism. Most critics did not conclude that all poetry was untrue, but at least two explicitly did so: the philologist Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1494 [q.v.]) in al-Sāḥibī fī ḥik al-lughah (ed. al-Sayyid Ahmad Ṣaḵr, Cairo 1977, 466) and Ibn Ḥazm (see above).

(c) The third approach contrasts the “obscurity” (ghurūn) of poetry with the “clarity” (sawdāf) of literary prose. This was done in ʿIṣṭafad ʿulām al-Ṣāliḥ by Hāḍir al-Ṣāḥib (d. 834/1919) in an epistle, in which he says that, due to the shortness and rigidity of the verse and the constraints of rhyme and metre, poems could not avoid being “obscure” (A. Arazī, ʿUṣūr ʿalīṣ b. ʿIṣṭafad ʿulām al-Ṣāliḥ sur les genres littéraires, in M. Sharon (ed.), Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon, Jerusalem and Leiden 1986). Later critics have usually not agreed, saying that the balāgha of both poetry and ornate prose required clarity (cf., e.g., Gantarmo, Prose, 195).

Since the mid-ʿAḥbāʾī period, when the idea had taken hold that the knāda and the risāla were identical but for formal differences, the terminology of the poetry-critics was to a large extent applied to ornate prose as well. But there are also some relatively early sets of terms that were developed by the state scribes for the description of the epistolary style. Kudāma b. Ḍafār, in the introduction to his work on synonymous words and phrases, “Gems of words” (Mafāṭih al-ʿulūm), 3-8 lists and exemplifies fourteen features that make for the highest degree of eloquence (balāgha) in ornate prose. His fellow-kāṭeb al-Khāṭārāzī (2nd half of 4th/10th cent. [q.v.]), in his “Keys of the sciences” (Mafāṭih al-ʿulūm), has a chapter on “the conventions of the epistolographers” (muweṣṣelāt kuttāb al-raʿādāʿ), which clearly harks back to Kudāma’s list but also goes beyond it by adding a paragraph on defects (Mafāṭih, 72-8). Al-Khāṭārāzī is particularly instructive, because his encyclopaedia also contains a chapter on nakd al-šīr (Mafāṭih, 94-7); a comparison of the two lists shows surprisingly little overlap in terminology and only slightly more when the figures themselves are considered. A third list was compiled later by al-Yazdīdī (dates unknown) in the introduction to his “Perfection of eloquence” (Kāmil al-balāgha, 19-32), a selection of epistles by Kūḏūm b. Wusgūrūj (d. 403/1012 [q.v.]), in his “Keys of the sciences” (Mafāṭih al-ʿulūm), has a chapter on “the conventions of the epistolographers” (muweṣṣelāt kuttāb al-raʿādāʿ), which clearly harks back to Kudāma’s list but also goes beyond it by adding a paragraph on defects (Mafāṭih, 72-8). Al-Khāṭārāzī is particularly instructive, because his encyclopaedia also contains a chapter on nakd al-šīr (Mafāṭih, 94-7); a comparison of the two lists shows surprisingly little overlap in terminology and only slightly more when the figures themselves are considered. A third list was compiled later by al-Yazdādī (dates unknown) in the introduction to his “Perfection of eloquence” (Kāmil al-balāgha, 19-32), a selection of epistles by Kūḏūm b. Wusgūrūj (d. 403/1012 [q.v.]). The author says that he isolated, from the epistles themselves, such figures as Kudāma had not yet identified (Kāmil, 19); it is likely but not certain that he is referring to Ḍawwār al-ʿalīṣ rather than to Nakd al-šīr. All of this shows that, between the final confluence of terminologies, we have to assume separate traditions of poetic, rhetorical (epistolary) and Kurʿānic (see above) technical vocabulary.

For a critique of a piece of eloquent prose—not a very common event—one may point to al-Kāḏī Ṭāyād’s (d. 544/1150 [see ʿrāʾī]) exhaustive interpretation of
the hadith Umm Zar' (on this text, see F. Rosenthal, Muslim social values and literary criticism—reflections on the Hadith of Umm Zar', in Oriens, xxiv (1994), 31-56). This includes a chapter on bayan that deals with the literary aspects of the hadith (Baghvat al-nil'd h-mā hadamam hadith Umm Zar' min al-anwa'a, ed. Salih al-Din b. Ahmad al-Idlibi et alii, al-Muhammadiyya 1395/1975, 186-214).

(2) Truth vs. falsehood. Ibn Raqīq states that most of poetry isAWSF description ('Umda, ii, 294), thus true. As mentioned, some critics have maintained the opposite (Ibn Hazm, Ibn Faris, see above); this has to be seen against the background of the mannerist trends in “modern” poetry—with their irreal hyperboles (ghfal), substratum-less metaphors (istārta/fadhlityra), and phantastic re-interpretations (takbir of al-Djurjānī). Critics often became a little nervous when confronted with “falsehoods” (kadhib) of this type, but the poets were not deterred. The idea of poetry being per se “untrue” is also highlighted by Abu l-'Alā al-Ma'ārri’s assertion that the sceptical poetry in his Lajmiyyāt is not poetry, because it is true (ed., 'A. Zaid, Cairo 1891, 9, 42).

Explicit fiction is not of common occurrence in Arabic literature, and certainly not in poetry. There are, however, platonic exceptions (e.g. Ibn Tabarān) coupled with semantically independent (ikhtildk imkdm) or figurative elements (ikhtildk, itself acquires several meanings: (a) the meaning of a specific verse (especially when it is difficult to gauge)—this is dealt with in early philological ma'ānī works, such as al-Ushānndānī (d. 256/870), Mu'ān al-dhīr (ed. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Tanikī, Damascus 1969); (b) the motif expressed in a line, i.e. a popular poetic commonplace; these were collected, together with their most famous realisations, in motif catalogues, such as Ibn Kutaybā, K. al-Ma'ānī al-kathīr (Bâdarbâ) and Ibn 'Abī Mūsâ, Dhīq al-ma'āni (Cairo 1352 [1933-34], al-Raghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 502/1106 [q.v.]), Magdīna al-balbūqa (ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sarīś, 2 vols., Am'mān 1406/1986) and the anonymous Maqma't al-ma'ānī (ed. 'Abd al-Sālim Hārūn, Beirut 1992), as well as in catalogues of similes, such as Ibn Abī 'Avin, K. al-Taghlībī (ed. 'Abd Mu'īd Khān, London 1950) and Ibn al-Kattānī, K. al-Taghlībī min aflā'ār abīl-anāklaus (ed. İhsan 'Ablbäs, Beirut 1967); and (c) the specific meaning, which results from the application of rhetoric and imagery to a known motif, thereby refashioning it as a conceit (conceit)—these are the ma'ānī that the admirers of Abū Tammām, al-'Amīdī al-hal al-ma'ānī (see above), cherish and which Ibn Raqīq calls the ma'ānī al-'anqā (‘Umda, i, 133). An example would be Abū Tammānī’s notorious line: tā ikhtildk mā 'l-ma'ānl fa-annānī 'alābī' kād-i 'sā'ddhu mā 'lā bādā? “Do not pour for me the water of blame, for I am a man in love, I have come to find the water of my weeping sweet” (Dīwān, ed. Muhammad 'Abduh 'Azzām, 4 vols. Cairo 1964-5, i, 22). Here the simple idea “Do not blame me, for I am in love and like weeping” has been transformed into a conceit, by “applying” to it (i) a loan metaphor (“the water of blame”) and (ii) a mūkābala (the contrast of the two waters). It is clear from these literally ever more meaningful uses of the term ma'ānī that lafz become inextricably bound together; this ma'ānī-lafz conglomerate came especially to the fore in discussions of the historical development of motifs, i.e. discussions of borrowings, imitations, and plagiarisms. ‘Abd al-Khālī al-Djurjānī realised the inefficiency of the rigid dichotomy “wording/meaning” and introduced the term yūra “form, structure” which he puts in the middle between the lafz as “linguistic material” (a'fārāk al-ḥarāf “the sounds of the letters”) and the ma'ānī as “themetic material” (gharāf “intention”); one could say that the yūra forms both the linguistic and the themetic material and thus creates a structured lafz and a structured ma'ānī that are completely congruent. (5) Originality vs. plagiarism. On the whole gamut of possibilities between ikhtildk “original invention” and sarīka crude “plagiarism”, see SARĪK, in Suppl. Influence on other literatures

Arabic literary criticism and poetics have had an
influence on two linguistic-cultural domains outside of it. One is Persian literary theory. The first work in this field was Rādūyfī’s [in Arabic script] “Interpreter of eloquence” (Tafṣīl al-kāfī fī al-baḥša, ed. Ahmad Atiq, Istanbul 1949), written between 482/1089 and 507/1114 (see also Ahmad Atiq, ed., The Arabic literary theory of the 10th/16th century: The Alchemy of glory. The dialectic of mediaval dialect poetry, ed. S.A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1982). This work is based on an Arabic precursor, namely al-Marghinānī’s (middle of the 5th/11th century) “Beauties of poetry and prose” (al-Makhâsîb fī l-nuẓr wa l-nâlī), ed. van Gelder, Two Arabic treatises on stylistics, Istanbul 1987, 61-66).

The other cultural domain open to Arabic influence was the Jewish community, primarily in al-Andalus but also elsewhere, who had adopted Arabic prosody, or an adaptation thereof, for the composition of Hebrew poetry. This drew their attention also to the critical literature of the Arabs; this in turn confronted them with the notion of ʿidāq al-Kurān and motivated them to discover rhetorical and figurative use of language in their own Scripture. The most important author here is Moḥammad b. ʿEzra (d. after 529/1135), who wrote two relevant works in Judaeo-Arabic: the K. al-Muhdâra wa l-mudhakara (Jerusalem 2001), dealing mainly with scriptural issues. Recently, some early copies of this work and of Moḥammad b. ʿEzra’s K. al-Muhdâra seem to have been written in Hebrew script, as can be seen from mistakes attributable to misreadings of Arabic letters. This may point to the early period is Amjad Trabulsi, The Alchemy of glory. The dialectic of mediaval dialect poetry, see ZAQL (toward the end).

NAKL

1. In the central Islamic lands and North Africa. Add to the articles mentioned there the following article.

In the caliphal lands.

The emergence of Islam is known to have coincided with the disappearance of wheeled carts or wagons [see ibid] in many parts of the Middle East, although the extinction of such transport cannot be conclusively proved. In fact, wheeled vehicles were in existence in the Middle East for many centuries after the rise of Islam, although they were rarely used.

The wheel was replaced by the camel in the Middle East during the era of the caliphat. Camels [see ibid] were a means of everyday transport which was eminently suitable for long-distance overland journey across deserts and valleys in Arabia, Syria, Egypt or North Africa, or Anatolia or in Central Asia along the Silk Road, being used for transport of goods or passengers or pilgrims in large caravans. Caravan trade and caravan cities existed in the Middle East since the pre-Islamic period, when the Arabs of Mecca used to go on seasonal caravan journeys for commerce to Yemen in the winter and to Syria in the summer (cf. "W.P. HERNEICH"))
Kur'an, CVI, 1-2). The nomadic peoples of Arabia, Syria and Persia were the camel-breeders who appreciated the value of their animals as the "ships of the land" (al-sa'afan al-barrayyad; they knew that the skins of water-bags (kurh) and the cisterns (marjan, cap doves) of protein and they could sell them in exchange for gold (cf. al-Tha'alibi, Thimâr al-kulub, 284). At the beginning of Islam in the 7th century A.D. many individuals owned camels which they could use as a means of transport or as a source of milk or as a commodity for trade, but by the 8th century A.D., camel-owners or professional camel-drivers emerged as a group of transport workers who used to hire out the camel(s) to travellers or traders (al-Walbâbi, The northern Hijaz, 395). The camel (see GÄMMâL, in Suppl.) contributed much to the transport of pilgrims from all the parts of the Middle East to Mecca and Medina. The Egyptian and North African pilgrims as well as traders started their caravan journey from Fustât (Old Cairo) through Kulzum to Nûn (Akaba) and Yanbu', thence to Mecca or Medina. The Anatolian and Syrian pilgrims assembled at Damascus and travelled through Amman and Tabik to Medina and Mecca. Similarly, the pilgrims from Persia, Central Asia and Iraq started their journey from Baghdad and travelled through Kûfa and the Arabian desert to Mecca or Medina, or they took the alternative route from Baghdad to Wâsi't, Basra, the Arabian desert and Mecca. Arab settlements grew up along the pilgrim routes and there were brisk seasonal trade during the pilgrimage season. Caravanserais were built throughout the Middle East to cater for travellers and traders and their mounts. Camels and horses were also used to transport arms and warriors to the battle front during the early Islamic conquests and the Umayyad period.

Among other means of transport, donkeys were the most popular among the tribesmen and the peasantry. Mules (Ar. baghîl [q.v.], pl. baghâlî) were also used as a means of transport especially in the hilly or mountainous terrains of Syria, Anatolia and Persia. Muleteers (Ar. mukâri [q.v.], baghâlî, or hinnârs) emerged as a distinct group of transport workers during the 'Abbasid period (A.D. 750-1258). They could transport merchants or ordinary travellers from Baghdad along the Khurâsân trunk road to Nîshâpur or beyond (cf. al-Kâzîmî, Alghâr al-bâlîd, 224-5) or transport pilgrims in a caravan of 50 donkeys from Kûfa to Mecca (al-Dâjjîh, K. al-Bâkkâlā, 18). Mules were not popular animals in mediaeval Arab society, and al-Dâjjîh wrote a treatise on mules entitled Kîdâb al-Bâghâlî. He voiced the public opinion of his time when he recorded the popular argument against the mules by saying that the Prophets rode on camels and donkeys but never on mules (cf. Basîl al-Dâjjîh, ii, 326), but he refuted the popular prejudice against them by citing the evidence that the Prophet Muhammad rode on a mule, as did the early caliphs like 'Uthmân and 'Alî and the Umayyad caliph Hâshâm b. 'Abd al-Malik. Moreover, al-Dâjjîh cited the fact that pilgrims from Syria went from Damascus to Mecca in a caravan of sixty mules during the reign of caliph 'Abd al-Malik (cf. Kîdâb al-Bâghâlî, 251). The horse was a means of speedy transport which was owned mainly by the wealthy, for the price of an Arabian horse with a pedigree was very high. This last was also introduced into eastern Turkey and Persia as a means of transport. Horses were used for postal service by the Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphs for the dispatch of royal mail and military intelligence from various provinces to the capital city [see BARîD]. The
Abraham, says a Shali, the believers are requested to adhere [q.v.], sandals of the Prophet Muhammad.


Islamic tradition provides detailed descriptions of the Prophet's sandals. According to most of the earliest traditions, each sandal had two leather thongs (kibdl, zimdm, shis, tawil) and the middle part of the sole was narrow, with hollows (qarn) cut on each side. The sole consisted of two layers sewed or patched together (makhsufa).


Sometimes the sole of Muhammad's sandal was said to have consisted of only one layer, not two, and this was said to have been the style that the Arabs considered superior to the style of kings (al-Makkari, i, 463). The fashion of cutting hollows on both sides of the middle part of the sole was preserved mainly among Sh'i Is, to whom sole without hollows represented a deplorable deviation from the Prophetic model (al-Kulimi, vi, 463). Moreover, sandals without such hol- lows were considered Jewish by style (al-Tabrisi, Makirim al-akkhlik, ed. Muhammad al-Husayn al-Alam, Beirut 1972, p. 123; al-Kulimi, vi, 463-4). The habit of tying the gird of the sandal (and not simply fold- ing it through the loop, as was reported concerning Muhammad's sandal) was considered among Sh'i Is as a fashion set by Satan (al-Tabrisi, 123).

The supposedly original sandal or sandals of the Prophet were preserved by believers of later generations. Beginning with the generation of the Companions, the most prevalent is the tradition about the Basran Anas b. Mâlik [q.v.], who is said to have exhibited to the believers the sandal with its two thongs (e.g. Ibn Sa'd, i, 478; Abu '1-Shaykh, Akhldk al-nabi, no. 390).
He was reportedly the official keeper of Muhammad's sandals (Ibn Sa'd, i, 482), but according to other traditions, the Kufan Companion 'Abd Allah b. Mas'ud [see IBN MA'SUD, 'ABD ALLAH] was in charge of them (e.g. al-Bukhari, Sahih, 9 vols., Cairo 1956, v, 31, 35 [kitab 62, bab 20, 27]).

'Ali's son, Muhammad b. al-Hashimiyah [q.v.] was also able to show the relic (Ibn Sa'd, i, 478). The Meccan Higham b. Urwa (d. 146/763) claimed that he had seen the sandal and gave its description (Ibn Sa'd, i, 478).

As for the later history of the sandals, some reports relate that the descendants of the Syrian Companion Shaddad b. Aws (d. 46/663), who lived in Jerusalem, preserved them. He reportedly left them to his son Muhammad, but the latter's sister got hold of one of them. This was passed on to her children. When the 'Abbâsid caliph al-Mahdi visited Jerusalem, the sandal held by the sister's descendants was presented to him for a handsome reward. He summoned her brother Muhammad b. Shaddad, by then a sick old man, and requested the other sandal, but Muhammad refused to part with it and the caliph consented (Ibn Manzûr, Maqâla tarîk al-Dimashqi li-Ibn 'Asâkir, 29 vols., Damascus 1984-8, x, 278-9). A sandal of the Prophet was also claimed to have been in the possession of Isma'il b. Ibrahim al-Makhzumi who obtained it from his grandmother Umm Kulthum, the daughter of Abu Bakr. She had received it from her sister 'A'ila (al-Mâjkari, 175-6).

The last station of the 'original' sandal seems to have been the Ashraf madrasa at Damascus. It was placed there by the Ayyubid of Egypt al-Malik al-Mu'izz b. al-Shâhâdah, whose descendants claimed to have held them. This was passed on to her children. When the leadership of the Rabla tribes reached the Namir, the sandal held by the Rabla, following a vow she made when little al-Abbâs went lost.

Before Islam the Namir (like the Taghlib) were semi-legendary groups. Another sandal of the Prophet was kept elsewhere in Damascus, and during Tûmar Lang's take-over of Damascus in 803/1400, both relics disappeared (Ibn Hadjâr al-'Askâlânî, al-Sa'âba, ed. 'Ali Muhammad al-Bidjâwi, 8 vols., Cairo 1970, iii, 173; Sîbîb b. Abd Allah b. 'Amir al-Dahyân, Nîr al-nibrâs lâlâ sîrat Ibn Sayyid al-Nâsû, ms. BL. Or. 8276, fol. 306b; al-Mâjkari, 513-24; Gottingen, Hildesheim, Meinecke, Ahdâr al-nâba, 2, 1960).

The Prophet's sandals served as a model according to which shoemakers designed sandals for pious believers. A sandal of the Prophet, as seen at the house of Fâtima, daughter of 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Abbâs, was copied by a shoemaker who applied its two-thong style to sandals ordered by the eminent Bayzân scholar 'Abd Allah b. Awn (d. 150/767). However, when the latter came to collect them, he found that Ibn Sîrîn (d. 110/728 [q.v.]) had already bought the sandals for himself (Ibn Hadjâr, Maqâla, ii, no. 2232; cf. Ibn Sa'd, i, 479).

Drawings (mîkâtâl, timkâtâl) representing the supposedly original sandal were in circulation among scholars, especially in the Maghrib, where access to the sandal itself was more difficult than in the Maghrib (al-Mâjkari, 167-8). Such representations were also used by shoemakers for sandals ordered by pious believers (al-'Tabrîsî, 122; al-Mâjkari, 175-6). The representations became an object of veneration in their own right and were believed to provide one with safety in journeys, victory in battles, etc. Therapeutic powers were attributed to them and they were often hung up in houses for protection against the evil eye (al-Zârîkînî, v, 48; al-Mâjkari, 693-70; Goldzieder, op. cit., ii, 363). Some samples of them can be seen in al-Mâjkari's Fadhl al-mutâl fî madâl al-tâlî, where numerous kaštads in praise of them are also recorded.

Closely associated with the veneration of the Prophet's sandals is that of his footprints [see KADAM SHARIF].

Bibliography: Given in the article.

AL-NAMIR b. KÂSİT, BANû, a tribe of the Rabî'a b. Nîzâr group [see RABÎ'Â AND MUQAR; NÎZAR B. MÂ'ADD]. It must be noted that not every Namiri mentioned in the sources belonged to the Namir b. Kâsit, since tribal groups called al-Namir were also found among the Azd, the Kûdâ'a and the Iyad. The fortunes of the Namir were closely linked to those of their relatives, the Taghibî [q.v.]. When the Taghibî migrated to the eastern part of the Euphrates [q.v.] or the Diyâr Rabi'a [q.v.] in the second half of the 6th century A.D., they were joined by part of the Namir. However, there were still Namiris in Arabia after that time, more specifically in Yamâma and Bahrayn. Some tribe members settled in al-Andalus. Most Namiris remained Christian for at least two centuries after the advent of Islam.

The semi-legendary leader of the Namir, 'Amir al-Dâhîyân, would sit in judgement in the early part of the forenoon, hence his nickname al-Dâhîyân, or "the one exposing himself to the sun". Ibn al-Kalbi reported that the leadership of the Rabî'a shifted among the Rabî'a tribes. Leadership meant command in the battlefield, arbitration, the right to appoint the banner-carrier and entitlement to one-fourth of the spoils. When the leadership of the Rabî'a reached the Namir, it was held by 'Amir al-Dâhîyân. After a long term in this role he was killed by a man of the 'Abd al-Kays [q.v.]. Having received half the ransom for him, the Namir murdered the 'Abd al-Kays hostages whom they held as a guarantee for the delivery of the other half. In the interregnum war that followed, the Namir joined forces with the rest of the Rabî'a against the 'Abd al-Kays. Ibn al-Kalbi's account is quoted in a small genealogical treatise, al-Anbâh 'alâ kabîrîl al-mawâ, by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr [q.v., himself a Namiri. Namiri partisanship on Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's part is evident with regard to the origin of the Prophet's Companion Suhayb b. Sinân, the most important individual in the genealogy of the Namir. However, the Namir, disputed by some, was for Ibn 'Abd al-Barr beyond doubt, and in his Companion dictionary he emphasised that there was no dispute over it. But the claim that Suhayb was of Arab stock stands in sharp contrast to a famous saying attributed to Muhammad, namely, that he himself was the first Arab to enter Paradise, while Suhayb was the first Byzantine, Salûmân al-Fārisî the first Persian and Bûlûb al-Râshî the first Ethiopian.

While Suhayb is invariably mentioned in the genealogies of the Namir, Humrân b. Abân, a prominent figure in early Islamic history, is only mentioned in some. Humrân, who was captured during the conquests in 'Ayn al-Tamr [q.v.], is supposed to have been Suhayb's relative. But it is doubtful that Humrân, said to have been of Jewish origin, was an Arab, since the claim of Arab descent originated with his offspring (usûd sîrat nabiît li 'l-Namir b. Kâsit). Family sources were likewise behind the claim that Suhayb was an Arab, not a Jewish.

The Namir boasted of a pre-Islamic link with the Kuraysh: the mother of the Prophet's uncle, al-'Abbâs b. 'Abd al-Muttalib [q.v.], was one of them. She is supposed to have been the first Arab woman to provide a covering for the Ka'ba, following a vow she made when little al-'Abbâs went lost.

Before Islam the Namir (like the Taghibî) were
within the sphere of influence of the Sasanids and the Lakhmids [q.v.] of al-Hira. Ma‘a al-Sam‘a, the mother of the Lakhmid king al-Mundhir III (d. 505-54), who was of the Namir, was taken captive in a raid carried out by al-Mundhir’s father; the fact that al-Mundhir had a half-brother among the Namir did not go unmentioned by the genealogists. One of the Arab units that fought on the Sasanid side in the battle of Dhū Kār (ca. 605) included warriors from the Taglibh and the Namir. In the ridda [q.v.], there were Namaris among the troops who came from the Djazira with Sad‘āb [q.v.], the false prophetess of the Tamīm [q.v.]. A whole subdivision of the Namir, the Aws Manāt b. al-Namir b. Kāsit, was wiped out (wabri) during the ridda by Khalid b. al-Walid. In ‘Ayn al-Tamr during the conquests a Namir led a large force made up of Christians from the Namir, the Taglibh, the Iyād, and others, which was defeated by Khalid. Later during the conquests Christians of the Namir fought alongside the Mutḥanna b. Ḥarīsha against the Sasanids in the battle of al-Buwayb (near al-Hira).

Some Namaris who converted to Islam during the conquests settled in Kufa together with members of the Taglibh and the Namir. In the early 7th/13th century, the fortress of Nandana, the name of a hilly tract and a tract of mediaeval India and Indo-Muslim times, it lies in a fold of the Salt Range, to the west of Multan and capturing an immense booty there (al-Utbī, al-Ta‘ī ḥiyk al-Yamnī, with comm. of al-Manṣūrī, ii, 146-53 (calling the place Nardin); Gardizi, Ḷyn al-šāhārī, ed. Nāẓim, ed. Nāẓim, 72; M. Nāẓim, The life and times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna, Cambridge 93, 91-3). Thereafter, the Ghaznavids tried to retain control of Nandana as a foothold or entry point to the plains of northwestern India, as Abu ʿl-Faḍl Bayhaḵī, Tārīḵ-i Muʿābd, ed. Ghānī and Fayyād, 149, describes it.

In the early 7th/13th century, the fortress of Nandana, in what was then in Islamic sources called the Dūjā hills, was held by a former commander of the Ghurids, Kamar al-Dīn Karmanī (in the surmise of Boyle, to be equated with Nāṣir al-Dīn Kūbāda, the ruler in Multān and Sind). Gūḡīz Kūh, in his pursuit of the Khwārazm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu, sent an army under Torbey Toḵšīn which sacked Nandana in 618/1221, and then went on to attack Mutlaq (Dūjjāndi), Tabakšt-i Nāṣirī, tr. Raverty, i, 534-5; Ḫwawmīn-Būye, i, 141-2). Nandana was later temporarily captured by the Dūhi Sultān Iltumnīsh [q.v.], whose son and eventual successor Mahmūd Shāh in 614-5/1217 ravaged the region in revenge for the local Rāna having guided a Mongol raid (Dūjjāndi, i, 677-9). It does not, however, seem thereafter to have played a significant role in history.


The place is still marked by ruins of a fortress and a Hindu temple near the modern Cao Saydan Shah (lat. 32° 43' N., long. 73° 17' E.), in the Jhelum District gazetteers, xviii, Lahore 1904, 46-7; Imperial gazetteers of India, xviii, 349.

NATHR (Ar.), prose. The word is a noun denoting activity, derived from a verb meaning “to disperse, disseminate”; its opposite is nazm, from a verb meaning “to join, set out in order”, which is used to designate poetry. For Arab theorists, prose can be distinguished from poetry as the genre of literature which is not subjected to the order and constraints imposed by rhyme and metre. Such a formal definition is due to the fact that the prose they made the object of their attention was either the artistic prose of chancery documents, rasā‘īl [pl. of risāla [q.v.], or the prose of the addresses or sermons, khatā, [pl of khatā [q.v.]]. Whatever level of literary elaboration or rhetorical device required, they are all the same for the genres of prose and poetry, and are collectively referred to under the general term rasā‘īl or maqāl.[q.v.].

In a striking manner, this fact is shown, inter alia, by the procedures known as ḥall al-nasām and nazm al-moṭāhir, setting a passage of prose into verse or verse into prose, in which the maqāl [q.v.], the image of an idea expressed in the smallest unit of discourse, whether verse or colon, is launched in poetry or prose respectively. This procedure has been discussed since the 4th/10th century and was presented as a subtle form of plagiarism by theorists like Abū Hilal al-Ma‘ṣūrī, in his K. al-Sinā‘at, ed. A. M. Bīdawī and A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1957, 198. The author al-Tha‘lībī (d. 429/1037), one of whose works was Nāṭīr al-nazn wa-hall al-‘ad, and later on Dīyā‘ al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Ādīr (d. 637/1239) in his al-Muğal al-sa‘īr, ed. A. al-Ḥaḍī and B. Taḥānī, 4 vols., Cairo 1959, i, 126-7, considered that rendering a verse into prose in a risāla was a way of achieving a higher level of literary expression. However, the formal point of view, which presumes a substantial literary equivalence between poetry and prose, did not exhaust the attention of the theorists to this problem. For example, they would raise the question of the superiority of one of the genres over the other, often basing their judgement more on sociological than on literary considerations; such considerations were the function of the chancery clerk or secretary (khāṭāb [q.v.], mutarrasīl) and the poet, or the importance of the subjects they
were dealing with, or the attitude adopted by the two genres towards religion and morals. Some authors (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, Makaddimah, fajr 46), moreover, note that the essence of poetry does not reside in prosodic form but in the images that are expressed by this form.

The origins of prose

We can find examples of prose dating from the pre-Islamic period, such as proverbia (mutajjal [g.v.]), the prophecies of soothsayers (saqf [g.v.] al-sahbān) and sermons. Many formal characteristics of these documents, of which the authenticity in the literal meaning of that word can, of course, be debated, are the same as those of poetry: conciseness, allusive language and independent, paratactic clauses. These oral examples of prose can be connected with the remnants of prose of the same genre from the time of the Prophet and the very beginning of Islam. It was the arrival of Islam that saw one of the ancient literary genres, the khutba, the address or sermon, acquire new traits and gradually gain great popularity; for the importance of the orator in the pre-Islamic period see further KHATIB.

While from the point of view of style these documents maintain the solidity and simplicity of pre-Islamic prose, far removed from the embellishments which these genres would later present, one is no longer faced with detached aphorisms (as in the case of the famous sermons of Kuss b. Sā‘īda [g.v.] of the Lyād, al-Dhahib, Beşār, i, 308-9), but with contents that need to be communicated and thus articulated in a logical manner, the contents being of a religious nature as well as pertinent to the organisation of the new community. The new conditions were not without consequences on the level to which the prose could be elaborated. Similarly, the collections of hadith [g.v.] take the form of short disjointed statements, often in the form of direct speech, and only a small number of fragments composed in literary prose remain from this period (cf. W. Fischer, Ein Stück vorklassischer, arabischer Künstprosa in der Umm ben Hadid Legende, in Festchrift W. Eides, Wiesbaden 1967, 318-27; he points out the similarities in this text with poetry).

Among the examples of prose from this period, the letters as well as other documents emanating from the Prophet and the first caliphs should be included. These documents from older sources have been collected by M. Hamidullah in Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane à l'époque des califes orthodoxes, Paris 1935; also an Arabic edition, Maqāmil al-wafa’ik al-ṣiyyasaya fī ‘l-adh al-nabawī wa ’l-khāfija al-nāṣiha, Cairo 1941.

The problem of their authenticity has been, of course, raised and the criterion most often used is that of linguistic usage (op. cit., 4-5, in the French edition; B. Reichel-Baumgartner, Parameter des Ideolōks des Propheten Muhammad auf Grundlage des Sabhī von al- Baḥṭīrī, in WĀK, lxviii [1988], 121-59). Problems of authenticity as well as of the transmission of ancient texts are examined by G.H.A. Juynboll, On the origin of Arabic prose: reflections on authenticity, in Studies on the first centuries of Islamic society, Carbondale, Ill. 1982; and R.B. Serjeant, The Caliph ‘Umar’s letters to Abī Mūsā al- Ḥishārī and Mu‘āwiyah, in JSS, xxix [1984], 65-79.

The influence of the Kur'ān on the evolution of prose

Without any doubt, the Kur’ān is the primary example of a complex text in Arab literature that has not been composed in verse. The language that is used is one elaborated as a poetic koine, the only one capable of communicating such a message. In form, especially in the more ancient suras, it is close to poetic style. In the Muslim tradition, however, Scripture is distinguished from poetry as it is from prose, for literary as well as religious reasons; the deliberations of Muslim scholars about the form of the sacred text have taken on the form of the dogma of tafṣīr [g.v.], the “stylistic uniqueness” of the Kur’ān.

Classical texts on poetry use the same criteria for analysis in order to show that the divide between the Kur’ān and literary discourse was uncrossable (see e.g. Pāţāq al-Kur’ān of al-Bakīllānī, d. 403/1013 [g.v.]; G.E. von Grunebaum, A tenth-century document of Arabic literary theory and criticism, Chicago 1950). On the other hand there are some treatises drawn up to show that the decorative style of poetry could be found also in the Kur’ān (Ibn Abī ‘l-Iṣa‘a‘, d. 654/1256, Badī‘ al-Kur’ān, ed. H. Sharaf, Cairo 1957). In short, the Kur’ān plays an integral part in Arabic literary discourse, but it reaches a certain level of style which removes it far away from any other type of discourse. In modern times, one typical example of this attitude is that of Tāhā Husayn, who does not look at the Kur’ān when dealing with poetry and prose, for “it is neither poetry nor prose” (Mīn hadīth al-qur‘ān wa l-nahj, Cairo 1936, 25).

It can therefore be concluded that, although the influence of the Kur’ān on the evolution of Arabic prose is immense from the point of view of religious content, the political and cultural effect its message has brought with it, and the status that has been imparted to the language in which it was transmitted, its influence on style is much more subtle to define. Treatises such as Ḥuṣn al-tawassul ilā sinā‘at al-tarāsul of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Halabī (d. 725/1325), ed. A. Youn, Baghdad 1980, insist that the strongest way for an argument to be confirmed is that citations from the Kur’ān must be inserted into a letter or into an official document, on condition that neither form nor basis is modified (72-3). Perhaps the earliest evidence for this exhortation to the kāhib, secretary, to get to know and use quotations from the Kur’ān as part of his professional training dates from the Rūṣālat al-‘Adhārī of Ibn al-Ṣāhibānī (d. 298/910, ed. M. Ḍibārā, Cairo 1931, under the name of Ibn al-Mudābārī, 7; see Sanū‘, op. cit., 6).

There is a more liberal attitude towards the text of the Kur’ān when it is approached from the viewpoint of ma‘ānī [g.v.], “the fact of wishing to equalise”. From the point of view of literary sentiment, and disregarding religious aspects, one could say that ma‘ānī is to the Kur’ān what seifs is to poetry: there exists a threshold of literary propriety beyond which one should not tread without incurring blame, to be respected even more in the case of the Kur’ān. As stated by W. Marçais, “from very early on it appeared futile and even sacrilegious to want
to imitate it" (see Les origines de la prose litteraire arabe, in Rev. Afr., lviii [1927], 15-28).

But at the outset, literary prose shows evidence of a different attitude. Systematic studies conducted by W. al-Kāḍī show that two prose writers adopted a more liberal attitude to the sacred text (Bīyār b. Abī Kāthīr al-Balawat, nāmīdāt al-nāṭṣ al-fanm al-mubākkr wa'l-kāfūr, ed. I.M. al-Saffār, Bagdād 1975, see Sanni, op. cit., 5-7); passages from the Qurʾān could be paraphrased to adapt them to the new syntax, and paraprases and citations could even be combined; a quotation could be extended with phrases composed in the same rhythm.

On the other hand theorists recommended to the prose writers the ikhbās of the Kurʾān, inserting a passage which is not an explicit quotation (for this see for example the presentation of Ibn al-ʾAbīh, al-Muḥaddith al-wādī, i, 44). It is widely used as a literary device by kuttāb and orators; al-Ṭabāʾilī devotes a whole chapter in his Kitāb al-lwān al-kałow, ed. I.M. al-Saffār, Bagdād 1975, see Sanni, op. cit., 5-7; the work has recently been described by Cl. Gilliot in Arabica, xlvii [2000], 488-500. Of course, in contrast to poetry, the insertion of a fragment from the Kurʾān could be identified immediately (Husn al-tawassul, 323) and within these limits did not appear to be taken as a tentative muʿāraḍa. Other studies, such as those undertaken by W. al-Kāḍī, are very much a desideratum; cf. recently K. Zakharia, Les références coraniques dans les Maqamat al-Dhahiri, in Arabicu, xxiv [1987], 275-86; U. Marzolph, The Qurʾān and Popular literature, in Arabicu, xlvii [2000], 478-87.

Classical prose

The turbulent times of the Umayyad period found expression in the art of oratory. As it developed in this period, it represents the transition from oral to written Arabic prose. Al-Dhārijī (K. al-Baydān wa-l-thāriba, see i. 44) classified kuttāb alongside poetry and noted the use of sajj as characteristic. A recent study has investigated the same characteristic, that which is to be found in this work and has uncovered a technique not only in the especially careful structure but also in the presence of recurring phraseology which the author is able to assemble at will; see M. Hāfi, Rhétorique et ṣuḥba dans le Kuttāb al-baydān wa-l-thāriba de Gāzīb, thesis, Université de Lumière-Lyon II 1994, 369; also I. Ḥāfi, Fann al-khāfiṣa wa-tatawūrān ind al-arab, Beirut n.d.

However, Arabic prose of the classical period acquires its character from the written genre of the ṣuḥba as found in the Umayyad kuttāb: ʿAbd al-Hamīd (d. 123/745 [q.v.]) and his contemporary Ibn al-Mukaffaʾ (d. 139/756 [q.v.]) (see J.D. Latham, Ibn al-Muqaffaʾ and early Abbasid prose, in Camb. hist. of Ar. lit., opp. cit., 1983, 154-64; or the introduction to the work already mentioned of al-Ṭabāʾilī, Nafṭ al-nazm).

At the beginning of the Abbasid period, a high peak in style was reached here by al-Dhārijī (q.v.), who had an inestimable influence on later Arabic prose and who contributed to the enunciation of a technical terminology for the baldgha. Al-Dhārijī was a Muʿtaṣīb, and his belief can be seen in the dialectical skill of which he seeks to give proof in a number of his treatises, where he expounds arguments to praise and to condemn the same thing or the same idea (J. Gericke, Un genre littéraire arabe: al-Muḥāsin wa l-Mashār, Paris 1977). But al-Dhārijī was not the first, for there is preserved a fragment from Sahl b. Ḥarīr (d. 215/830 [q.v.]), in which he argues for glass to be given pre-eminence over gold (Ibn Nubāta, Sahl al-sujūn, ṣanāʾ risālat Ibn Zaydūn, Cairo 1957, 139).

Besides this, ʿAbd al-Hamīd, in his treatises addressed to the kuttāb lists among the qualities necessary for the accomplishment of their duties a knowledge of ancient poetry, including its vocabulary and its themes; he himself proved his ability in a risāla describing a hunting expedition which has echoes of pre-Islamic verse on the same theme; more details on ʿAbd al-
Hamid are to be found in e.g. H. Schöning, Das Sendschreiben des Abul-Mahmūd b. Yahyā (gest. 132/750) an den Kronprinzen Abūl-Mahmūd b. Marwān II, Stuttgart 1985, and al-Kādījī, Early Islamic state letters: the question of authenticity, in A. Cameron and L.I. Conrad (eds.), The Early Islamic State Letters, 1, Princeton 1992, 215-75, which examines the transmission of these epistles.

The later development of prose

The way style evolved is the most obvious feature in the history of this prose, especially from the formal point of view in the use of richer and more laboured ornamentation (baddī [g.v.]) and sajjī. Such a style figures primarily but not exclusively in documents emanating from the kātibī, and it has been studied because, as has been seen, what interested the theorists was the kātibī (the prose of the literary secretaries [g.v.]). The fragments we have of Sahīl b. Hārūn already display a style involving rhythmic scan-}

In each segment the syntactic structure is the same, as also to a certain degree is the morphological structure, by the selection of the patterns of nouns and verbs. This concerns the phrase its typical rhythm, without any insistence on assonance or rhyme. Beeston (op. cit., 185) underscores the difference between this elaborated style and the simplicity of the primitive sajjī. Al-Dīhījī makes very moderate use of the style; his arguments are developed in a full and diffuse manner; sometimes he uses the same syntactic device but without seeking any symmetry. In those parts of his work which are not a collection of akhbār, Ibn Kūṭayba likes to make use of the style here described, in the well-constructed introduction to Adāb al-kātīb, for example; some elegant examples of this style are to be found in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023 [g.v.]), or Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064 [g.v.]) from al-Andalus.

Frequently, different registers of style can be found in the same author; e.g. Ibn al-Mukaffa' uses a simple and unconstrued style in Kitāb waḍ-Dirma [g.v.], in contradistinction to the laboured style which he adopts for his original work and which was to influence later prose. Miskawayh (d. 421/1030 [g.v.]) has a sober, concise style of prose in his Tażdīrib al-umān, but more expansive in al-Husaynī wa l-λaḥṣāxī.

Prose which does not keep to the rules of sajjī is called al-nāthīr al-mursal, and it is in this style that the majority of works in classical prose have been written; in them the use of sajjī and the other stylistic conventions, if they exist at all, is often restricted to the author's opening prologue. Such is the case in e.g. Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 365/972-3 [g.v.]), Kitāb al-Aghānī, where the introduction explains the purpose of the book without any literary embellishment; or Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923 [g.v.]), Tażdīrib al-Rasūl wa l-ʾmīlāk, who commences his book with a praise to God in sajjī.

Prose that relates a series of events, which is strictly concerned with facts, whether they be historical or scientific, and that uses in general short, juxtaposed phrases must be distinguished from prose whose purpose is argument or exhortation. This latter type of prose, whether or not it uses parallelism, displays a syntax consisting of complex phrases and a number of parentheses. A remarkable example of such prose is the style of the famous writer of verse Abū al-Kāhir al-Djurjānī (d. 471/1078 [g.v. in Suppl.]).
Evidently there was a technical vocabulary for each science (see e.g. L. Masson, *Essai sur l'origine du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1959; C.E. Bosworth, *Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khūzaymī on the technical terms of the *Rehlat* in JESHO, xii (1969), 113-64; A.M. Goichon, *Lexicographie de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Ṣīnā*, Paris 1938). There also existed stylistic conventions of form, like the fictitious dialogue, through which argument in theological texts was conducted; the earliest examples of this technique seem to date from the a period before the Mu'tazila, and have been investigated by J. van Ess, *Disputationenpraxis in der islamischen Theologie, in REI*, xu (1977); idem, *Early development of kālim, in Studies on the first century*, 105-23; idem, *The logical structure of Islamic theology, in von Grunebaum (ed.), Logic in classical Islamic culture, Wiesbaden 1970*, 21-50. In this last study, the author makes a close investigation of the method and the terminology in the theological argumentation based on Aristotelian logic, and he shows how al-Ghazālī, once he had adopted this method as the only one capable of demonstrating religious truth, in order to get it accepted preserved the terminology of *w[iy] al-fikḥ* [*q.v.*]. This manner of argumentation goes beyond the field of theology and was followed, for example, in the grammar of al-Ṭāhir b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]) in his commentary on the *Kitāb al-Siyāsah* of Ibn Zaydun (d. 463/1070) *Risālah Hazliyya* [*q.v.*]; on the one hand to bridge the gap between the "lack of fiction", which one can see in classical Arabic literature, and modern literary fiction, and on the other hand to examine the forms of awareness that the "reporter" of a khabar could have in composing in reality a work of literature. Further studies include those to be found in Leder, *op. cit.*, see *Sīr Ayālā, Fann al-khabar fi masāḥat al-kiyāsah, in Fussūl, ii (1982)*, 11-18; Leder, *Features of the novel in early history, in Cameron and Conrad (eds.), *The literary use of the Khabar: a basic form of historical setting, in Cameron and Conrad (eds.), *The literary use of the Khabar: a basic form of historical writing, in Cameron and Conrad (eds.), *The lit*


NAY (p., in Tišh, ney), a rim-blown flute made of reed (arundo donax L.). The name, meaning basically “reed”, is known from Pahlavi, in which it was a loanword from Aramaic qn(‘) (cf. Assyrian qanu, qanu‘u, qnh). (cf. Assyrian qanu, qanu‘u, qnh). The name, meaning basically “reed”, is known from Pahlavi, in which it was a loanword from Aramaic qn(‘) (cf. Assyrian qanu, qanu‘u, qnh). However in early Arabic sources, such as the Kitâb al-`Aţhâni, the term nay most probably denoted not a flute but a double-reed woodwind instrument of the mizmûr [q.v.] family. The mizmûr, because of its colour, was also called nay siyâh “black nay” in contrast to the nay safîd “white nay”, i.e. the flute.

The rim-blown flute has been known since the 3rd millennium B.C. in Ancient Egypt as well as in Mesopotamia. For Ancient Egypt, written and iconographic testimonies of flute players are frequent. While the Sumerian flutes found at Ur are metal fragments, the Egyptian ones are of reed. The ancient Egyptian flutes that are preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo were played and recorded by Mahmûd lffât in 1991. Some of them produced a pentatonic scale, others a heptatonic one.

After its peak in Antiquity, the rim-blown flute survived as a folk instrument until Šûfî movements in Islam gave it a new and prominent place in religious music (see below). The folk flutes do not conform to the norms of the classical instrument. They may be made of wood, reed or metal and have many local names, as e.g. the Palestinian and Syrian al-fâhâbî (similar to the human voice. According to a legend from God. The famous Mulânaza al-Djâlî al-Dîn Rûmî (604-72/1207-73 [q.v.]), the nay voices the Prophet’s secret revelations which no other human being has ever heard. Before this, ‘All had told the secrets to a well at the edge of which reeds grew.

In Šûfî music, the nay is the most prominent melodic instrument of all. The Šâfîs hear the sound of the nay as the crying of the reed after it is cut. It is like the crying of the soul because of its separation from God. The famous Mulânaza al-Djâlî al-Dîn Rûmî (604-72/1207-73 [q.v.]), the nay voices the Prophet’s secret revelations which no other human being has ever heard. Before this, ‘All had told the secrets to a well at the edge of which reeds grew.

The sound of the nay is regarded as particularly similar to the human voice. According to a legend in the Maţâfar al-‘alâ‘îb, ascribed to Farîd al-Dîn Ābu’l-ma‘āle (ca. 515-618/1119-1221 [q.v.]), the nay voices the Prophet’s secret revelations which no other human being has ever heard. Before this, ‘All had told the secrets to a well at the edge of which reeds grew.”

Impressed by the modern European flute, several attempts have been made to technically improve and modernize the nay. Until now, none of these attempts has been widely accepted. According to its construction and characteristics, it is one of the most essential instrument, which demands high skill of its players and plays an important role even in modern music.

The nay has been the favoured wind instrument of court and court music from around the 8th/9th century onwards. As a court music instrument, the nay is frequently represented in Persian miniature paintings. It is played solo or in mixed ensembles, but normally not with other nays. Turkish ensembles, however, sometimes have many nays playing together. The dances of the Mevlevi dervishes, for example, are accompanied by drums and nays only. When playing with a singer, the nay is especially used for short melodic formulas (lâţâma, pl. lâţâlim) and improvisations (takšîm, pl. takšâlim).

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Nouvel essai d'inventaire de l'œuvre Gdhigienne, Arabica, xxxi [1984], 117ff., no. 191, to a ms. copy of this which is unfortunately lost (Ch. Pellat's reference in did not believe that the composition of the Kur'an sarfa notion of his teacher al-Nazzam who [q.v], (al-Intisdr, is proof for the prophethood of Muhammad—God ing the argument for the well-orderedness work preserved in the Escorial library is erroneous, particularly, it is evidently the backbone of the con- position" (note that Hilyat al-muhdara, Baghdad 1979, i, 426). Yet Abu between c as merely i contains all the elements of the cception of as "stylistic inimitability of the dj_dz Abbasid times al-Burhdn, Ishak b. Ibrahim b. Wahb, tentionally bad poetry, or didactive verse (see e.g. Ziyad al-Zu Das Verhdltnis von Poesie und Prosa and employ the terms (on this debate, see 

NAY — NAZM

1. In metrical speech. Literally meaning "stringing (pearls, beads, etc.)," in early 'Abbasid times nazzm acquired the meaning of "versifying", "versification", and became almost synonymous with "poetry," shir [q.v.], especially when contrasted with prose, nathr, literally "scattering". The comparison of a poem to a necklace, or verses to pearls, is apt in view of the relative independence of the individual verses, held together on the string of the uniform metre and rhyme. The image has pre-'Abbasid origins, and although the noun nazzm was not used in the sense of "verse" until later (and Kudama b. Dhifar [q.v.]) still does not do so in his poetics, at least the related verb had already been used, when the 1st/7th century poet al-Nadjashi said Sa-anazima min 'urri 'l-kulami fi'dalatim "I shall string/ compose an ode of noble speech" (al-Huizi, Nusfii' al-munafizan, 1979, i, 126). Yet Abū Nuwās [q.v.] could still speak, in an ode addressed to al-Amin, of "my scattering (nathr) pearls on you" (Dhuṭi, ed. Wagner, i, 241). The many discussions on the relative merits of prose and poetry regularly employ the terms nazzm and nathr (on this debate, see e.g. Ziyad al-Zuḫi, Das Verhältniss von Poesie und Prosa in der arabischen Literatur-theorie des Mittelalters, Berlin 1987). Not rarely, however, a distinction is made between šīr as "true" poetry and nazzm as merely versifying, i.e. either prosodically correct but intentionally had no poetry, or didactic verse (see e.g. Ishāk b. ʻIlūh b. Wahb, al-Burhdn, Cairo 1969, 130; Ibn Khalūn, The Muraddinah, tr. F. Rosenthal, Princeton 1967, iii, 381-2).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

2. In Kur'ānic studies. Here, the arrangement of pearls on a string is used metaphorically to indicate "ordering of words-am-meanings", i.e. "composition" (note that tatīf is sometimes used synonymously with nazzm), or, more freely, the "style" of the Kur'an. In this sense it is closely connected with the discussions of the dogma of ʾīdgāz al-Kurān [q.v.]; more particularly, it is evidently the backbone of the conception of ʾīdgāz as "stylistic inimitability" of the Kur'an. The first known work devoted to this notion is the K. fī ʾ-ḥayyāṯīdī l-ʾīdīn al-Kurān wa-sulāmatihī min al-ṣīḥāṭa wa-l-nawshirāt of al-Dajīz (d. 255/668-9 [q.v.]), which is unfortunately lost (Ch. Pellat's reference in did not believe that the composition of the Kur'an sarfa notion of his teacher al-Nazzam who [q.v.], described it as follows: "No book is known concerning the argument for the well-orderedness (nazzm) and the wondrous composition of the Kur'an, and that it is proof for the prophethood of Muhammad—God bless him except the book of al-Dajīz" (al-Intisār, ed. A. N. Nader [Beirut 1957], 111). This description contains all the elements of the ʾīdgāz concept, as generally adopted later. Al-Dajīz radically breaks with the ṣarfā notion of his teacher al-Nazzām [q.v.], who did not believe that the composition of the Kur'an was stylistically unattainable and who thought that Muhammad's pagan contemporaries, challenged to produce something like a sūrah, were "turned away" by God from carrying out this task.

Claude Audebert has compiled a list of works on nazzm up to the time of al-Khaṭṭābī, eight in all (al-Khaṭṭābī, 59-61). The most explicit title—and moody we have we have, one given to the Mu'taṣallī al-Waṣī'ī (d. 306/918 or 307/919) book: K. ēdgāz al-Kurān fī-nazzmī wa-taṭārīf (ibid., 59). It states the connection between ʾīdgāz and nazzm and the near-synonymy of nazzm and taṭārīf. It is remarkable that the authors of these works are partly mutakkallimīn and partly traditionists. Al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 386/996 or 388/998 [q.v.]), in his treatise Bayān ēdgāz al-Kurān, postulates a triad of ele- ments that make up "speech" (ṣalām), namely, laṣfīn ħamīšān wa-sam-mūn bi-hā' ir-rihān taḥtun nazzm "words as carriers, meaning subsisting in them, and a connection that orders both of them" (ed. M. Khalaf Allāh and M.Z. Šālām, 24 l. 11; tr. Audebert, al-Khaṭṭābī, 120, cf. also 87). The third element is usually called nazzm; al-Khaṭṭābī not infrequently also uses the plural nazzūm to refer to the syntactic-stylistic "structures" or "molds" (this plural is not in the diction- naries). In all three elements the Kur'an is the superior text, as the following extract from the preface of the treatise states: The works of nazzm are several times metaphorically characterised (the various "types of ordering" [nāẓūn al-nazzm] are a "bridle on the words and a rein on the meanings" [nāẓūn al-ālāf wa-'l-nāzūn al-mādhīn; cf. ed., 33; tr. 128], but not defined and explicitly discussed. A large part of al-Khaṭṭābī's Bayān is devoted to linguistic-stylistic criticisms (i.e. criticisms of the nazzm of Kur'ānic passages by others, followed by the author's refutation (al-Khaṭṭābī, 97-102).

Al-Bākallāhī (d. 403/1013 [q.v.]), in his ēdgāz al- Kurān, lists the excellent nazzm of the Kur'an as the third reason for its inimitability (after [1] prophesys- passes, and [2] the illiteracy of the Prophet, which proves Divine instruction about creation, etc.). He enumerates ten aspects of this nazzm: (1) The Kur'an is sui generis as a literary genre (35). (2) The Arabs had not produced any eloquent text of such enormous length (36). (3) The Kur'an is homogeneously eloquent in all its subgenres such as narrat-ives, anecdotes, arguments, etc., whereas a poet may excel in panegyrics but not in invective, or vice versa (36-8). (4) The smooth transition from one topic to the next in the Kur'an is unrivalled (38). (5) Not only man is unable to produce anything similar to it, but so are the jinn (38-41). (6) All stylistic and rhetorical possibilities occur in the Kur'an (42). (7) Expressing new ideas, rather than well-worn ones, with beautiful words is the highest level of language mastership (bā'āra'; this the Kur'an does when it speaks about legal and religious matters (42). (8) When a Kur'ānic phrase is quoted, it stands out in its new textual surrounding through its beauty (42-4). (9) The "mysterious letters" at the beginning of twenty-eight sūras show an amazingly regular selection of phonemes, when measured against the various groups of phonemes that the grammarians have established (44-6). (10) The style of the Kur'an is easy though impossible to imitate (bā'āra' ilā 'l-akhirīn yakānim māna'dha l-āfījā ilā kābīl . . . wa-lawwa mu'ta'shībi muntaha l-mālāgā; it is equally distant from lexical unorthodoxy (qūthāb) and unusual- ness (gkarī [q.v.], on the one hand, and from affected artfulness (al-sarā' al-mutakkallisāt), on the other (46). The list clearly shows that al-Bākallāhī is not interested in the micro-analysis of what constitutes nazzm,
nor does he establish, as al-Khattabi does, the strict correlation between nazm and the other two elements of speech, "words" and "meaning". He focuses more on the overall linguistic-literary quality of the Kur'an text.

Abd al-Khâbir al-Djurdjanî (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081 [q.v. in Suppl.]), in his Đàlâ'il al-îfâqah ("Proofs for the Inimitability"), comes again closer to al-Khatthâbi, who may be called his precursor in matters of nazm. But al-Djurdjanî surpasses him by far. Over hundreds of pages he subjects Kur'anic phrases, or syntactic phenomena in general, to the most painstaking semantic analysis and thus manages to fill the notion of nazm with real content. He defines it as kawûdhi ma'âni 'înshâ'at ("minding the meanings of syntactic relations"). The syntactic-semantic phenomena discussed include alâ 'alâ word order (tâdâlim wa-a'la-khâlîn), ellipsis (hâdîf), syntactic and asyndetic coordination (wasâl wa-fasâl), and the various functions of the sentence-initial particle innâ (see also Weisweiler, in Bbl). The "ordering" (nazm) creates a specific shape/form (fârâa) for a general gharad ("intention") in the mind and, parallel to it, in the language: the meaning (ma'âni) and the expression/wording (la'fâ) of a proposition (koldâm) thus become mirror images. The inherited but, according to al-Djurdjanî, misunderstood dichotomy la'fâ-ma'âni is thus reinterpreted: the wording (la'fâ) is no longer a "garment" for a "naked" ma'âni. The two are inseparable, no "meaning" can be expressed by two "wordings" equally well; the two "wordings" would express two different "meanings".

K. Abu Deeb (Poetic imagery, 24-64) and, more recently, N. Kermani (Gott ist schön, 253-84, esp. 264 and n. 144) have argued that, with many of his deep-cutting analyses, al-Djurdjanî is a precursor of modern linguistic approaches the perceived "incoherence" is considered to be rather one of the strengths of the Holy Book (see Kermani, Gott ist schön, 281).


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genre as practiced by al-Madā‘īnī (d. 225/840), Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā (d. 281/894) and al-Muḥassīn al-Tanūḥī (d. 384/994), and have a religious, perhaps Jewish, origin. Nissim Ibn Shahīn’s stories do not have a secular character like most of al-Tanūḥī’s stories, but are embedded in a religious context. Some stories such as “The perfidious wife” and “The story of Kīdor” found their way into other mediaeval belletristic collections.


(A. Schippers)

NIZĀM ‘ASKĀRĪ (A.), military organisation, the system of military rule in modern Islamic lands (for a consideration of military organisation before ca. 1000, see qayyūm; bāb; itīdād).

1. In the modern Arab world
2. In modern Iran
3. In the late Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic
4. In Pakistan

1. In the modern Arab world.

The frequent appearance of military regimes in the Arab sector of the Muslim world during the second part of the 20th century owes less to a tradition of Arab military conquest and diffusion of Islam than to the style of power exercised by the Ottoman Sultans—with it occupied in executive power. It permeated all the fields of political activity including the parties, exercised a tight control over the population using the force authorised by emergency laws and with recourse to the mukhābārat, the intelligence and police services. Arab republics and monarchies were thus transformed into “military societies” (Abdelmalek 1962).

II

The analysis of Arab military regimes has given rise to three distinct interpretations of their nature and effect on the state and the society of the countries concerned. The first credited the dominant participation of officers in the government with the qualities of order, efficiency and honesty as well as technical and organisational capacities. The army was seen as the best agency for the purpose of ensuring the development of the country, educating society and being the bearer of modern values and practices, since the generation of officers trained since independence belonged to a “new middle class” with modernising tendencies (Halpern 1962, 278); their nationalist sensibility, whether Arab (kawmi) or patriotic (wastani), manifested through various anti-colonial and revolutionary ideologies, gave them the legitimacy to impose on society a modernisation “from above” (industrialisation, agrarian reform) inspired by the Kemālist model (Allush 1968).

After the Arab defeat of 1967 and in view of the poor economic performance of Egypt and of Syria under military rule, then that of Algeria in the 1980s, a second analysis has prevailed. It described nizām ‘askārī as “praetorian”, and considered the army an agency for the maintenance of order in the service of an authoritarian and barely representative political power, pursuing its corporatist interests rather than a social project (Perlmutter 1974).

Until the turn of the 1990s, oil revenues and the priority given to the war effort assured the perpetuation of the nizām ‘askārī. Subsequently, Arab armies had a tendency to return to their military function while a number of officers became economic entrepreneurs benefiting from the inflāt. The nizām ‘askārī progressively gave way to civilian governments, still under military control. A third analysis then placed the accent on the simultaneously policing and predatory nature of these regimes (R. Owen, State, power and politics in the making of the modern Middle East, London 1992).

(a) Egypt

Although it was not historically the first, the prototype of nizām ‘askārī in the Arab regions of the modern Muslim world was that of the dubāt al-ahbār, the Free Officers who on 23 July 1952 overthrew the Egyptian dynasty which had itself been founded by an officer of the Ottoman army, Muhammad ʿAli [p.x.]. This group of some three hun-
dred officers (T. Aclimandos, *Les militaires égyptiens. Esprit de corps et révolution, in Peuples méditerranéens* / *Mediterranean Peoples, xli-xlii [1988], 87-104*), graduates of the Military Academy after 1936 (the date of its opening to indigenous Egyptians), had particularly resented the indifference of the monarchical regime during the war of 1948-9. Their nine leaders, constituted into a *Maghīṣ kiyddat al-thawra* (Revolu-
tionary Command Council), installed military personnel in the higher ranks of the executive on a permanent basis. Originally, the RCC united personalities of diver-
tense tendencies, Ṣārī al-Fâtât, al-Ikhŷān al-Mulûsûmîn [q.v.] and Communists, who held in common the nationalist and socialist objectives summarised in the *Falsafat al-thawra* of Dâmid ʿAbd al-Nâsîr [q.v. in Suppl.]. In the competition for power, the leftists of the RCC led by Yûsûf al-Sîdîk, and the liberals led by Khâlid Muḥyî ʿl-Dîn, were ousted in March 1953 and March 1954 respectively. The rupture with the Muslim Brotherhood took place on 12 January 1954. Whether socialist pan-Arabist as in the 1960s, or patriotic liberal as in the 1980s, Egyptian power hence-
forward depended on the alliance between the mili-
tary institution and the bureaucracy of state.

The executive was the prerogative of generals: presi-
dency of the Republic was taken by Muḥam-
mad Ṣâdāt, on 18 June 1952, and after his ousting
on 14 November 1954, by Nâsîr until his death on
28 September 1970, by Anwâr al-Ṣâdāt (assassinated 5 October 1981) and by Ḥusnî Mubârâk, who began
his fourth presidential period of power on 26
September 1999. In the government, one-fifth of the
ministerial posts (in particular Defence, Military
Production and the Interior) were occupied by senior
officers under Nâṣīr, and 7.5% under Ṣâdāt (M. Cooper, *The democratization of the Egyptian cabinet*, in *IJMES*, xiv [1982], 209). More than 80% of the posts of provincial governors belonged to them. Of the five
categories “allied to the régime”—workers, peasants,
intellectuals, nationalist capitalists and army—only the latter was authorised to organise itself, whereas the political parties were abolished on 16 January 1953
and replaced by a single party. After the defeat of
1967 and until the expulsion of the Soviet advisers in January 1972, a policy of raising the standard of recruit-
ment and of strategic co-operation with the USSR
made the institution the best endowed financially and
the most advanced in technological terms in the coun-
country (with the acquisition of the Mig-27), barely trou-
bled by internal conspiracies in October 1972, April
1974 (attempted uprising at the Military Academy by
the radical Islamist movement *al-Takjir wa ʿl-Hijra* [q.v.] and October 1981 (assassination of Ṣâdāt during a
military parade).

According to the National Charter (al-Mīthkāl al-
waṣaf) of 1962, the Egyptian military régime pre-
seemed itself initially as revolutionary. It initiated
economic and social reforms—the first agrarian reforms in September 1952 limiting property to 300 acres per
family, Egyptianisation of British and French assets (nationalisation of the Suez Canal, 26 July 1956),
nationalisation of heavy industry and textiles—and
launched major works of infrastructure such as the
Aswan Dam. However, the failures of economic poli-
cies combined with demographic growth of more than
3.5% per annum, and were dynamic, whilst the army numbered fewer than
5,000 men at Independence, recruited among the ethnic and religious minorities, and staffed by
French officers (N. Bou-Nacklie, *The Special Troops: reli-
gious and ethnic recruitment, 1916-1946*, in *IJMES*, xxv [1993], 649-640). However, thirteen coups d’état fol-
lowed the independence of the country and, after the seizure of power by Colonel Ḥusnî al-Zaʾīm [q.v.] on
30 March 1949, the army remained a dominant politi-
cal actor, except during the period of the United Arab

The first three military régimes in Syria were the
result of an inkiṣlîb, an uprising of officers discontented with the political direction of the country, in particu-
lar the treatment reserved for the armed forces and the circumstances of the defeat in Palestine. The
Colonels Ḥusnî al-Zaʾīm, Ṣâmîn al-Hîmâwî (14 August-
19 December 1949) and Adîb al-Šîshâkîl (exiled 25
February 1954) were motivated more by personal
ambition than by a political project. Like Zaʾîm, Šîshâkîl launched important constitutional reforms from
25 September 1950 and 10 July 1953, including the
reform of penal, civil and commercial codes as well as a first agrarian reform (30 July 1952). He granted
the right to vote to literate women, and abolished the
special treatment of Bedouin and the system of *awākîf*
[see ward]. The accession of Ža‘īm to the presidency of the Republic on 25 June 1949, and that of Shishakli on 10 July 1953, marked the apogee of authoritarian regimes characterised by the banning of political parties (replaced by Shishakli with the dawākul al-tahrīr al-dawla, 25 August 1952) and tight control of public life by an oppressive police force. The niẓām ‘askari was characterised also by a Syrian patriotism bordering on chauvinism in reaction to the “struggle for Syria”—real or imagined threats posed to the independence of the country by neighbouring states. Returning to the shadows, the Syrian army nevertheless did not cease from intervention in the political arena during the parliamentary period of 1954-8. Seventeen senior officers made their way to Cairo on 12 January 1958 to demand from Marshall ‘Amar and from Nāṣir the creation of the United Arab Republic. The army subsequently gave its support to the parliamentary restoration of September 1961, implemented under the leadership of Colonel Ŭbīd al-Karīm Našawī, who intervened again to “rectify” the policy directions of the government in March 1962 (M. Colombe, La République arabe syrienne à la lumière du coup d’état du 26 mars 1962, in Orient, 1st trim. [1962]).

The military Committee of between four and fourteen senior officers in the Regional Command of the Ba‘th Party from the time of the Ba‘th National Guard to take power on 13 November 1963 perpetrated by Nasirist and Ba‘thist officers led by the army maintained order through repression. The old social classes and the revolutionary tendency and the representation of minority communities gradually gained the upper hand, ending with the installation of a clandestine dictatorship under Colonel Sa‘ād al-Dīn al-Djāfd, assistant general secretary of the Ba‘th Party from the time of the disbandment of the civil wing of the Party on 23 February 1966. Nationalisations in industry and commerce (1965), international isolation and provocations on the Israeli front, favouring popular war, characterised revolutionary Syria under this regime weakened by the disaster of the war of June 1967. Excluding his rivals by a display of force within the Regional Command of the Ba‘th Party on 13 November 1970, General Hāfiz al-Asad turned the Syrian military regime in the direction of a more liberal economy through two infitāḥs, in 1971-4 and from 1986 onwards. The legislative elections of 1990, and Law 10 of 1991 on investments, marked the entry of a new entrepreneurial bourgeoisie into the coalition of power and the increased participation of senior officers in the world of business. But this economic liberalisation was not accompanied by political liberation, despite the creation of a Progressive National Front of six parties, including the Communist Party and the Arab Socialist Union around the Ba‘th (7 March 1972), The Constitution of 12 March 1973 installed a presidential régime. The state of emergency declared in 1963 remained in force. The army has maintained tight control of local life and internal security through its networks of mukhabārat, and in 1978-81 there was a massive crackdown on Islamists (H.G. Lobmeyer, Opposition and Widerstand in Syrien, Hamburg 1993, 204-536). Finally, to succeed his father as Head of State on 17 July 2000, Bashshar al-Asad was obliged to re-invent himself in some haste as a military figure.

(c) ‘Irāk

The modern ‘Irāk state, where the elites surrounding King Fāṣal (Di‘ā’ir al-As‘karī, Yāsīn al-Ḥāfinjī, Ḏalîmī al-Mīdāfī and Nūrī al-Salātī) were in the main former officers of the Ottoman army, was born in the violent suppression of the anti-British uprising in November 1920 (P.-L. Luizard, La formation d’Irak contemporain, Paris 1981). Even though ‘Irāk [g.v.] has not lived continuously under niẓām ‘askari, the army has remained the primary political force in the country, appointing and deposing governments, and controlling ethnic and social groups through violence (H. Batatu, The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq, Princeton 1978, 319-61). The suppression of the Assyrian revolt in June 1933, then that of the tribal uprisings in 1935-6 under the command of General Bakr Sidīkī gave the latter the incentive to launch the first coup d’état inspired by Kemalism in the modern Arab world on 24 October 1936. His assassination on 11 August 1937 at the instigation of four national officers (“the Gold Square”), led by Sa‘ād al-Dīn Sābbāh, was the prelude to the seizure of power by them and the inauguration of a regime independent of the British, of which the public figurehead was Raḥīd al-Ghiyānī (5 April-9 October 1941). From the creation of the state until the fall of the monarchy on 14 July 1958, the dominant personality of authority remained that of General Nūrī al-Salātī who had been prime minister for a total of 11 years and 9 months. While the monarchy neglected the institutionalisation of the state and the development of the country, governments supported by the army maintained order through repression. After the revolution of July 1958 and the fall of the monarchy, General Ťūd al-Karīm Kāsim [g.v.] quickly ousted the nine members of the Commanding Council of Free Officers, in particular Colonel Ťūd al-Salām ‘Arif, to impose himself as single leader (ťūd Ža‘īm [g.v.] al-aš-wad). His first government (27 July 1958) comprised five military figures out of sixteen members (Batatu 1978, 812) and the second (10 February 1959), six out of fourteen (Batatu 1978, 843). He authorised political parties, promulgated agrarian reforms (30 September 1958), inaugurated a state planification scheme (1959), partially nationalised the Iraq Petroleum Company (1961) and adopted measures to assist the disadvantaged urban classes. The régime of Kāsim was destabilised and its military character re/enforced by confrontations between Communist and Nationalist Arabs in Mawsil and Kirkuk (March-July 1959) and by the revival of the Kurdish revolt (September 1961). The military coup of 8 February 1963 perpetrated by Nāṣirīst and Ba‘thist officers led to a repetition of the same scenario: Ťūd al-Salām ‘Arif ousted the National Council of the Revolution and dismantled the Ba‘thist National Guard to take for himself presidency of the Republic and supreme command of the armed forces (18 November 1963). He imposed the Arab Socialist Union as the sole party on 14 July 1964. Under the régime of his brother, Colonel Ťūd al-Rahmān ‘Arif (13 April 1966-17 July 1968): a series of military governments ensued, their domination dependent on the use of force and the maintenance of martial law, while nationalised institu-
tions were placed under the supervision of retired officers (M. Khadduri, *Republic of Iraq: a study in Iraqi politics since the revolution of 1958*, London 1969, 280-9).

After the two coups which ensured the accession of the Ba’th Party to power (17 and 30 July 1968), the Revolutionary Command Council (R.C.C.), composed of five officers and led by General Hasan al-Bakr, carried out purges in the army to turn it into a mujāḥid al-‘aḏāb-dī, an instrument of the Party alongside the militāj, al-‘aḏāb-dī, under the direction of the Military Bureau. The admission of ten civilians to the R.C.C. in November 1969 did nothing to alleviate the security-orientated character of the régime, which became a dictatorship after the accession of the (self-proclaimed) “General” Sāddām Ḥusayn, to the presidency of the R.C.C. and supreme authority over the state and the armed forces in July 1979. The state of civil war against the Kurds and the Shī‘īs, and external war against Iran (1980-88) and then against Kuwait and the international coalition (1990-1), favoured a privatisation of public wealth which worked in particular to the benefit of military cadres (Isam al-Khafaji, *War as a vehicle for the rise and demise of a state-controlled society. The case of Britsh Iraq*, in Heydemann 2000, 272-5).

(Sudan)

The “Free Officers” of Sudan (q.v.) who organised the overthrow of civil power two years after the independence of the country (1958) were strongly influenced by their Egyptian alter ego. The junta led by General Ibrāhīm Aḥammad until 1964 included radical officers close to the Sudanese Communist Party; in 1964 the rift between Aḥammad and this powerful ally brought to an end the first Sudanese nāṣīm lāsārī. After half a decade of civilian government, General Ḍja’far al-Numayrī in his turn imposed fifteen years of military dictatorship after a brief attempt at cooperating with civilians in the context of the Commanding Council of the Revolution, dissolved in October 1971. The Communist opposition was firmly suppressed on 22 July 1971 and the Arab Socialist Union became the sole authorised party, while the ministries of Defense, the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Information and Culture (al-‘aḏāb al-‘awāṣī) remained in the hands of the military. Numayrī’s régime formally recognised the right of the southern provinces to autonomy on 9 June 1969 and imposed radical nationalisation measures (Sequestration Act, May 1970). The second Sudanese civil war, provoked by the Islamising decrees of September 1983, accelerated the downfall of Numayrī in 1985, introducing a brief period of pluralism. The coalition between military figures and Islamists which characterised military régimes in Sudan returned to power following the coup d’état of General ‘Umar al-Baḥṣīr on 30 June 1989. The National Salvation Revolutionary Command Council was based on a single party, the National Congress of Ḥasan al-Turābī. He imposed strict application of the Shari‘a, banned parties and independent syndicates, organised popular local Islamist committees, and the Popular Defense Forces, an Islamist militia waging war against civilians in the south. Under pressure from humanitarian organisations and oil companies whose revenues were financing the war in the south, military leaders dissociated themselves from the Islamists from 1997 onward. Baḥṣīr re-established the state of emergency in 1998 to implement the institutional changes demanded for the survival of the régime and, on 12 December 1999, he suspended the parliament which was dominated by the Islamists of Turābī, arrested in February 2001.

(e) Yemen

The influence of the Egyptian Free Officers was felt as far away as Yemen [see AL-YAMAS] where a group of Nāṣīrī officers led by Colonel ‘Abd Allāh Sallāl proclaimed the United Arab Republic on 26 September 1962 and received reinforcements of 24,000 Egyptian soldiers commanded by Marshal ‘Abd al-Hakīm ‘Amm—a contingent doubled over the next four years for the purpose of fighting a destructive Saudi-Egyptian war which lasted until the decision to withdraw, taken by Nāṣir at the Khārtūm Summit in November 1967. Significant efforts in the fields of education and health were made by the new régime, which was characterised by the imposition of a heavy bureaucracy before its demise on 14 June 1970. Military leaders, populists and developmentalists returned to the forefront of the stage with Colonel Ibrāhīm al-Ṣamaddī (June 1974), and Colonel Ahmad al-Ghāshīmī (11 October 1977), both of them assassinated, then Colonel ‘Ali ‘Abd Allāh Khālīl, on 24 June 1978. The latter gradually handed over government to civilians (adoption of a constitution in October 1980, first legislative elections in July 1985) and guided the process of reunification with the Democratic and Popular Republic of Yemen: a constitutional referendum in September 1994 legitimising political pluralism, exclusion of armed forces from membership of parties (F. Djalīlī, *Al-Yaman: al-thawratūn al-dīmūkrdtiyya al-watāmin al-watāmin, 1962-94*, Beirut 1999, 272-97). As Marshal and President of the Republic of Yemen since 24 May 1990, Khālīl continues to control the state, supported by the Supreme Council of National Defense and by members of his entourage, occupying key posts in the security and armed forces.

2. In modern Iran.

The period of military rule in Iran may be said to have been inaugurated by the coup d’état of 21 February 1921, and to have endured until the overthrow of Pahlavi rule in 1979. However, although the régime that resulted from the coup of 1921, and the Pahlavi dynasty it had established, on the army, there was no direct military rule, nor was there a military dictator in the straightforward sense.

The Pahlavi régime was one that owed its existence to military coups, in 1921 and in 1953, both Rıdı Şah and his son, Muhammad Rıdı Şah [q.v.], having been brought to power by the army. The army played a key role in the construction of the Pahlavi state, dominating both urban and rural opposition, and till 1979 remained, together with the various security forces, the main institution sustaining the régime internally.

Although the military occupied a pivotal position in Pahlavi Iran, it remained subordinate to the rule of the shahs. Both Rıdı Şah and Muhammad Rıdı Şah were successful in dominating the military and in developing a monarchical system of government quite different from that found in conventional military régimes. Rıdı Şah originally rose to power as an army officer, but in transforming his personal ascendancy into the form of a monarchy he distanced himself from other senior commanders and made a challenge from any one of them more difficult. Rıdı Şah having established the dynasty, his son succeeded him and increased further the distance between the military and the throne, making it difficult for any army officer to challenge his authority without undermining the very structure of the régime (F. Hallday, *Iran, dictatorship and development*, London 1979, 51-2). Yet although both Pahlavi rulers secured and maintained their theoretical and actual control of the army, each also essentially relied on it to guarantee its régime.

In 1921 Rıdı Şah arrived at the centre of political power using as an instrument a small Cossack force. He immediately embarked on the task of constructing a strong, modern, national army, organised and equipped on European lines, and based his rise to supremacy on the support of this army (Bəkər Akgılı, *Rıdı Şah və Kİİ görkəm-və tatbiq-i Şahh, 1306-1320, Tehran 1377*). He reorganised the system of military education inside Iran and began sending officers to France for training. He began a massive programme of arms purchases in Europe, including large numbers of tanks and aircraft. In 1925 he forced a conscription bill through the Madjlis and the army mushroomed, rising from 42,000 men in 1930 to 127,000 men in 1941, with a total mobilisable force of 400,000. In the early 1920s, the army already accounted for approximately 40% of budget expenditure; between 1930 and 1941 spending on the army nearly quadrupled, and massive sums from oil revenues were allocated directly for weapons purchases. Rıdı Şah used this army to form a centralised state in Iran for the first time in the modern period. However, in the years 1921-5, although the army became dominant, it co-existed with a number of other political players and institutions. The cabinet was largely civilian in character, the constitution, although increasingly disregarded in practice, was not suspended, political parties functioned, elections were held, the Madjlis passed legislation, and the Kâdîjâr shah remained nominally commander-in-chief of the army.

Although the military did not rule directly in the early Pahlavi period, Rıdı Şah used the army both to intervene directly in the political process and also to manipulate, in a more subtle way, the political life of the country. His direct intervention began, of course, with the coup d’état itself, and continued with episodes such as the repeated cowing of the Madjlis by the threat of military force, in 1922 and more seriously after the failure of the republican movement in 1924. As well as openly intimidating the Madjlis at certain key moments, the military, with its increasing control over elections, had by 1926 fatally compromised the independence of that body. The army also sponsored and orchestrated political movements and prepared the ground for constitutional change. Furthermore, Rıdı Şah, having come to dominate the cabinet, reducing it largely to an appendage to his own position, systematically promoted the military at the expense of the civil authorities throughout the country. In fact, the army came to dominate the civil authorities throughout Iran, sometimes via the establishment of formal military government, sometimes through informal and unregulated mechanisms of pressure and control. Each military conquest of a recalcitrant area or population was invariably accompanied by the establishment of military government and there was considerable pressure from within the army to ensure that any new political system, whatever it was, was established in its own hands. Military government was especially important as a tool of tribal subjugation and control, army officers regularly replacing deposed tribal chiefs. Even when a provincial civil régime was officially in existence, the local military authorities encroached upon its sphere, appropriating its authority and many of its functions. The declaration of martial law and the establishment of military government was a frequent occurrence in both the capital and the provinces and gave the military authorities an opportunity to tighten their control over all aspects of civilian life, especially political dissent. The two periods of martial law in the capital, 1921-2 and 1924-6, were crucial to Rıdı Şah’s rise to supreme power. The role of the army was also positively enhanced by its transformation into a focus of nationalism and a pioneer of social progress, military personnel leading the way in clothing reform, the abolition of titles, rudimentary town planning, linguistic reform, etc. (Stephanie Cronin, *The army and the creation of the Pahlavi state in Iran, 1910-1926*, London and New York 1997, 182-221).

In the early Pahlavi period, the new Iranian army, although of questionable conventional military capability, was extremely successful in advancing the political ambitions of its chief and in safeguarding and extending his power. By far the most important function of the new army was to ensure the survival of the régime or, more narrowly interpreted, of Rıdı Şah’s personal position. This involved, first, the army’s establishment of internal security throughout the country, and, second, the military authorities’ enforcement of the subordination of all civilian political elements to their own dominance.

In making himself monarch, Rıdı Şah profoundly altered the balance between the military and the centre of power. However, by 1926 the relationship between state and society in Iran had already been radically transformed, with the new, centralised army playing a crucial role. Furthermore, the weight of the army vis-à-vis civilian state institutions, the government, the Madjlis, provincial civil governors, etc. had increased in a dramatic and wholly novel way. Although in becoming Şah, Rıdı Kâhân transformed what had been an incipient military dictatorship into a dynastic
despotism, nonetheless the régime over which he presided was firmly marked by its military origins and continued to exhibit many features typical of military rule. Although institutions such as the Madjlis and a civilian government would continue to exist, their role was, after 1945, purely decorative and ornamental. Independent political activity would not resume until after the abdication of the Shah in 1941.

Riād Šāh had risen to power as a career officer and he remained, even after ascending the throne, deeply involved in the day-to-day running of the army. His son, however, although he had attended Tehran military academy and frequently appeared on official occasions in military uniform, in reality lacked the connection with the army and with the upper echelons of the officer corps that his father had possessed.

In the 1940s the new Šāh, checked by a variety of social and political forces, was not able to utilise the army as his father had done. Between 1941 and 1953 the army receded into the background, reemerging only after the coup which overthrew Musaddik [q.v.]. Immediately after the coup, the Shah placed its leaders in key positions, General Fadl Allah Zahidī became prime minister, General Taymūr Bakhtiyar military governor of Tehran and General 'Abd Allāh Hidāyat chief of the general staff. But, most importantly, the Šāh also began to work towards restoring monarchical control of the army, and in 1955 dismissed Zāhidī, who left the country. The Shah then began the serious rebuilding of the army while, at the same time, with the reorganisation and reinforcement of the gendarmerie and the police, the army's overt role in maintaining public order was reduced (MJ. Sheikh-ol-Islami, in Ebr, art. Army. V. Publaci period, at ii, 540). From 1963 to 1978, the army remained garrisoned near towns and was sent into tribal areas on a number of small-scale campaigns. But the régime only resorted once to military force to crush urban civil unrest, sc. in June 1963 in Tehran and a number of other towns.

Although its public order duties were reduced, during the 1960s and 1970s the army became increasingly prominent in national life through its involvement in projects initiated under the White Revolution. Many high school and college conscripts served in the Literacy Corps, the Health Corps, and the Construction and Agricultural Development Corps, with such duties as building roads, schools, improving preventive medicine and teaching rudimentary reading and writing. In addition to these activities, which were largely carried out in rural areas, the military performed a host of other functions. In the administration of justice, the military courts had authority over a wide range of offences, including treason, armed robbery, hoarding, profiteering and trafficking in narcotics. The judgements were swift and the penalties harsh (Sheikh-ol-Islami, loc. cit.). The army gathered political intelligence and cooperated with SAVAK, the state security agency. Indeed, many of the SAVAK senior personnel came from the army. Many army officers also served in the Imperial Inspectorate, investigating inefficiency and corruption in the civil bureaucracy.

Although Riād Šāh had always used the army as a bulwark of his régime, he had been equally careful to protect either military factions or individual senior officers, from engaging in independent political activity or developing political ambitions of their own. During the 1930s, he had harboured a particular fear or assassination, believing that, were he to die while the Crown Prince was still young, the new dynasty would be threatened either from an overt challenge from the army or covertly, through the establishment of a régime exercised by one or more of the most powerful generals (Cronin, The politics of radicalism within the Iranian army: the Jahansuz group of 1939, in Iranian Studies, xxxii/1 [1999], 5-25). Muhammad Rıdā Şah like his father, also feared the consequences of the military's involvement in politics. During the 1940s, while the new shah remained weak, the army became deeply politicised, visible political factions emerged, and certain generals began to establish their own followings (Halliday, op. cit., 67). After 1953, however, and particularly after 1955, the Shah worked consistently to depoliticise the army and to isolate the most powerful senior officers.

Muhammad Rıdā Şah employed various mechanisms to control his officer corps. The armed forces were highly compartmentalised. The chief of staff had little authority over the other chiefs, who all reported to the Shah directly (W. Sullivan, Mission to Iran, New York 1981, 74-5). Each branch was literally headed by the Shah and without the Shah, the armed forces as a whole were structurally immobilised. The three services were not in fact allowed to communicate except via the Shah's own staff. No general could visit Tehran or meet with another general without the Shah's specific permission. The Shah was reported to check all promotions above the rank of major, and personally vetted all entrants in the air force training school. He frequently moved senior commanders to ensure that they did not form power bases and used a personal secret police, the Imperial Organisation, as well as conventional military intelligence, to carry out surveillance of the officer corps. Occasionally, he purged officers suspected of disloyalty under the guise of waging anti-corruption campaigns (Halliday, op. cit., 68-9).

As the political crisis of 1978 unfolded, the Šāh again fell back on the army, employing martial law and military government in the capital and a number of provincial cities. By the autumn, a number of generals were advocating direct military intervention. However, the army did not act, the Shah's system of personal control still paralysing the high command, and the Šāh himself apparently feared that a military coup might prove to be simply another way of terminating his reign (Sepehr Zabih, The Iranian military in revolution and war, London and New York 1988, 13). By early 1979, after the Šāh's departure, the army was palpably disintegrating. Ten days after Ayātallāh Khumāynnī's return, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces issued the Declaration of Neutrality of the Armed Forces concerning the conflict between Khumāynnī and Dr Shāhpūr Bakhtiyār's government (Zabih, 78).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see R.E. Huyser, Mission to Tehran, London 1986; 'Abbas Karabaghi, Hādīyik dar bān-i bānī-i İrān, Paris n.d. (Stephanie Cronin). 3. In the late Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. Although the ruling élite in the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman Empire was referred to as military ('azbeh'), it was in fact composed of both civilian and military elements. In the classical Ottoman Empire, this élite had three major branches: the 'azīm (men of the sword), the šiyr (q.v. i.e. the 'şimād') and the kalemiyye, later referred to as mülkīyye (men of the pen, bureaucrats). In their explanations based on the idea of "circle of justice", the political thinkers of the classical Ottoman state likewise underscored the importance of statesmen and men of the sword, attributing
the utmost importance to these two categories for the survival of the state (‘Alî Kinalizâde, Aḥīlak-ı ‘Alî’s, iii, Bûlak 1833, 49; Na‘îma, Ǧârîh, Istanbul 1281/1866 i, 40). Despite the existence of these distinct categories within the ruling elite, and the various special rights of the military class (e.g. the Yeniceri Aghâli and the Grand Admiral could judge certain cases between Janissaries), the army's formal role was not recognized and could provoke verdicts, see Tâsîkî ‘Abd al-Rehmand Pasha kânûnname-i, in ‘Oğlunânn kânûnname-i, in Millî Tebbîyetler Mektebî, i/3 [1915], 524-5, 536-7), the boundaries between these two branches were somewhat fluid, more than so in a modern state.

For example, many Grand Admirals later became Grand Viziers (in 1037/1628 the Yeniceri Aghâli Khusrow Pasha became Grand Vizier); local governors enjoyed decision-making authority on military matters in their domains; and duties such as law enforcement and fire fighting were generally viewed as the military's responsibility (in Istanbul, Janissaries carried out these duties). Since the military played the most important role in succession and dethronement, it is difficult to speak of a civilian administration free of military intervention in the pre-reform Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, while the power of the military fluctuated over this long period, it was always at the center of political decision-making.

Late 18th and early 19th century Ottoman attempts at modernisation and Westernisation (see Niẓâm-i Ǧerî) had two important effects on the role of the military. First, since the reforms aimed at imitating a superior Western military organisation and techniques, the Ottoman military was the first institution to be reorganised. The reforms of the early 19th century (the DJEDID had two important effects on the role of the military.

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During the pre-Tanzimat era, the military element also played a leading role in major political events, often leading to drastic changes in the political shape of the empire. Thus the military element played a very important role in the deposition of ‘Abd ul-‘Azîz in 1876. The 1908 revolution was initiated by a paramilitary committee, the Committee of Union and Progress (see İttihad ve Terâki Ǧezîyetî) and various army units in Macedonia. The 1909 constitution (see İttihad ve Ǧezîyetî) was carried out by troops led by alevîs (officers who had not attended military colleges); the military rebellion led by the Khalâşkân Ǧâfîtân (“Saviour Officers”) in Macedonia and Albania in 1912 paved the way for the forming of the first government opposing the Committee of Union and Progress Committee since 1908. Finally, the Committee regained power in January 1913 through the Sublime Porte Raid led by Enver Bey (Paşa) and other military leaders who were members of it. Although ‘Abd ul-Ḥamîd II had kept the military establishment under strict control until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, from this date onwards the military gained ground in the administration of the empire, though most of its power did not stem from legal adjustments but rather from the fact that many important figures within the Committee were officers. With the establishment of the authoritarian rule of the Committee in June 1913, the military share in the administration of the empire increased further, despite a temporary law of 11 October 1912 barring officers from participating in any political activity (Diistûr, 2nd Series, iv, 650-1). Another temporary law, issued on the same day, disqualified military personnel from voting (ibid., 651-2); because of this, Ottoman and, later, Turkish officers did not vote in elections until 1961.) A para-military intelligence service called the Special Organisation acted under the command of Enver Paşa, reporting directly to him and working almost independently of the civilian administration. Yet despite the growing military grip on the administration, and despite the fact that military law was in effect in the Ottoman capital during most of the decade from 1908 to 1918, no fully military régime was ever established in the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman military establishment led the Turkish resistance against the peace terms imposed upon the Ottoman government, and organised the armed struggle against the invasion of the Turkish heartland. Many leaders of the Anadolu ve Rûmî Muâsirî-i Ǧeîlî’s and later of the Ankara government, were...
military figures including Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) [q.v.]. The latter led the armies and the Turkish (Grand) National Assembly while he was the speaker of this assembly, controlling all three branches of power. Despite this fact, the movement never turned into a fully military regime. Following the success of the Turkish War of Independence in 1922 and the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Mustafa Kemal instituted one of the most important principles of the new regime, according to which the army should play no part in politics. A law of 29 December 1923 required all army officers to resign from active duty if they wished to run for parliament. A law of 3 March 1924, abolished the Ministry of War and established the Office of the Commander-in-Chief, attached to the Ministry of Defence. Under the command of Marshall Fevzi Çakmak [see ÇAKMAK, MUSTAFA FEVZI], who held the position from 1921 to 1944, the Turkish army remained loyal to the new republican régime, many founders of which were former military leaders, and to its principles. Even after Çakmak's retirement, the military did not show any interest in politics until the end of the single-party system in 1946. The first free elections in 1950 and the victory of army officers caused many military leaders to rethink their role in Turkish politics and to reassess the loyalty of the political leaders to the tenets of the republican régime. Increasing political tension, clashes between law enforcement personnel and college students, and the Democrat Party government's strong measures against the opposition prompted a group of officers to form a revolutionary organisation and inaugurate a coup on 27 May 1960. This coup was not staged within the chain of command, in fact, the Commander-in-Chief and many high-ranking officers who had remained loyal to the Democrat Party government were arrested and expelled from the army. In a similar fashion, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and the president, prime minister, cabinet members and leading figures of the Democrat Party were arrested and later tried by a special court. The leaders of the coup based their action on the 34th article of the Armed Forces Regulations, which charges the military with "defending and protecting the Turkish Republic and Turkish homeland". A special committee of law professors issued a document the day after the coup legitimising the revolutionary officers' action. Under the direction of General Cemal Gürsel, the Commander of the Land Forces and the highest-ranking officer to join the revolutionaries, an executive committee of thirty-six officers of various ranks, named the National Union Committee, was formed and assumed the power of issuing laws on 12 June 1960. Despite the formation of a government composed of civil and military leaders under Gürsel, the National Union Committee remained the most powerful institution in the country. On 13 November, a schism within the National Union Committee resulted in the elimination of fourteen of its members who had been promoting the idea of a prolonged military régime and more active participation in government. On 13 December, the committee issued a law for the establishment of a new government, and this would be composed of the members of the National Union Committee and of an Assembly of Representatives, members of which would be elected by various institutions, such as political parties, provincial administrations, the legal bars, and press and guild organisations. The new assembly was convened on 6 January 1961 and worked until 4 September. In the meantime, a new constitution was ratified by a referendum of 9 July. This constitution broadened individual liberties, and at the same time limited the power of the government. This was done by establishing new legal and bureaucratic bodies such as the Constitutional Court and the National Security Council, and by granting autonomy to various institutions such as the universities and the Turkish Radio administration. New elections for the Chamber of Deputies and the newly-established Senate were held on 15 October 1961, and the members of the National Union Committee became "natural" members of the Senate for life. As one of its last decisive actions, the National Union Committee discussed the death sentences pronounced by the special court against the leaders of the Democrat Party on 15 September 1961. By a vote of 13 to 9, the committee approved four death sentences out of sixteen, and three former ministers were hanged on 16 September 1961. The next day, Adnan Menderes [q.v.], former prime minister, was executed. Despite the new elections and the formation of a new civilian government, the military continued to make its power felt in political life for two more years. New revolutionary organisations within the army, attempted to dissolve the parliament even before its opening. Despite the agreement of right-wing parties on Ali Fuad Başgil as the next president, under heavy military pressure the deputies and senators elected the leader of the coup, Gürsel, to this post, and the military played a significant role in the formation of a new government under İsmet İnönü [q.v. in Suppl.]. On two occasions, 22 February 1962, and 21 May 1963, a group of officers led by Colonel Talat Aydemir attempted to stage a coup to establish a military régime. Both attempts were foiled by Prime Minister İnönü with the support of loyal forces. Following the first attempt, the leaders of the venture were only forced to retire; their second attempt led to the trial and hanging of Col. Talat Aydemir and Lt.-Col. Fethi Gürcan. Military intervention in politics gradually receded after the second coup attempt in 1963, and normal political activity resumed. But in 1971, the military was prompted to intervene by increasing left-wing political activity, and tension between the right-wing Justice Party government and civil-military bureaucratic institutions. There had been various military groups promoting the idea of the establishment of a military régime. One of these groups was also supported by renowned left-wing intellectuals, and promoted the idea of a régime of the Arab Ba'th type; it attempted a stillborn coup on 9 March 1971. Three days later, on 12 March, the military establishment presented an ultimatum to the President and the Speakers of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, accusing the Parliament and the government of not adhering to the Kemalist reforms, causing social and economic disorder and inviting anarchy. The military commanders threatened the Parliament and the government that they would take power unless a new Kemalist government was immediately established. Süleyman Demirel, the prime minister, tendered his resignation and a new non-party government was established with the approval of the military. Up to the elections held on 14 October 1973, civilian governments under military control administered Turkey and made radical changes in the constitution, limiting many of the liberties granted in 1961. During this period, the major socialist party in Turkey, the Turkish Labour Party, was dissolved, along with the National
Order Party, the major Islamist one; new state courts with extraordinary powers were established, and many left-wing and Islamist politicians and activists were tried.

Following the 1973 elections, the army returned to its barracks and normal political activity resumed until 12 September 1980. However, increasing clashes between left-wing and right-wing groups, which resulted in the killing of approximately 5,000 people between 1977 and 1980, once again prompted the military to intervene. This time, a regime under a National Security Council composed of General Kenan Evren, Commander-in-Chief; three generals in command of the Land, Air and Gendarmerie forces; and the Admiral in charge of the Navy, ruled the country. Biilend Ulusu, and a "House of Representatives" vice-president and parliament and which pruned what had been the governing party and the major political parties were dissolved, their leaders being virtually hand-picked by the National Security Council; this continued until elections were held on 6 November 1983. In the meantime, thousands of left-wing and right-wing activists were arrested and tried, and all political parties were dissolved, their leaders being arrested or sent to military bases. A provisional article (no. 4) of the new constitution banned leaders of what had been the government and the major opposition party in the legislature at the time of the coup from any political activity for ten years, and deputies and senators belonging to these parties were excluded for five years. The 1982 constitution, which created a hybrid system of government involving the president and parliament and which pruned the liberties granted by the former constitution, was put into effect through a referendum. In accordance with a provisional article of the constitution, its ratification also conferred the presidency on the leader of the coup. General Kenan Evren, and made the other members of the National Security Council members of the Presidential Council for seven years. This constitution also remodelled the National Security Council by giving a 5 to 4 majority for the military members of this ten-person body under an impartial president (Article 118).

The importance of the National Security Council function in policy-making after 1983, and especially after 1996, and its role in imposing terms on a government led by the Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan on 28 February 1997, have generally been interpreted as to mark a new period of military dominance in Turkish politics. 

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(M. ŞİRKÜ HANOĞLU)

4. **In Pakistan.**

The pre-eminence of the Pakistani military within the country's political set-up, either through direct coups or by simply controlling the economic and external policies, has led to a growing academic debate on several inter-related issues. On the one hand, one notices an unbroken continuity of the British imperial tradition, as is evident through the recruitment, training and other organisational matters, while, simultaneously, the armed forces have taken upon themselves an extra-professional role justified in the name of national interests and ideology. Within the armed forces, it is the army, and not the navy or air force, which has frequently assumed such a flagship role. To its admirers, the army is the only stable institution that can keep the pluralistic country together, whereas to its detractors, the army is in league with secret agencies and a de facto state within a state. Certainly, the army is the steel frame of the country's administration, and its leadership reflects a national-wide representation whereas the lower echelons—jawans—are mainly recruited from the Northwestern Punjab and eastern districts of the Frontier Province (NWFP).

The Pakistani armed forces have retained the regi-mental character, with the gradual addition of newer and diverse corps and training facilities. The intro-duction of aircraft, gunships, tanks, mountain regi-ments, missiles and nuclear capabilities has collectively turned the Pakistani armed forces into a complex and quite a significant establishment. For decades, Pakis-tan's top military leadership has maintained close professional contacts with its U.S. and British coun-terparts, and while benefiting from huge budgetary allocations, they have established themselves as the most important politico-economic pressure group. Pakistan has been spending most of its revenues and foreign loans on the upkeep of a half-million strong military establishment, several cantonments and bases, besides a huge recurring expense on pensions, semi-private foundations and infrastructures to look after the welfare of the serving or retired officials.

Due to Pakistan's strategic and equally difficult location with a hostile neighbour separating the erstwhile two wings, and because of disputes such as that over Kashmir, her security perceptions have always cen-tred around a "credible level and proportion of deter-rence" to an Indian threat. In the 1950s and during the 1980s, the alliances with the United States led to a major inflow of military aid, which further strengthened the defence establishment. Growing intolerant of the political processes and, especially, of the criticism from the eastern wing, the generals decided to take over the country's leadership in 1958. Earlier on, their influence on national policies had been indirect; now they directly controlled the domestic and foreign poli-cies. The first martial law led by General Ayub Khan was initially well received, but subsequently led to greater socio-ideological cleavages. A mass movement to dislodge General Khan led to the imposition of another martial law under General Yahya Khan, who promised unfettered elections in the country. However, following the split vote between East and West Pakistan in 1970, the junta refused to transfer power to the elected majority party—the Awami League—headed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and instead unleashed a massive military operation in East Pakistan. The local insur-gency, aided by India, resulted in the surrender of Pakistani troops at Dhaka in December 1971, and Bangladesh became an independent state. In the 1970s, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the elected Prime Minister, tried to reinvigorate the Pakistani military establishment, in addition to sponsoring Pakistan's nuclear programme. Despite his deep desire to rein in the generals, he was finally overthrown by General Zia-ul-Haq [see ziA AL-HAQ] in July 1977, then who ruled the country for the next eleven years. His death in an air crash led to the re-emergence of party-based politics, but the vital decisions were still being made by the Chief of Army Staff. The elected politicians Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, in their own ways, tried to minimise the armed forces' interventionism, but to no avail. On 12 October 1999, Sharif was overthrown in another military coup, which brought in General Pervez Musharraf as the new Chief of the Army. The new military rule stopped short of calling itself mar-tial law, though Musharraf elevated himself to the presidency in July 2001. The relationship with India has remained very tense, and the Western countries also initially shunned the new military regime until the United States acquired vital Pakistani support and
bases against Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organisation in Afghanistan.

Pakistan's army has not only ruled the country for almost three decades but it has also decided on vital policy matters. The development of the nuclear programme, support for specific groups in Afghanistan, the nature and extent of relationship with India, and active assistance for Kashmiris in their war against India, have all figured quite significantly in the recent past. The army has been engaged in the formulation and suspension of Pakistani constitutions, and has occasionally engaged itself in the formation and dissolution of numerous political alliances. Its various professional, political and other civilian roles make it the most crucial actor in the running of the country, whilst the security agencies such as the Military Intelligence (MI) and the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) implement such policies. The senior officials make up an elite class in which ethnic loyalties are considered unimportant. General Musharraf would like to revert to the old modernist postulation of the Ayub Khan-Yahya Khan era, i.e. away from Zia's Islamisation, but, given the conservative nature of khaki bureaucracy, the army may never undertake such radical steps. The relationship with India; the fragile nature of the country's economy, with defence accounting for a huge expenditure; the role in creating or denying political processes; and the extra-professionalism required, especially since the fall of Dhaka, are some of the main areas of debate and contestation amongst the supporters and the critics of the military elite.

The army, through its information efforts, has been able to convince many Pakistanis in the upper Indus region of its own invincibility and its professional credentials, whereas lower Pakistan remains highly critical of the military's dictatorial role.

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(Otto von M. SALIS)
1963, the Oren Ka'le excavations were abandoned also. Vol. II of the report (see Bakh) is mostly devoted to sites in the surrounding area, a project of Vol. III on work at Oren Ka'le in 1956-8 evidently never appeared. The excavation material is now in the reserves of the State Historical and Museum-Reserve of Baku.

More contentious is the site's identification with the Late Antique fortress of P'aytakaran, for the earliest remains at Oren Ka'le, as attested by a copper coin of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius (A.D. 491-518), are 6th century. But the only possible site for P'aytakaran lies close to the modern village of Taxakend some 8 km/5 miles to the south-east, where Late Antique stone column bases for a palace or temple, together with a small hoard of denarii of Augustus, were brought to light. Oren Ka'le was therefore a new foundation, connected with the Sassanian Empress Kavaddi (A.D. 488-534) and her fortifying of the Kur-Araxes steppes, though P'aytakaran continues to figure in the Armenian historians' accounts of Heraclius's campaign in the Caucasus.

Under the Umayyads, Bayjakjan was an important city of the province of Arminiya (see Bakh) and was a notorious centre of Kharidjism, which persisted there under the Fatimids. Though sacked by the Mongols late in 1221, it had recovered sufficiently by the 1260s-1270s, and, though P'aytakaran continues to figure in the Armenian historians' accounts of the Mongol invasion of 1221. Other Kashan products, notably mma'i and underglaze wares, do not seem to have been recorded.

The earlier locally manufactured glazed wares were mostly varieties of polychrome-stained splash- and drip-ware, characteristic of 'Abbasid Mesopotamia and Persia, though one fragment with a mounted huntsman was an imitation of opaque-glazed figural wares with polychrome decoration characteristic of the province of 12th-century Nishapur. In the 12th-13th centuries the pottery seems to show a change also in orientation, to the Caucasus, Anatolia and northern Syria, with many versions of polychrome-stained sgrafitto and champlêvé wares. Particularly noteworthy are champlêvé wares, one signed 'Amal Khattdb, with bold strapwork and panels of delicate scrolling arabesque, deriving from fine engraved Khurasan metalwork of ca. 1200; and a group of figural sgrafitto with animals clambering in foliage, so-called "Aghkand" wares, which are, however, known from many sites, including Dmanisi and Urbnisi in Georgia. As at Gandja, these may have been imports.

One important group of glazed wares, virtually exclusive to Bayjakjan, is red-bodied and underglaze-decorated, heavily potted but with exceptionally fine decoration scratched in a black manganese slip. They may be local versions of silicon-enriched 12th-century Kashan "frit" wares painted in black slip under a colourless or a turquoise glaze, but here their repertoire makes use of Persian verse inscriptions, comparable in choice and execution to those on pre-Mongol Kashan lustre wares, and elaborate knot patterns on grounds of fine scrolfs. Several pieces were also signed 'Amal Khattdb. Among signatures on other pottery types from Oren Ka'le, the most interesting is from an unglazed storage jar, with a cachet inscribed in a fair hand and a signature, "Amal Ibn 'Ali b. 'Azi b. 'Aziz al-Fakhkhar ("the potter"). Its phraseology is clear, if difficult to parallel, but errors in the transcription of the distich suggest that the signature, too, may contain mistakes.

Kiln furniture was abundant, including cocks, though most of the pottery recorded was fired without them. Most of the later glazed wares bore stamped designs on their bases, though, oddly, these were absent from the more highly decorated pieces and practically none of them are inscriptions. Similar stamps on wares of different groups show that the potters, like the decorator Khattdb, did not specialise; they could have been bank marks, to identify the work of a craftsman in a large workshop who was paid by the piece.

Imported wares included silicon-enriched lustre pottery (but not tiles) of most of the documented late 12th- to early 13th-century Kashan types. Some of them, however, are characteristic of the 1260s-1270s, suggesting that the site may have continued to flourish under the Il-Khanids and that the types of pottery discussed above may therefore have later terminated than the Mongol invasion of 1221. Other Kashan products, notably mma'i and underglaze wares, do not seem to have been recorded.

stamped or incised ornament, sometimes with craftsmen's signatures; jug and bowls, often with moulded decoration; and spherocoic vessels, with a characteristically yellowish-grey body and engraved, stamped or applied decoration. Of particular importance was a group of red-bodied storage vessels, perhaps nine jars from a cremation feature of beheaded animals, birds and fishes, and even crosses, recalling the impressions of cylinder-seals and, like these, applied with a cylinder. Such wares, with local peculiarities, are also known from Ani, Gandja, Dvin, Garnit and Mingećawar.
Bibliography: For mediaeval Baylakan, see Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 178; Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter, 1144, 1296-8; Eltart Baylaqan (C.E. Bosworth). For the Oren Kal’e excavations, see A.A. Yessen, Trudy Azerbaydzanskoi Orenkaliinskoi ekspeditsii 1, 1953-55, gg.; Materiali i issledovaniya po arkeologii, SSSR, 67; Moscow-Leningrad 1959; N. Nadzofova, Khudzestannaya keramika Azerbaydzana, Baku 1964; Yessen and K.Kh. Kuhganev, Trudy . . . II. 1956-60; (Materiali . . ., 125); Moscow-Leningrad 1965; Yessen, Srednevekovoye pamyatniki Azerbaydzana (Materiali . . ., 133); Moscow 1965.

J.M. Rogers

ÖZAL, Turgut, modern Turkish statesman (1927-93). He was born in 1927 in the province of Malatya in south-eastern Turkey. After graduating as an electrical engineer in 1950, he served in a number of important technical and economic posts between 1967 and 1980, initiating a programme of liberalising economic reforms in January 1980. Following the coup d’état led by General Kenan Evren on 12 September of that year, Ozal continued these policies when confessional allegiances crystallised, fundamentally altering the political landscape of the country.

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Thus became Prime Minister in the following month, increasing his party’s majority in the next elections, held in November 1987. As premier, his main achievement was to free the economy from government constraints, producing high economic growth and an impressive increase in foreign trade; his main failures were the continuation of high inflation, and increasing allegations of corruption and impunity in his government during the late 1980s. When General Evren retired from the presidency in October 1989, Ozal was elected to succeed him; however, his party lost its parliamentary majority in the general elections of October 1991, thus reducing his real political power. As President, Ozal played a major role in foreign policy determination, controversially directing Turkey’s support for the coalition powers in the Gulf crisis of 1990-1. His sudden death from a heart attack in April 1993 removed a towering figure in Turkish politics, distinguished by his attachment to economic and political liberalism, as well as the integration of moderate Islam into the country’s political life.


PIRPANTHI [see AFGHAN, ii].

PASHTO [see AFGHAN, ii].

PIRPANTHI [from Pers. pīr + pān th “way of the spiritual master”), the name given in what is now Western India and in Pakistan to Hindus who follow Muslim pīrs, whether living or dead, these being generally Sufis or Isma’īlīs. To be precise, the term Pirpanthi is applied more strictly to two specific groups: (1) the disciples of Imam Shāh [gaz.], a dissident Isma’īlī who was one of the sons of the Imam pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, whose tomb is situated near Ahmadābād [gaz.] in Gujarat; and (2) more rarely, to the Hindu disciples of Śīf masters, Muslims or occasionally Hindus, originating from Sindh, Panjāb or Rājasthān, such as Ramdēv Pir (or Ramā Pir), Pithoro Pir, Paḷho Pir, etc., with whom we are not concerned here.

The existence of the Pirpanths attests the importance of interpenetration of Islam and Hinduism in this part of the subcontinent. Rather than speaking of a syncretism, it would be more sensible to speak of a charismatic consensus at which these sects arrived. Sprung from the Mathā Kabi caste of agricultural labourers, the Pirpanths were also known by the name of Mōmnaṭs (or Mōmnas). Established within Gujarāt [gaz.] proper, but spilling out into Khāndesh and Kaṅṭh [gaz.], they are divided into several sub-sects according to whether they venerate Imām Shāh himself or one of his descendants or representatives. In the period from the late 19th century onwards, when confessional allegiances crystallised, fundamentalist Hindu organisations like the Ayā Samāṭi convinced a great number of them to revert to “orthodox” Hinduism. They generally assumed the name of Pāṭel, and continued to venerate Imām Shāh, whom they considered as the guru who spoke in the name of the tenth avatar of Viṣṇu, Nikānṭi.


PRESTER JOHN, the name of a mysterious potentate, said to be a Nestorian Christian and inimical to Islam, whom the Christians of medieval Europe placed beyond the Islamic lands in Inner or Far Asia.

The name Presbyter Johannes first occurs in the chronicle, called Historia de duabus castellibus, of the German prelate Otto, Bishop of Freising, in which he describes, on the authority of a letter in 1145 with the Latin Bishop Hugh of Dijāhala (= ancient Byblos, in Lebanon), how Prester John was a monarch, of the lineage of the Magi of the Gospels, living in the Far East (in extremo oriente) beyond Persia and Armenia. He had attacked the Samāṣāt brothers, kings of the Persians and Medes, had defeated them and had advanced to the Tigris in the hope of aiding the Church in Jerusalem, but had then been forced to
turn back. The passage seems almost certainly to con-
tain an allusion to the defeat of the Salduk sultan
Sandjar (q.v.) (= the kings Samiariatos/Saniariatos, here
made plural) and his Karakhanid allies by the Western
Liao, known to the Muslims as the Kara Khitaş (q.v.)
at the battle of the Katwân Steppes in Transoxania
in 536/1141 (the remainder of Otto’s story about
Prester John’s advance across Persia into Mesopotamia
being unhistorical).
However, this does not necessarily mean that the
later, elaborate stories of Prester John, which con-
tained connections with the Indian Ocean coastlands
and, above all, with Ethiopia, all had their origins in
this battle. It is not impossible that stories of Prester
John were known before the news of Sandjar’s defeat
percolated through to the Crusader principalities in
the Levant, providing a convenient peg on which to
hang the stories. In the opinion of the late Prof. C.F.
Beckingham, such stories were probably connected
with the legend of the shrine of St. Thomas in South
Asia and Tön mint as its centre piece a magical “mount of bless-
ing” that conveys some of the sultan’s mystical power.
Attitudes toward the practice of fasting are influ-
enced by Javanese ascetic practices that are followed
for a variety of reasons year round. As a result of
this, children as young as four years old start to prac-
tice abstinence for Ramadan. In general, the fast is
broken in restrained manner with many Muslims lim-
iting their first meal to a small snack and a glass of
sweet juice.
Although Ramadân is a time of promoting unity
among Muslims, differences between Reformist and
Traditionalist Muslims are played out with fervour.
This starts with the issue of identifying when the fast
begins and ends, and is visible during Ramadân in
different practices concerning the tarawîh prayers and
the ‘Id al-Fitr gatherings.
Celebrations for the ‘Id last up to one month, and
serve to renew harmony and unity. People travel all
over the country (madâkî) in order to visit relatives and
to ask forgiveness for wrongs committed during the
past year. Neighbourhoods, businesses and schools
organise special halal bi ‘l-halal parties.

Bibliography: There are innumerable numbers
of books about puasa in the Indonesian language.
Many leading preachers and scholars of Islam have
published their Ramadân sermons and reflections,
such as Humka, Puasa tarawîh dan Iftâl Fitr, Jakarta
1995; M. Ouraish Shihab, Satar bersama, Bandung
1997. (Nelly van Doorn-Harder)
Radjā' was further famed for his piety and knowledge of the religious sciences, and was high in the councils of 'Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walid I, accompanying the latter on his Pilgrimage of 90/709 or 91/710, when he came into the caliph's cousin 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz, governor of Medina, a relationship to be of significance later.

During the short caliphate of Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik (96-971/715-17), some sources make him head of Sulayman's diwan al-khatam or chancellor. He clearly lent his religious backing to the caliphs, and his role thus marks a stage in the acceptance of marākūl in the sphere of legal and religious authority hitherto jealously guarded by the Abbasid family. Yet a temporary re-routing of the succession was now evident to the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik's brother 'Abd al-Aziz (in fact, it had been the wish of the founder of the Marwanid line, Marwan I b. 'Abd al-Malik, and secured adhesion to this arrangement in the caliphate).

What happened when Sulayman was on his deathbed at Dabik, north of Aleppo, is related in the History of al-Tabarī (xxiv, The empire in transition, Albany 1989 [with an isndāl going back to 'Abd al-Aziz], and a slightly longer one in Ibn Sa'd, ed. Zakkar, Damascus 1966, ii, 773-802; Ibn Kutayba, ed. Schulz, Berlin 1966, ii, 770-792; Ibn Khallikan, ed. Abūsūr, Beirut 1979, ii, 526-7). For a full list of the sources mentioning him, see Gottschalk, 329-31. According to Eissener, 222 n. 290, in the Indian Union. It is bounded by the Pakistan provinces of Sind and Punjab on the west and northwest, and by the Indian states of Pandjāb, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh on the east, southeast and south, and Gujrat on the south. As an area of 342,567 sq. miles, it is the second largest state in the Indian Union (after Madhya Pradesh), but because of its climate and habitat, has a less dense population than any other state. The population (1986 estimate) was 37,000,000. The state capital is at Jaipur, formerly the centre of a princely state [see प्रजापुर], and the state is divided into 26 Districts.

1. Geography and habitat.

The topography of Radjāstān is dominated by the range of Aravalli Hills, which run in a transverse fashion across the state from northeast to southwest, culminating in Mount Abu (1,722 m/5,650 feet) at the southwestern end and ending just over the border of Gujrat State. The three-fifths of the state lying to the northwest are largely sandy, with the Great Indian or Thar Desert in the far west but with more fertile and habitable lands as one goes eastwards. The two-fifths lying to the southeast of the Aravalli Hills are diversified in character and more fertile, with the Districts of Kota and Bundi forming a tableland. In the south is the hilly tract of Mewār [q.v., centred on Udaipur [see उदयपुर]]. On the state's northeastern edge, the plains around Bharatpur form part of the Jumna/Yamuna basin. The only large perennial river is the Chambal, which flows northeastwards into the Jumna.

Radjāstān is predominantly an agricultural and pastoralist state. Despite a low and erratic rainfall, with a subsequent need for irrigation, nearly all types of crops are grown, including various cereals, rice and vegetables. Despite the arid or semi-arid nature of more than half the state's area, there is a large livestock population in comparison with the rest of India, including camels and draught animals, and Radjāstān is the largest producer of wool in the Union.

2. Ethnology.

There are aboriginal tribes in various parts of the state, especially to the east and southeast of the Aravalī Hills, including Bhils, and various tribes of Radjāput stock, such as the Meōs [q.v., a part of whom was nominally converted to Islam in the 8th/9th century]. Radjāputs form the most significant element in Radjāstān's polity, and have around Bharatpur formed part of the Jumna/Yamuna basin. The only large perennial river is the Chambal, which flows northeastwards into the Jumna.
was a Pathān chief, and the Dījāt [q.v.] states of Dholpur and Bharatpur in the northeast. The Rādjāpūṭ claim to be the descendants of the Kshatriyas of Vedic times, and take great pride in their ancestry and their warlike traditions (Sk. rājagṛha = "king's son"). But such claims are based on fictitious genealogies, and the Rāḍḍeļ must be considered ethnically, as there is little evidence that the gotra of Kshatriyas of Vedic times and the gotra of the Rāḍḍeļ have ever been distinct ethnically, except in some Tāmils.

The Rajputs claim to be the descendents of the Kshatriyas by modern Hindi.


3. Languages and literature.

The dialects of Rāḍḍeļ belong to the Western Hindi group of New Indo-Aryan, with the Aravalli Hills marking the main internal divide between the north-western and the south-eastern dialects. Predictably closer in many respects to Brajī (and to standard Hindi), the south-eastern dialects are Dījāpūṛī (Dhūndhāṛī) and its southern neighbours Mēvarī and Hāravī, in turn flanked to the east by Mēvāṛī and to the south by Māwī. Possibly also reflected in the Romani of the European gypsies, earlier migrations from this region are certainly responsible for the close resemblances between south-eastern Rāḍḍeļ and the speech of several nomadic groups, including Lāmmāṇī in central India and the Godgīr (Gudjāṛī) spoken by the Muslim Gudjāṛ herders of Kāzmīr and the adjacent areas of northern Pākistān. The Māwāṛī dialects spoken in the desert areas of north-western Rāḍḍeļ are collectively distinguished by such features as the distinction of implosives from explosives in the voiced series d d b or the retention of an organic passive in -īḍ, both with close parallels in Sindhi [q.v.] and Sīrāṣkī [see Lāmmāṇā], as well as individual shibboleths like the possessive marker rū.

Following a period of several centuries during which Old Gudjāṛī (confusingly termed "Old Western Rāḍḍeļ" by Tātisorī) was the common literary language of both Gudjāṛī and Rāḍḍeļ, Old Māwāṛī emerged as an independent literary language around the middle of the 15th century, when it is attested in the semi-popular poetic treatments of romantic themes found in the Vīsaladāvārāṇā and the Dholā-Loṭā ṛā ḍāḥā. In the hands of the Chāraṇa, the hereditary bards of the ruling Rāḍḍeļ [q.v.], Old Māwāṛī was developed as a specialised literary medium for heroic poetry with the incorporation of numerous Sanskritisms and special poetic forms. This bardic language is known as Dingal, as opposed to "Pingal", the literary Brajīhāṛī cultivated for other types of poetry in the period down until the later 19th century when both were replaced as literary standards by modern Hindi.

In its celebration of the chivalric ideals of the Rāḍḍeļ and of their resistance to the Muslims, the heroic literature of Rāḍḍeļ is of great cultural importance. It finds its first classic statement in the Old Gudjāṛī Kānθādāḍ-e-prabandha (1456) by Padmaṇāḥ, which celebrates the victories achieved over the Dīhī Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Khāḷfī [q.v.] and his generals by Kānθādāḍ-e, the Rāḍḍeļ ruler of Dījālūr, until his final defeat (dated ca. 1312) is followed by his queens performing collective ritual self-immolations (vadhāṇā). In addition to panegyrics and elegies (maṇḍī), Dingal literature includes many similar treatments of such historical episodes, beginning with the mixed prose-verse Aḥāl Kāṭhā ṛā vadhāṇā based on the resistance mounted by its eponymous Rāḍḍeļ hero to the invasion in 1423 of Sultan Hūṣhācg Hūṣīrī of Māṇḍū [q.v.]. For stylistic as well as linguistic reasons, however, Dingal literature has attracted less interest from modern scholars than the more approachable prose chronicles of the Rāḍḍeļ states dating from the early 17th century which were written in Middle Māwāṛī, and whose most celebrated exemplar is the Rāḍẖī by Naynāsī, minister to Djaswānt Sing of Māwāṛī (d. 1670).


4. History.

Archaeological researches in western Rāḍḍeļ show that people were living there in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. who were close to the Harappan and post-Harappan cultures of the Indus valley. Late rulers of the whole or parts of the state included the Bactrian Greeks, Sakas, Gupṭas, and White Huns, until from the 7th century A.D. onwards, various Rāḍḍeļ dynasties arose, including the Gudjāṛa-Prathāhrās, who fended off the Arab colonists in Sind; but for the most part, these Rāḍḍeļ princely lines were involved in internecine warfare, which was to facilitate Muslim probes into the region. The last of the Cāṭhāmāṇa or Cāwāḥān line, Pritihvīrāja III, was defeated and killed by the Gūhrīd sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [q.v.] in the second battle of Tarāshīn in 988/1192. The capital Ajmer [q.v.] was briefly restored by the Gūhrīd to Pritihvīrāja's young son after the latter had accepted the Sultan's suzerainty over his lands. Only the strategic fortress of Raṅthambhor in eastern Rāḍḍeļ was occupied permanently, with a garrison under Kiwām al-Mulk
Rukn al-Din Hamza. In 591/1195 the Rādjūṭāns rebelled against Muslim control under the leadership of the chief Harirādja and Dījārādīn who occupied Adjmer [q.v.]; threatened Ranthambhor and fomented dissension in the region towards Dīhlī, where Kutb al-Dīn Aybak [q.v.], resided as Mu'izz al-Dīn's viceregent. Aybak restored the situation and regained Adjmer.

Nāgar [q.v.] in the region of Dījōdpūr [q.v.] seems to have been occupied at this time. Thangar, capital of the territory of Bāyanā in this eastern part, was besieged and captured by Mu'izz al-Dīn in 592/1196 and then entrusted to Malik Bāhā al-Dīn Toghril, who later transferred his capital to a newly-founded town, Sulṭān Kōt, that later became known, from the name of the province, as Bāyanā. Thus with the exception of the chief of Dījār to western Rādjāsthan, most of the region had been nominally at least subdued. In the last years of the 6th/12th century, Khuẖādīja Mu'īn al-Dīn Hasan Siḏjī, [d. 633/1236 [see ĠISHTI]], founder of what was to become one of the most influential Sūfl ordain India, the Ġiṣṭiyā [q.v.], came to reside at the Calhāmānī capital Adjmer, and his heirs were to become one of the most celebrated rulers, for both Muslims and Hindus, in the subcontinent. His disciple Shakhī Hamīd al-Dīn Suvālī Nāgarwādī [d. 679/1279] was sent by Mu'īn al-Dīn to Nāgarwādī, which likewise became an important Ġiṣṭī centre.

The relaxation of power in the Dīhlī Sultanate [q.v.] on the death in 633/1236 of Ġutmūhsī [q.v.] gave an opportunity for the Rādjūṭ princes to reassert their power. A revolt in eastern Rādjāsthan forced his daughter Sultan Rādjiyyā [q.v.] to withdraw the Muslim garrison from Ranthambhor, and except for the districts around Adjmer and Nāgarwādī, the whole region reverted to Rādjūṭ rule, allowing powerful lords like those of Ranthambhor and Cītur to come to existence; for the rest of the century no Muslim ruler was able to contemplate a reconquest. This only came in the reign of 'Alī al-Dīn Muhammad Khāḷdāji (695-715/1296-1316), who aimed to secure at least eastern Rādjāsthan in order to open a line of communication towards Māwā and Gudjarāt, which he coveted. An army was sent in 700/1301 to besiege the powerful and prestigious ruler of Ranthambhor, Rāṭā Hammīrī Dēva, a descendant of Prīthvīvādīağī. This attempt failed ignominiously, and only after the Sultan had to come from Dīhlī in person with re-inforcements did Ranthambhor fall after a year's struggle. It was then placed under the general Uḥūgh Kōhān, and in 701/1302 the Sultan invested the fortress of Cītur, then ruled by another noted prince, Ramāsinīmān of the Gubhāla clan of Māwā and the grandson of Dījārādīn, and captured it in the next year, annexing the territory of Cītur to the Dīhlī Sultanate and placing it under the governorship of the crown prince, Khōjīr Kōhān. Thereafter, the chiefs of smaller principalities either submitted or were overthrown by military force. Thus in 711/1311 the commander Malik Kāmāl al-Dīn Gūrg defeated Rāṭā Kāraṇ Ďēva and seized his principality of Dījālōr, and after this, lesser chiefs in Dījālōr, Ġiṣṭī, etc. likewise submitted and acknowledged Khuẖādīja's suzerainty.

Thus towards the end of the 14th century, Rādjāsthan was controlled by the Dīhlī Sultanate and their governors from such centres as Adjmēr, Ranthambhor, Nāgarwādī and Dījālōr. However, the invasion of northern India and sack of Dīhlī by Tīmjūr [q.v.] in 801/1398 eventually led to the end of the Tughrēlkī Sultanate and heralded a period of weakness for the Sultanate, with various Muslim powers arising in the province.

It was also the opportunity for a re-assertion of power by the Rādjūṭ princes, with the Rānā of Cītur organizing a confederacy of chiefs and with the Rādjūṭ of Mēwār driving the Muslims from Adjmēr, held by them till 859/1455, when the latter's power was recaptured, with the rulers of Mēwār now holding it for almost eighty years. It was also an opportunity for Sultan Muzaffar Šah [I] of Gudjarāt [q.v.], now independent of Dīhlī, to send his younger brother Šams al-Dīn Kōhān Dandānī against Nāgarwādī, at which his descendants established a local dynasty that endured till Dāwlat Kōhān Nāgarwādī was killed ca. 932/1525-6 by Rāṭā Māldevā of Dījōdpūr. Dījālōr was ruled by a Nūhīān Aghānī chief and his descendants until it was conquered by Māldevā after 932/1525, but the latter's power was then overthrown by the Dīhlī Sultan Šīr Šāh Sūr [r. 947-52/1540-5 [q.v.]], who also attacked the Rānā of Dījōdpūr in his principality of Mārwar in 949/1542-3. Previous to this, Mēwār had been built up into one of the most powerful principalities of northern India under its energetic ruler Rānā Sangrām Šingh or Sāngā (r. 1509-28), who led successful campaigns against the Sultans of Māwā and Gudjarāt. He went on to acquire imperial ambitions, defeating the Dīhlī Sultan Iltutmīsh Lōḍī [see Lōḍī] in 929/1525 and made overtures to the Mughal adventurer Bābūr [q.v.] for a concerted attack on the Lōḍīs. He soon realised, however, that Bābūr would be a powerful rival for power and turned against him; but in 932/1527 Bābūr secured a decisive victory over Sāngā at Khānāuḍā. This was a turning point in the history of northern India, for after this the Rādjūṭ princes remained essentially on the defensive in their territories against the rising power of the Sūrs and then the Mughals.

Šīr Šāh Šīrūn'ī, the biographer 'Abbās Sarwānī mentions the territories acquired by him in Rādjāsthan as the mukāli Nāgarwādī u Adjmēr u Dījōdpūr, and he also speaks of the desert regions of the west as the zamān-i rīgasīn. Šīr Šāh now divided the whole region into extensive sālıns [q.v. in Suppl.], each under a fāṣlādīr with his commander Šhawās Kōhān as amin or overall governor. The emperor Akbar's policy in Rādjāsthan was based on conquest and assimilation. The captures of Cītur and Ranthambhor made him master of the greater part of the region, with the exception of Mēwār, not completely subdued until Dījhāṅgūrī's reign, when Rānā Āmār Singh submitted at Uḍavīlīr in 1023/1614. The emperor took Rādjūṭī wives, and both his son Dījhāṅgūrī and the latter's son Šīr Šīh Dīkahān were born of Rādjūṭī mothers. Rādjūṭī troops, typically dismounting from their small horses to fight, formed contingents in the Mughal army under Akbar. Rādjūṭī was organised into the sībā [q.v.] of Adjmēr under a sāhīdār [q.v.], with seven component sālıns: Adjmēr, Cītur, Ranthambhor, Sīrohi, Nāgarwādī, Dījōdpūr and Bīkānēr. The districts of Ālwar and Bharatpūr, which are now within modern Rādjāsthan State, were included in the sībā of Agra.

The reversing of Akbar's conciliatory policies under Awrangzīb [q.v.] left the emperor faced with such powerful enemies as the Rādjūṭīs in northern India and the Mārāṭhās [q.v.] in the northwestern Deccan. The new policy of Akbar, which affected the emperor's relationship with the Rādjūṭī nobility, who formed a highly influential element in the Mughal state apparatus; the highest-ranked noble in the empire was Mirzā Rādja Dīsīn Kaẖwāhā of Dījāpur, and in 1090/1679 all Rādjūṭīs in the state service were excused the newly-imposed dfizya, though the mass of Rādjūṭī subjects were not. Nevertheless, the
role of the Radjāput nobles now began to be curtailed by what seems to have been a deliberate policy on Awrangzib’s part. His attempt to interfere in the succession to the throne in Mārvār and to impose a Radjāput candidate of his choice there led to a major Radjāput revolt in 1695-97/1677-80 at Mārvār and the Marāthār. Since the Radjāputs had no field artillery, the Mughal army suppressed this, and occupied Udāypūr, but guerrilla warfare against the Mughals continued for a generation in the hills.

Bharatpur was taken over by a Dījāt chief on Awrangzib’s death and the Radjāputs were able to retake Ağmēr in 1133/1721; but internal dissensions prevented the Radjāputs from making headway against the Marāthās, within whose confederation they now came. Ağmēr was captured in 1169/1756; the power of the Radjāput chiefs reduced to a low ebb, and the land suffered from Pindārī and Pālān plundering and oppressive levies. It may be noted that it is in the 18th century that the term Radjāputāna is found, so that a historian like Khāfī Khān uses the expressions mulk-i Radjāputān and also Radjāputyar; it was essentially under British paramountcy in the 19th century that the designation Radjāputāna became usual.

With the defeat of the Marāthās by British forces in 1817-18, before the end of 1818, the group of princely states of Alwar and Bharatpur. When the British Indian province. The chief commissioner of the Marathas, within whose confederation they now in 1956 set up a Boundary Commission for the re-


RĀFI AL-DARADJĀT b. Rāfī al-Sha’ān b. Shāh ‘Alam I, Shams al-Dīn, great-grandson of the great Mughal emperor Awrangzīb [q.v.] and one of the ephemeral emperors in the last decades of independent Mughal rule, reigning for some four months in the spring of 1131/1719.

Rāfī al-Daradjāt’s death in 1118/1707, the main power in the empire was that of the Bāhrā Sayyids [q.v. in Suppl.], who in 1124/1712 raised to the throne Farrukh-siyar b. ‘Azm al-Sha’ān Muhammad ‘Azm [q.v.] but deposed him in Rāfī I 1119/1719 and substituted for him Rāfī al-Daradjāt; but in June, the latter died of tuberculous, to be succeeded by yet another puppet of the Bāhrā Sayyids, Shāh Dāḥīn b. Rāfī al-Sha’ān.


AL-ROME, MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD ABD BAKR IBN AL-NABULUSI, a traditionist originally from Nābulsī [q.v.], who was the ša’il of Ramla and who used often to make retreat with his disciples in the Aukwāh Baniyās (“the huts of Baniyās”) at the foot of Mount Hermon in the Syrian Djawālān.

He publicly opposed the Fātimid occupation of Syria. Taken from Damascus and sent in a cage to Egypt, on the orders of the caliph al-Mu’izz [q.v.] he was flayed alive in 363/973 at the Manẓār, the belvedere on the road connecting Fustāṭ with Cairo (the relevant Arabic texts and details of his biography in Th. Bianquis, Ibn al-Nabulusī, un martyr sunnite au service des Fatimides, in Actes du XXIe Congrès international des orientalistes, Paris 1975, i, 39-47).

He exercised a more important influence on the historians of Damascus and Baghdād who tended towards the ahī al-khâti than on those of Aṣghārī-
RAMY AL-DÎJMÂR (a.), literally, "the throwing of pebbles", a practice which probably goes back to early Arabia and whose most celebrated survival is in the ritual throwing of stones in the valley of Minâ by the pilgrims returning from 'Arafât in the course of the Meccan Pilgrimage [see al-gidák; mágâ; mígâ]. This practice, however, cannot be said to have had any divinatory significance, but among suggestions regarding its origins is the one that it could have been a gesture of solidarity with a dead person, on whose tomb stones are placed. See the discussion in T. Fahd, La divination arabe, Leiden 1966, 188 ff.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

RA'Y (a.), a verbal noun of ra'd, the common Arabic verb for seeing with the eye, has among its various closely related meanings that of opinion (i.e. a seeing of the heart) on questions of Islamic law not within the literal scope of the revealed texts (mas). Of the Kur'ân and hadith. Although sometimes used for an opinion on a specific question of law (for which hadîth is most common), ra'y is more often used for the body of such opinions held by a particular jurist (i.e. the ra'y of Abû Hamîl) and for the reasoning used to derive such opinions. It is also found in the sense of a seeing of the heart, the rite does not seem to have had any such legal reasoning. Discrimination among these and other possible meanings of the term is not always easy (cf. Ch. Pellat, Ibn al-Waghaâ (mort vers 1470/75), "conseilleur du califé, Paris 1976, 82) and ra'y never achieved the status of a fully technical legal term. Although the legal usage of ra'y is the most important historically, ra'y was also used for adherence to a body of theological doctrine (i.e. ra'y al-Dâmâsâi'â), and its narrowest recorded sense appears to be that of adherence to the doctrine of the Khârijîs (on the use of ra'y for the holding of specific theological dogmas, such as freewill, see al-Shâri'î al-Murtânî, al-Qârî 'Ît 'usîr al-Qârî 'Îtî, ed. Abu 'l-Kâsim Gardji, Tehran 1376/1956, ii, 673, where, however, the examples are all of the verb ra'â and the context is polemical). In all of the above senses, the singular ra'y is far more common than the plural ârâ'. As a process of deriving law ra'y does not constitute any single method for reaching but is one of the tools of such methods as kiyâs, isti'âdâh, and istiqlâl [q.v.], severally or together, although its use specifically in relation to kiyâs is the most frequent (e.g. yakitsâna bi ra'yi'îm). Consequently, identifying the precise forms of reasoning labelled as ra'î by one or another early jurist or school of jurists requires specific examination of their legal arguments (J. Schacht, The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence, Oxford 1950, 98-132, 269-328, still of fundamental importance). Insofar as ra'y does not include the process of authenticating hadîth or interpreting texts, it constitutes only part of the scope of istiqlâl [q.v.] as generally understood, although the expression istiqlâh al-ra'î (the exercise of ra'y) figures prominently in the hadîth (e.g. the hadîth of Mu'âdh b. Dâhal, on which see al-Muhârâkî, Tahfât al-âwâdâth, Beirut 1422/2001, iv, 637-9) and in the polemics concerning ra'î.

There is general agreement among both Sunni and Shi'ites writers that there was some recourse to ra'î on the part of certain Companions (yâhêba [q.v.] of the Prophet, methods as kiyâs, isti'âdîh, and istiqlâl [q.v.], the part of certain Successors (tâbi'în) (i.e. 'Abî al-Barr, Dâmu' bașyn al-'îm was-fâtîhî, ed. al-Zuhayrî, al-Dammâm 1414/1994, ii, 858-9). This early ra'î was accorded some measure of authority, at least by the mainstream of Muslims, and...
A critical development in the history of Islamic law occurred during the late Umayyad and early ‘Abbasid periods with a dramatic growth in the scope and intensity of ra'y (cf. Ibn Taymiyya, Magāраст al-ṣafwāt, ed. al-Djazzār and al-Bāz, al-Riyadh 1419/1998, xx, 175 which names Rā‘īt ‘alā wa-Ibn Humrūz (so read) in Medina, ‘Uthmān b. Ṭabī‘ (so read) in Baṣra, and Abū Ḥanīfā as the leading figures at the beginning of the ‘Abbasid dynasty, cf. I. Goldzihēr, Muslim studies, tr. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, London 1971, 78-85 [on foreign influence], 201-2). The proponents of this new version of ra'y became known as the ahl al-ra'y (q.v.). The ahl al-ra'y were met with opposition from a number of the quarters: the scholars of the tradition (the ahl al-hadith, Ibn Katayba, K. Muhājīf al-hadithi, Cairo 1326, 62-71; ‘Alī Wālī Allāh al-Dīhlawī, Ḥudūqāt Allāh al-balīgha, ed. Damiriyā, al-Riyadh 1420/1999, i, 453-62 [explaining the dispute],) certain Muʿtazilī theologians, and large segments of the Shī‘ī community. Although opposition to ra'y in these various groups was in its origin based on different considerations, anti-ra'y arguments developed by one group could come to be adopted by the others (Ibn Maṣyūm, al-Darājdīt al-rāʃīf, Naṣīḥāf 1382/1962, 26). The Muʿtazilī opponents of ra'y were particularly influential in propagating a epistemologically sophisticated anti-ra'y position that came to influence the opposition among the traditionalists and Shi‘īs.

The opposition to ra'ī from among the traditionalists is extensively preserved in hadith collections, above all that of al-Dārīmī (d. 255/868), the writings of Ibn Saʿūd (d. 603/1207), his son ʿAbd al-Azīz (d. 636/1238), and others with the ahl al-hadith. The ahl al-ra'y were regarded by their traditionist opponents as undermining the authority of the sunna as having supported their cause with arguments that the traditionists had dedicated their efforts to render the law balanced by traditions were able to make some inroads among the ahl al-ra'y and ahl al-hadith could not always be clearly drawn. Many writers, for example, include Mālik with the ahl al-hadhith, others with the ahl al-ra'y (Ibn Katayba, al-Mawāredd, ed. Bashshār al-Umrāni, Beirut 1394/1973), and Abu Ḥanīfā and the ahl al-ra'y as having supported their position that came to influence the opposition among the ahl al-hadith. The ahl al-ra'y were able to gain substantial successes in their competition with the ahl al-hadith and to attract talented students of hadith to their camp (Ibn Saʿūd, vi, 270: Zuhār b. al-Hudhayl). In such cases the sources speak of ra'y gaining mastery of the individual, and his eventual identification with ra'y. The most obvious examples of such an identification are the Medinan Rā‘īt ‘alā Ibn Farīrīkh (d. 136/753), known as Rā‘īt ‘al-Ra'y, and the Banū Ḥarām followers of al-Yaḥyā (d. 245/859), known as al-Hālī al-Ra'y. Often, however, ra'y was adopted but not in its most aggressive form, and the line dividing the ahl al-ra'y and ahl al-hadith could not always be clearly drawn. Many writers, for example, include Mālik with the ahl al-hadhith, others with the ahl al-ra'y (Ibn Katayba, al-Mawāredd, ed. Bashshār al-Umrāni, Beirut 1422/2001, xv, 543-86). The many instances in which Abū Ḥanīfā was regarded as having adopted the sunna were collected (see Ibn Abī Shāyba, al-Khāṭīb al-Musannaf, Bombay 1403/1983, xiv, 149-262). Even Abū Ḥanīfā himself, however, did not lack entirely for admirers among the ahl al-hadith, and one of these, 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797 [q.v.]), approved of ra'y for the purpose of interpreting hadith.

Al-Shā‘ī was regarded by some leading representatives of the ahl al-hadith as having supported their cause with arguments that the ahl al-ra'y could not
dismiss, and Ahmad b. Hanbal not only encouraged traditionists to study al-Shāfi‘ī’s al-Risāla ( Ibn Abī Hātim, 61-3) but himself made a careful study of al-Shāfi‘ī’s legal works and was thus exposed to a moderate version of ra‘y. The very development of the discipline of legal theory (wā’il al-fikr [q.v.]) ushered in by Ibn Hazm on the part of al-Shafist legal scholars points to the epistemological foundations of the various methods of legal reasoning falling within ra‘y and to a revaluation of ra‘y in all its forms. The question was now raised, for example, of whether the Prophet himself had ever had recourse to ra‘y, albeit infallibly, as suggested in the hadith (Abū Dāwūd, al-Sunnah, ed. al-Kūhālī, Beirut 1416/1996, ii, 509; cf. Kurān, IV, 105: bi-‘ma arāna Allāh, a question to which al-Shafistī was unable to give a definitive answer, cf. al-Baysāri, Manzūf al-Sunnah wa Tafsīr, ed. Ahmad Šafrī, Cairo, n.d., i, 7-8).

al-Shafistī himself favoured the limitation of ra‘y to kiyās to the exclusion of istihsān (Schacht, Origins, 120-8), and others in his wake reconciled the traditions for and against ra‘y by identifying the ra‘y that was acceptable with ra‘y that was grounded in the revealed texts, that is, kiyās. Nonetheless the Hanafis and Mālikis continued to support a broader notion of ra‘y and interpret the concept of ra‘y in the hadith to refer to ra‘y in the sense of theological heresy ( Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Dā‘īr bi-man fā‘l, ii, 1052-4) or to offer accounts of istihsān, for example, that brought it within the scope of kiyās.

More radical forms of legal theory emerged, however, which imposed a standard of certainty for Islamic law in all its elements. Among the proponents of this elevated standard was the Baṣrī Muṣṭafā al-Nazzām (d. 220/835 and 230/845 [q.v.]) whose attack on probable reasoning in all forms including kiyās did not spare the Companions who resorted to ra‘y (van Ess, Das Ketūb an-Nāk al-Nazzām und seine Rezeption im Kettūb al-Futūh des Gāzī, Göttingen 1972). Among the Baghdādī Muṣṭafāzīs who took a similar position was Dja‘īr b. al-Mubāshshīr (d. 234/848-9), who unlike al-Nazzām sought to justify recourse to ra‘y on the part of the Companions by way of compromise of a dispute or theoretical inquiry without practical consequences (‘Abd al-Dāhāb, al-Hamadhānī, al-Maghīrī, ed. Amīn al-Kīhlī, Cairo 1962, xvii, 298).

The Zahirī school of law, inaugurated by Dāwūd b. ‘Alī al-Iṣlāhī (d. 270/883 [see Dāwūd b. Kha‘lāf]) came from the ranks of the al-hadith, and Dāwūd, like Ahmad b. Hanbal, was a fervent admirer of al-Shafistī (I. Goldziher, Tha Zāhirī, tr. W. B. Hen, Leiden 1971). Dāwūd’s son Muhammad (d. 297/910) impelled the Zahirīs in a more independent direction and was unimpressed in his critique of al-Shafistī (D. Stewart, Muhammad b. Dā‘ī al-Zāhirī’s manual of jurisprudence, al-Wusūl ilā ma‘rifat al-‘usūl, in B.G. Weiss, Studies in Islamic legal theory, Leiden 2002, 129-30). Each in somewhat different fashion propounded a version of Islamic law that excluded all forms of probable reasoning and both were in a position to draw upon their Muṭāzilī contemporaries (cf. al-Sarāḥšī, Usūl al-fikr, ed. Abu ‘l-Waṣīf al-‘Aghānī, Cairo 1937, ii, 119). In the apparent absence of surviving writings by these early Zahirīs, it is the extensive works of the Andalūsī Zahirī Ibn Hazm that lent light on the Zahirī contribu-

tion to the anti-ra‘y movement and exhibit the lingering influence of the Muṭāzilī theorists. According to Ibn Hazm, ra‘y was already a feature of the period of the Companions before the appearance of analogy in the following generation (Muṣḥaḥkhas ihtil al-kiyās wa ‘l-ra‘y wa ‘l-istihsān wa ‘l-takālī wa ‘l-ta‘līl, ed. Sa‘īd al-Afghānī, Beirut 1379/1969, 4-5). He understands ra‘y to involve the enunciation of legal opinion on the basis of sheer expediency and he regards the process as equivalent to istihsān, and istihbāt (derivation) (al-Iṣlāh fi usūl al-‘usūl, ed. Ahmad Muḥammad Şākir, Cairo 1947, vi, 16). He vigorously rejects the effort on the part of al-Shafistī to isolate his day to day decisions from the rest of the law as a form of ra‘y, in fact as identical to acceptable ra‘y. There is no acceptable form of ra‘y. The Companions’ recourse to ra‘y was misconceived, but in their case never amounted to an endorsement of ra‘y as God’s law (al-‘usūl). They saw it rather as providing a rule they individually might follow out of pious precaution, or they offered their ra‘y by way of compromise to settle a dispute. Insofar as any sound Prophetic traditions mandate recourse to iqṭīḥād al-ra‘y, what must be meant is exhaustive seeking for the applicable revealed texts.

Opposition to the movement of al-hal al-ra‘y was also found among the Twelver and Ismā‘īlī Shī‘īs, and resort to ra‘y (also irīsā’), kiyās, and iqṭīḥād is condemned in numerous Shī‘ī hadith, sometimes in terms familiar from the Sunnī hadīth. Prominent in this con-

nection are the hadīth going back to the Imam Dja‘īr al-Sādīk, who is portrayed as meeting with Abī Hanīfah, whose pretensions to legal understanding he quickly shows to be groundless (i.e. al-Majdūjī, Būhār al-anwār, Tehran n.d., ii, 291-4, cf. Kāfī al-Nu‘mān, Dā‘īm in al-Islām, ed. Faydí, Cairo 1379/1960, ii, 266). Of particular interest is a purported letter from Dja‘īr to the proponents of ra‘y and kiyās in which the Imām argues that if resort to ra‘y were permitted, there would have been no point in God’s sending of the prophets. He could have left humans to direct their own affairs (al-Barkū, al-Muhātim, ed. Mahdī al-Radā‘ī, Kum 1413, i, 331-2). The same Imām is also found warning his followers against turning to ra‘y when they are unable to find answers to their questions in the revealed texts, an injunction that is not always followed (Hasseine Modarresī Tabātābā‘ī, An introduction to Shi‘ī law, London 1984, 30-1).

The anti-ra‘y position was defended in the dog-

matic writings of the Ismā‘īlī Kūtānī-Nu‘mānīs [q.v.]. b. Muḥammad (d. 363/974), whose polemics against ra‘y were bolstered by arguments from Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Zāhirī (K. Ḥagālī usūl al-ma‘ṣūkhūkh, ed. S.T. Lohbandwalla, Simla 1972, 202). A line of Twelver Shī‘ī scholars, al-Shāykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) and his students al-Shāfī‘ī al-Mu‘tadjad (d. 436/1044) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Tūfī (d. 460/1067 [q.v.], writing under Muṭāzilī influence, maintained their community’s rejection of ra‘y. Even after the 7th/13th century when Twelver Shī‘ī jurists came to recognize the validity of iqṭīḥād, they continued to exclude ra‘y and kiyās from their sources of law.

The competition between the proponents of ra‘y and their various opponents ended in a clear victory for the al-hal al-ra‘y. Islamic law as it can be found in the enormous literature of the Sunnī schools is largely the product of ra‘y; the books of fikr are the books of ra‘y. It was this version of Sunnī law that formed a model for the elaboration of law in other circles, even those opposed to ra‘y. In this sense al-Shafistī was fully justified when he stated that “all are depen-

dant on the ‘Irāqī in fikr” ( Ibn Abī Hātim, 210, var. “in ra‘y”). At another level, however, the deep di-

vision within Sunnism between al-hal al-ra‘y and al-

hadith was never entirely bridged but continued to manifest itself to one degree or another within the
Sunni schools of law (al-Khaṭṭābī, Maʿālim al-sunna, ed. Muhammad Rāghib al-Tabbakh, Aleppo 1351/1932, i, 2-8 [on reconciling ahl al-hadīth and ahl al-raʾy]). Not only an Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1327 [q.v.]) (Maṣūmatit al-fūtūhā, sūrah, xix, 151) could take offence at the statement of the Shaikhī Aḥlāfīr al-Quwaynī (d. 1170/1755?) that nine-tenths of the law depended on pure raʾy of scholars. The Companions (al-ʿAzīz al-Dīn, al-Dīb, Cairo 1400, ii, 768). Raʾy was never entirely repudiated as a source of law, and many centuries after the Central Asian Ḥanafī Abu l-ʿUṣair al-Bazdawī (d. 670/1271) claimed that far from aṣḥāb al-raʾy being a label of opprobrium (reading suhba) for the Ḥanafīs as some thought—it was in fact "one of the most beautiful names as indicating their special connection with knowledge of the heart" (Khitāb fi-nurṭīf al-hadīḍ al-Qādīyā, ed. M. Bernard and E. Claumont, Cairo 2003, 4)—Hanafīs and their allies felt called upon to address the label (Murtada al-Zabīdī, al-Burhān, ed. M. Bernand and E. Chaumont, Leiden n.d., vi). Raʾy was never entirely repudiated as a source of law, and many centuries after the Central Asian Ḥanafī Abu l-ʿUṣair al-Bazdawī (d. 670/1271) claimed that far from aṣḥāb al-raʾy being a label of opprobrium (reading suhba) for the Ḥanafīs as some thought—it was in fact "one of the most beautiful names as indicating their special connection with knowledge of the heart" (Khitāb fi-nurṭīf al-hadīḍ al-Qādīyā, ed. M. Bernard and E. Claumont, Cairo 2003, 4)—Hanafīs and their allies felt called upon to address the label (Murtada al-Zabīdī, al-Burhān, ed. M. Bernand and E. Chaumont, Leiden n.d., vi). Raʾy was never entirely repudiated as a source of law, and many centuries after the Central Asian Ḥanafī Abu l-ʿUṣair al-Bazdawī (d. 670/1271) claimed that far from aṣḥāb al-raʾy being a label of opprobrium (reading suhba) for the Ḥanafīs as some thought—it was in fact "one of the most beautiful names as indicating their special connection with knowledge of the heart" (Khitāb fi-nurṭīf al-hadīḍ al-Qādīyā, ed. M. Bernard and E. Claumont, Cairo 2003, 4)—Hanafīs and their allies felt called upon to address the label (Murtada al-Zabīdī, al-Burhān, ed. M. Bernand and E. Claumont, Cairo 2003, 4)—Hanafīs and their allies felt called upon to address the label (Murtada al-Zabīdī, al-Burhān, ed. M. Bernand and E. Claumont, Cairo 2003, 4)—Hanafīs and their allies felt called upon to address the label (Murtada al-Zabīdī, al-Burhān, ed. M. Bernand and E. Claumont, Cairo 2003, 4).
These movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood [see Al-Brîyân Al-Muṣlimûn] of Egypt and Djamâ‘at Islâmî of Pakistan and those influenced by their ideological frameworks called for the transformation of the existing political, legal, social and economic institutions of Muslim societies to one more in line with "Islamic" norms and principles. One such institution that was targeted for transformation was what they considered to be ribâ (that is, interest)-based banking and finance in Muslim societies.

Ribâ in its fikî sense is associated with a range of contracts, from loans (kâfîr) to debts (dâni) to sales (ba‘y). However, in the mid-to late-20th century, in the Islamic finance literature, ribâ came to be discussed mainly in the context of interest in financial transactions, and interpreted as interest. This close association between ribâ and interest is generally accepted today among many Muslims. In his discussion on ribâ, Khurshid Ahmad, a prominent advocate of Islamic finance in Pakistan, emphasized how ribâ is to be understood today, and argued that Islam forbids "any premium or excess, small, moderate or large, contractually agreed upon at the time of lending money or loanable funds". (Ahmad, Elimination of Ribâ, 42). However, for some Muslims, ribâ should not be interpreted simply as interest. For them, only some forms of interest may be ribâ, and not others.

Muhammed 'Abduh (d. 1905) and Rashid Rida (d. 1935) were among the first to address the question of interest on deposits. While uncomfortable with the idea, they were prepared to concede it if a mu‘ālātāb (commenda) scheme could be devised to legitimate the interest. (Mallat, The debate on Ribâ, 74). The Egyptian authority on Islamic law, 'Abd al-Razzâk Sarâri (d. 1971), saw the main intent of the Kur‘ân’s prohibition of ribâ. Interest on capital, in his view, could be justified on the basis of "need" (ḥādīya), but to prevent misuse and exploitation the state should limit interest rates and control methods of payment. (Sâdîq al-bakk, iii, 241-4). The contemporary Syrian thinker Douali argued that the Kur‘ân prohibited interest on "consumption loans" specifically, presumably because of its concern for people who may have borrowed just to meet their basic needs. Following this line of thinking, some have argued that there is no ribâ in interest paid or received by corporate bodies such as companies and governments, and others that Islam prohibits "usury" not "interest". There is also the idea that ribâ should be equated with real interest, not nominal interest. Several scholars of the mid- to late-20th century also interpreted ribâ from a "moral" perspective, away from the literalism that dominates much of the thinking on ribâ. Muhammad Asad (d. 1992), a modern commentator on the Kur‘ân, maintained that ribâ involved "an exploitation of the economically weak by the strong and resourceful" (The message, 633). Faizur Rahman (d. 1988), the Pakistani-American academic, argued that the râzn e-‘ilz of the prohibition of ribâ was injustice (zuh), as was stated in the Kur‘ân (II, 279), and that "well-meaning Muslims with very virtuous consciences sincerely believe that the Kur‘ân has banned all bank interest for all times in woeful disregard of what ribâ was historically, why the Kur‘ân denounced it as a gross and cruel form of exploitation and banned it" (Islam: challenges, 326).

Despite the appeal of these views, the neo-revivalists and their followers and sympathisers, who increasingly represent mainstream Muslim opinion today, have continued to reject any reinterpretation of ribâ to accommodate bank interest. Mawdūdî (d. 1979), the founder of Djamâ‘at Islâmî of Pakistan, for example, asserted that there was no question that ribâ was interest. The Council of Islamic Ideology of Pakistan (Consolidated recommendations, 7), which in the 1980s developed a blueprint for the transformation of the Pakistani financial system into an Islamic one, claimed that there was "complete unanimity among all schools of thought in Islam that the term ribâ stands for interest in all its types and forms".

In the 1970s, the oil-producing Gulf states found themselves with massive cash surpluses to invest, which shifted the debate on ribâ from the theoretical to the practical. One of the strategies adopted by these states was to develop financial institutions on an interest-free (that is, ribâ-free, or Islamic) basis. Examples include the Islamic Development Bank based in Saudi Arabia, the Faisal Islamic Banks based in the Middle East, Kuwait Finance House and the Dubai Islamic Bank. Shari‘a advisers guided the design of contracts and products and the drawing up of principles for productive ventures, in which capital could be combined with the skill of entrepreneurs to lead to socially beneficial incremental returns. The system created is understood in Islamic finance today as Profit and Loss Sharing (PLS), in which both provider and user of the funds share in the outcome of the venture, whether positive or negative, and no interest is paid or received (Saeed, Islamic banking, 51-75). Contracts developed cover mu‘ālātāb (commenda), mu‘ākātāb (partnership), iqāra (leasing), istisna‘ (manufacturing or "made-to-order") and murābaha (mark-up finance based on sale of goods). Driven by these new strategies, Islamic banking and finance grew strongly in the 1980s and 1990s.

With the 21st century, the role of Islamic (that is, ribâ-free) financial institutions in Muslim communities has become even more significant, with institutions ranging from village banks to major international development banks, to insurance (takāfîl) companies, to investment funds—all in competition with conventional interest-based institutions but often in co-operation with them as well. Several Muslim majority states such as Malaysia, Kuwait and Egypt, for instance, have dual banking and finance systems (one based on interest, the other based on Islamic principles). Even interest-based banks (including major international banks) now offer Islamic products or Islamic windows to their Muslim clientele, and to interested non-Muslims.

The drive to develop modern, ribâ-free banking, finance and insurance was accompanied by some serious difficulties and also pragmatic shifts in the understanding of ribâ. Because of competition, Islamic financial institutions felt they had to provide their Muslim clients with "competitive" products, which at times meant interest-based products under different contractual arrangements and labels. These pragmatic adjustments tended to make the Islamic finance, at times, less distinguishable from interest-based finance in the eyes of their critics. What follows are some examples where critics argue that there are pragmatic shifts in the understanding of ribâ by the proponents of Islamic finance.

First, Islamic bankers and their Shari‘a advisers came to see ribâ, interpreted as interest, as a legal rather than an economic concept. For them, ribâ occurred mainly in the context of contractual obligations on borrowers to pay an inma‘a in a loan transaction (Nienhaus, Islamic economics, 44). Islamic law prohibited any positive return to the provider of capital in a purely financial transaction, such as where an entrepreneur
received funds from a bank for utilisation at the entrepreneur’s discretion. This was governed by the requirements of the contract of loan (k rid). If the contract changed, e.g. from loan to sale (bay'), a return, even if in reality it might appear little different from fixed interest, was permissible. An example of his is that mark-up in mara baha, which from a legal point of view is not a purely financial transaction and therefore a positive return ( = mark-up) is considered permissible.

Second, practical realities also meant that Islamic banks needed to compensate themselves if customers defaulted on contractual obligations, for example by failing to pay a debt on time. Thus, in such cases, a “fine” (compensation equivalent to the “opportunity cost” of the capital) became the practice, not without criticism, however. On the other hand, there are depositors who do not want to put their funds at risk in a PLS account but prefer to keep them in a non-PLS account to avoid any risk, primarily for safety-keeping purposes. While such depositors are not entitled to any profits, in practice in order to retain these deposits, Islamic banks have begun to offer “rewards” to such depositors saying that as long as no contractual obligations were involved, they had the discretion to offer incentives (Saeed, Islamic banking: 112).

Third, a question currently being debated is whether “profit” can be pre-determined in PLS contracts. In Islamic law, as well as in the literature on Islamic finance, the concept of legitimate profit is closely associated with the uncertainty of a positive return in a PLS venture or a sale transaction. One view, albeit a minority one, is that there is nothing wrong in determining profit in advance as long as this is done by the two parties by choice and consent. While this position is not accepted in the mainstream Islamic finance, it is possible that this position may become more acceptable at least in practice as more emphasis is put on developing investment products with less risk and more predictable returns.

Fourth, a further question is whether it is permissible to invest in a business which engages in an activity prohibited by Islamic law, for instance, in interest-based dealings. Since most publicly-listed companies in developed countries rely heavily on interest-based finance, paying and receiving of interest is normal. This is problematic from an Islamic finance perspective even if the businesses produce b idli (permissible) goods or services. The debate has produced two camps, one declaring that investment in such companies is unambiguously prohibited and unlawful for Muslims according to fik h'. In the other camp, the proponents of permissibility, relying on concepts such as “necessity”, “public interest”, “general need”, and analogy (k a di), have attempted to find a legal justification, a pragmatic position that recognises that such investment is a modern global phenomenon and difficult for Muslims to avoid. The pragmatists have accepted permissibility of investment in such companies with certain conditions and introduced concepts such as “cleansing” of interest profit from prohibited elements, i.e. the estimated interest component of the company.

Many Muslims who are interested in genuine n b h -free finance argue that, the pragmatist arguments have largely rendered Islamic banking and finance over to an interest-based system except in name. The trend to develop more and more products that are similar to those offered by the interest-based system would only blur any distinction that may exist between the Islamic and interest-based systems. Despite these reservations, “Islamic” banking and finance appear to be becoming increasingly acceptable among Muslims and their use consistently increasing, however pragmatic it may be.

the rebels “by means of messengers and letters”. Many Muslims were killed by the rebels and the Muslim representatives were driven out.

The reconstruction of the course of events beyond the general outline is complicated by the many contradictory accounts which are often of apologetic or polemical nature. Obviously, this problematic chapter informing who preserved the accounts for posterity, contradictory accounts which are often of apologetic or vindicating an opponent.

When 'Abd al-Bakr ascended the throne, he defied threats from several nomadic tribes to attack Medina by dispatching to Syria an expedition force under Usama b. Zayd. Some must have considered this move reckless, hence the claim that it was in fulfillment of a wish made by the dying Prophet. Yet the threat posed by the nomads must not be exaggerated. First, a nomadic takeover of a settlement was most unusual, although the risk of a raid for plunder was no doubt real. Second, the tribes living in the immediate vicinity of Medina remained unmoved. They included, among others, the Ash'ajah or part of them, the Aslam, the Dhuhayna [see ar-Raj'ah] and the Muzayna [q.v.]. These tribes were not major players in Arabian politics, but their combined military weight should not be underestimated. They provided Medina with an inner circle of defence, continuing their pre-Islamic links with its tribes. Indeed, 'Abd al-Bakr managed to organize the Muslim army in Dhul Qa'a and send Khalid b. al-Walid [q.v.] of the Kurashi clan of Makhzum [q.v.] to Nadjdi even before Usama b. Zayd's return. Yet on the whole the situation looked bleak. The sedentary false prophet Musaylima and the nomadic one Tula'yah were amassing power. The latter was also followed by the Tayyi [q.v.]. Most of the Ghatafan [q.v.] apostatised, as did parts of the Sulaym [q.v.], while the Hawazin remained undecided with the exception of the Thaqif who remained steadfast. Also, the 'Aduz /'Aqaba, Hadźmán “the rear part of the Hadźmán”, that is, the Nash b. Mu'awiyah, Qubayd b. Mu'awiyah and Sa'd b. Bakr, did not rebel, and the same is true of Dhadhala Kays, that is, the Fahm and 'Adwân tribes.

The only battle which preceded the return of Usama's force took place east of Medina against tribes of the Ghatafan group, namely, the 'Abs and Dhuhayn (more precisely, the former and the Murra subdivision of the latter). Following their defeat, the 'Abs and Dhuhayn killed the Muslims living in their midst, and their example was followed by other tribes. Tula'yah al-Asadi lost the battle of Buzayli [q.v.], having been deserted by his non-Asadi allies. First the Tayyi left unimpeded, having created the impression that their own tribe was threatened by the Muslims (whom they subsequently joined). Then the Ghatafan under 'Uyayna b. Hisn [q.v.] of the Fazāra [q.v.] defection.

The most important events of the īrida involved the Tamīm, the largest nomadic tribe in Arabia, and the sedentary Hanifa who lived in Yamāmah. Many of the Tamīm (perhaps even most of them) yielded to Muslim control during Muhammad's lifetime. For example, the Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt, the most numerous subdivision of the Tamīm, had two tax-collectors appointed by Muhammad: al-Zubair b. Bardh b. Abuf and Kays b. 'Asim [q.v.]. Typically, the latter was waiting to see what the former would do with the camels which he had collected for Medina, in order to do the opposite. Indeed, Tamīm's subdivisions, not to mention the Tamīm as a whole, did not form a unified group and the same could be said of every single tribe, be it nomadic or sedentary. Two events dominate the accounts on the īrida of the Tamīm. First, the affair of the false prophetess Sād, above all her infamous encounter with Musaylima. Now Musaylima required of his men strict asceticism, and this was the occasion for Musaylima to display his religious zeal. The other tribes were probably meant to call his ascetic image into question. Second, the killing of Mālik b. Nuwawra [q.v.] and the ensuing criticism concerning Khalīd b. al-Walīd's conduct.

The sedentary Hanifa who were unified (with the exception of the Suḥaym subdivision) under Musaylima were Medina's staunchest enemies. After an initial defeat, the Muslims pushed the Ḥanafīs to “the orchard of death” [hadīlat al-mawt] in 'Akraba [q.v.], not far from Musaylima's home town al-Haddār (modern al-Hudhaydī). The historical traditions of the Kuraysh and the Ansār preserved lists of the members of these groups who were killed in the battlefield, but one looks in vain for the names of the many nomads who died there. The fortresses of the Hanīfā remained intact and the Hanīfī Muqdtiḍā's b. Murārā who had been taken captive at an earlier stage in the fighting and negotiated with Khalīd on behalf of the Hanifī tricked the latter by disguising the children, women and old people who remained in the fortresses as Muslims, thus improving the terms of his tribe's capitulation. But the ruse may have been invented in order to protect Khalīd's policy because the negotiated treaty—fortified by his marriage to Muqdtiḍā's daughter—caused the Muslims great losses.

The story of al-Aswād in the Yemen which is full of intrigue involves a struggle between the Persian Ābnā'ī [see ar-Raš'āt] [II] and several Arab tribes for the control of 'Aqaba [q.v.]. During this power struggle Medina remained in the background; when the Ābnā'ī managed to regain control of 'Aqaba, 'Abd al-Bakr recognised them, precisely as the Prophet had done in his time. The Ābnā'ī were then challenged by Kays b. al-Makhdūm who took 'Aqaba, but they managed to drive him out shortly afterwards.

The road to the Yemen was secured by a Muslim expedition force which brought the rebellious 'Āmar b. Mu'ād al-Dhālib and Kays b. al-Makhdūm back to the Muslim camp, and the Yemen as a whole could now be pacified. Then the Muslims turned to deal with the rebellion in Hadramawt. Here the dominant tribe Kinda [q.v.] yielded to superior forces, one under al-Muhājir b. Ābū Ṣumayya (of the Makhzum) arriving from the Yemen, and another under 'Irāmīma b. Ābī Qā'āly (also of the Makhzum) arriving from the land of Maḥra [q.v.]. The kingy family from the prestigious subdivision of Kinda, 'Āmar b. Mu'ā'īya, was destroyed in a surprise night attack. Members from this subdivision and from the Ḥarīth b. Mu'ā'īya subdivision later surrendered in al-Nudjayy [q.v.]. Following the war against the Kinda, al-Ṣawāṣ'āt [q.v.] b. Kays of the Ḥarīth subdivision rose to prominence. This shift in the leadership was atypical, since tribal leaders usually survived the īrida. For example, 'Uyayna b. Hisn is said to have been the only Arab who received one miqāt or a quarter of the captured booty in the Dāhilīyya and one khums or a fifth of the booty in the Islamic war.

The war in Hadramawt was preceded by fighting in the southeastern corner of Arabia where Dhul 'l-Tādī Lākīt b. Mālik al-Adzī pushed the sons of the Dijdlānā [q.v.], and see ar-Raš'āt and Suḥar] who were 'Abd al-Bakr's allies to the mountains and to the sea-side of Suḥar. Tribal forces sent by Medina to aid
its allies besieged Lakht in Dahā and were joined by other tribal forces under ‘Ikrima b. Abī Dhahl. The Muslims were also supported by troops from the Nādiya [cf. AL-KHURT] and the ‘Abd al-Kays [q.v.]. ‘Ikrima continued his march to the land of Mahra with his tribal units and subincorporation of the Azd called Rāsib and the Sa’d b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm are specifically mentioned). Among the Mahra there was internal strife, and the weaker party allied itself with the Muslims [in other words, it converted to Islam]. After the stronger party was subdued, the leader of the stronger party was killed, and his army also included warriors from the Mahra.

Shortly after the Prophet’s demise, his governor in Bahrayn, al-Mundhir b. Sawa [q.v.], marched against the rebels with the Arabs and Persians who joined him. Among others also died. The Kays b. Tha’laba of the Bakr b. Wa’il [q.v.] “and the whole of the Rabī’a” rebelled under al-Hutam, who was one of the Kays, while al-Djarud, a Kays, who declared the Nakf [q.v.] with his army also included warriors from the Mahra. Al-Hutam controlled al-Ḳatif [q.v.], Hadjar [see AL-HASA], Dārīn (modern Tāurrīt) and al-Ḳatt [q.v.], while the Muslims had been besieged in their stronghold, Djiwāṭah, until they were rescued by al-‘Alā. The rebels were defeated on the mainland and fled to the island of Dārīn which the Muslims took after having miraculously crossed the sea.

The ridda can be seen as a prelude to the wider conquests. The Kurashī generals gained precious experience in mobilising large multi-tribal armies over long distances. They benefited from the close acquaintance of the Kuraysh with tribal politics throughout Arabia. A crucial role was played by Khālid b. al-Walid whose mother was a nomad. Indeed, the Bedouin way of life was not alien to him: he is said to have consumed a lizard, while Muhammad who was watching loathed it. Already in the conquest of Mecca (8/630), Khālid was leading a troop of nomads (referred to as Muslimāt al-ʿamr), and in the battle of Hunayn [q.v.] shortly afterwards he led the nomadic Sulaym at the vanguard of the Muslim army.

The ridda changed for ever the relationship between the central government and the strong tribes of Arabia. The latter were trying to abolish whatever ascendency the Muslim state had achieved during the lifetime of Muḥammad, but were overpowered by large expedition forces mobilised by able Muslim generals. The battlefield successes of the Muslims secured for them the cooperation of tribes living between Medina and the territories of the rebellious tribes. Medina re-established its prestige and dealt the severest forms of punishment to those who had killed Muslims earlier in the fighting.

New realities were created on the ground. Khālid’s treaty with the Ḥanīfa prescribed that he receive one orchard and one field of his choice in every village included in the treaty. The villages in the Yamama area which were not included in the treaty bore the full consequences of the defeat. The inhabitants of the Mar’aṭ village were enslaved and a tribal group of the Tamīm, the Imru ’l-Kays b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, settled there. Musaylima’s home town of al-Haddār was not part of the treaty. Khālid enslaved its people and settled there the Banu ’l-‘Ardaj, i.e., the Banu ’l-Ḥarrīb b. Ka’b b. Sa’d b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. These changes demonstrate how local groups of the Tamīm benefited from their co-operation with Khālid in Yamama. Other villages not included in the treaty were al-Siyūb, al-Ḍayā, al-‘Arika, al-Ṣabābī, Faygān, al-Kurayya [one of the central villages of Yamama], al-Jabāh, al-Ḳalāym, al-Kirs, Makhrafa and al-Maṣṭān. In addition, the al-Magdiyya village was inhabited by the Hizān of the ‘Arbera [q.v.] and by people of mixed descent (akhlāq min al-mawṣal), including musawīl of the Kuraysh and others who settled there after the ridda, since it had not been included in Khālid’s treaty.

The new balance of power between the central government and the tribes is reflected in the takeover by the state of tribal protected grazing grounds [see himā]. The thousands of camels and other beasts taken as booty in the last years of Muḥammad’s life, in addition to those collected from the nomads in taxes, needed large grazing grounds. In addition, several influential Kurāṣḥ, such as the future caliph ‘Uṯmān b. ‘Affān and also al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awām and ‘Abd al-Ḳalām b. ‘Awf, were competing with the state because they were themselves owners of large herds. ‘Abd al-Ḳalām left to his inheritors 1,000 camels, in addition to 3,000 ewes and 100 horses. The ewes and the horses were grazing in al-Nakf [see AL-ḲATIĪB] (often wrongly erroneously al-Bakī). It was Muḥammad who declared the Naki’, some 120 km/75 miles south of Medina a state himā “for the horses of the Muslims”, probably at the expense of the Sulaym, and put in charge of it a member of the Muzayra. Moreover, Muḥammad reportedly abolished the tribal grazing grounds by declaring that the only legitimate himā belonged to God and His messenger, in other words to the state. Previously, the tribes feared the takeover of their land and water resources by other tribes, but now the powerful state and certain individuals coveted the same resources. The size of the state himās grew constantly under the caliphs. A telling example of this is linked to the above-mentioned battle against the ‘Abs and Dhūḥayn which took place in al-Abraḵ in the area of al-Rabadha [q.v.] some 200 km/125 miles east of Medina. Abī Bakr actually conquered Dhūḥayn’s territory (ghalaba bābi Dhūḥayn al-‘alā ʿilāḥ al-dār) and expelled (nabd) its owners. He made al-Abraḵ a himā for the horses of the Muslims [in other words, he made it state property] and permitted everybody to graze in the rest of al-Rabadha at the expense of the Tha’laba b. Sa’d b. Dhūḥayn. Later he declared the whole of al-Rabadha himā for the camels collected as taxes (sadaqat al-muslimin). One report attributes the expulsion of the Tha’laba from al-Rabadha to ‘Umār b. al-Ḳhattāb, while another has it that the state himā in al-Rabadha was created by Muḥammad, in which case Abī Bakr was merely restating and strengthening state authority there.


**M. Lecker**

**RIMÂYYA** [see KAWS]

**ROHTAK**, the name of a region and a town of northwestern India, now in the Harîyana State of the Indian Union. The region is not mentioned in the earliest Indo-Muslim sources, but from the Sultanate period onwards, its history was often linked with that of nearby Dîhil, to its southeast. In the 18th century, it was fought over by commanders of the moribund Mughals and the militant Sikhs. According to a report by Sayh Ibn al-'Adîjami quoted in Ibn Hâdîjar's *Durut*, their friendship ended when Ibn Dâbîr married, though Ibn Dâbîr composed a marthiya on al-Ru'aynî when he died.


**RÜH ALLAH** [see NAS. I. B.]

**RUKHÂM** (A.), in modern Arabic usage, the usual word for marble in general, whereas marmar, which clearly derives from the Greek marmar, usually refers to white marble or alabaster. Historically, however, rûkham and marmar were often used interchangeably to refer to a wide variety of hard stones, including marble, granite and diorite. Where the two terms were distinguished, it usually had to do with commerce; marmar was white, whereas rûkham could assume various shades and hues.

Geographically, the use of marble in the Islamic world was largely restricted to those regions whose predominant building material was stone rather than brick or adobe. Generally speaking, places to the west and northwest of the Euphrates river—including Anatolia, Greater Syria, and Egypt, in addition to the Iberian peninsula and the Indian subcontinent—used stone and marble in their architectural monuments. Elsewhere, brick with a stucco or tile revetment predominated.

Marble in the Islamic world was obtained from two main sources: ancient buildings and quarries. Historically, the use of salvaged marble far outweighed that of freshly-quarried marble, which was only quarried by the later Islamic dynasties, especially the Ottomans and the Mughals. Exceptions did exist, such as the robust marble capitals in Madinat al-Zahâr in 4th/10th century al-Andalus and the exquisite columns and capitals in the Alhambra Palace in the 8th/14th one. But on the whole, marble in early and medi- neval Islamic monuments was taken from ancient, Christian, or even earlier Islamic buildings. Historically, the use of marble in Islamic architec-

The exception with an outstanding series of Ghaznavid marble dadoes and carvings dating to the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, the architectural use of marble goes into an extended decline after the 6th/12th century, a revival centred in Aleppo during the time of the Ayyubids. Polychrome marble ornament in the form of marble frames, which most likely also existed at the Dome of the Rock (K.A.C. Creswell, A short account of early Muslim architecture, revised and supplemented by J.W. Allan, Cairo 1989).

In India, marble was rather sparingly used in Mughal architecture, often as a highlight to the predominant red sandstone. This attractive juxtaposition continues in early Mughal mosques and mausoleums, reaching an apogee in the tomb of Humayun in Delhi. At first, white marble was reserved for sultans' tombs, such as the spectacular tomb in Fathpur Sikri [g.v.], of Akbar Salim Chishti (1573-7), which also boasts some of the earliest and finest openwork marble screens, commonly known as jalis. But by the 11th/17th century, various monuments were being sheathed in white marble inlaid with polychrome stones, including the Mosque of the 'Imād al-Dawla (1051-6/1622-7), and of the Šāh Mahall (1041-53/1632-43 [g.v.]), both at Agra [g.v.] (Edds Koch, Mughal architecture, Munich 1991).

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RÜŞHANI, DEDE UMAR. Turkish adherent of the Ša'b order of the Khalwatiyya [g.v.] and poet in both Persian and Turkish. He was born at an unspecified date at Güzel Hisar in Aydınlı, western Anatolia, being connected paternally with the ruling family of the Aydınlı Oghulları [see Aydınlı-oghulları], and died at Tabriz in Azerbaijan in 892/1487.

Dede 'Umar was the khalifa of Sayyid Yahyä Shirwanī, the pir-i dār or second founder of the Khalwati order, and as head of the Rüshāni branch of the order engaged in missionary work in northern Azerbaijan. He came to enjoy the patronage of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan [q.v.], whose wife built a zāviya for him in the capital Tabriz, and he lived there up to his death, being buried in the zāviya. His murādīs included the Turkish mystical poet from Diyār Bakr, İbrahim Gulshânî (d. 940/1533-34 [g.v.]), who founded his own order of the Gulshāniyya, and the Azeri Turk Muhammed Demirdaşı Muhammadî (d. 929/1524), founder of the Cairo order of the Demirdaşıyya [g.v. in Suppl.]. Dede 'Umar's dīwān included three Persian mathnawīs, in one of which, the Nāynāma, the influence of Djalâl al-Dīn Rūmî [g.v.], is especially clear, and poems in Turkish; one volume of the dīwān has been published as Əşfar-i şak (Istanbul 1315/1897-8).

Al Su'd, in Suppl., but after his death in 1340/1922-3 internal dissensions among the Idrisiya led to a Su'di protectorate. The Imam of Yemen maintained a claim to the Idrisid territories, but the Treaty of al-Ta'if (1353/1934) determined that they belong to the Sa'da protectorate. The Imam of Yemen maintained a claim to the areas from the Shukayk in the north to Wadi Asir in the south. The central part extends from Umm al-Khashab (kurd) was one of the urban settlements that was among the most densely populated of the region.

In 1328/1910 had reduced Turkish power in Asir with the support of the Italians, but had failed to hold the title. In this revolt he was one of the active leaders of the Banu Asad b. Khuzayma. If not of Mecca, and sent to al-Hadjjadj at Wasit, who more than a decade after the revolt, he was arrested by Khalid b. Sa'd al-Rahman b. al-Kufi, sent to al-Hadjjadj at Wasit, who more than a decade after the revolt, he was arrested. Sa'd was then 49 or 57 years old. Sa'd was then 49 or 57 years old. Sa'd was then 49 or 57 years old.

In 1215/1800 Sabya was drawn into Arabian politics when an inhabitant brought the Wahhabis into the Tihama (Serjeant and Lewcock, 87a), and even more so when Ahmad b. Idris (d. 1253/1837) took the title of the Sulaymanfs family. In the 4th/10th century Sabya, and a number of other places and wadis, was ruled by the Hamdaun family, i.e. the Banu Hakam b. Sa'd al-Ashraf of the Kahtan [q.v.], with the Banu `Abd al-Dhaqan as the ruling family (al-Hamdani, 120.5). In the 7th/13th century, Sa'da, which was part of Yemen (Yakut, Buldan, Ukaylf, New York 1983).

In 1243/1827-8 from persecution for heresy by the government positions. He functioned as secretary for the Banu `Abd Allah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. `Ali the biographical traditions which say that he studied the Hadith. They underline Sa'id's piety and condemn al-Hadjjadj's death sentence. Whether Sa'id belonged to the Kufan Murjija's [q.v.] or not is a controversial issue. A few traditions say that he had good relations with and sympathy for members of the 'Alid family.

In his days the population of the Sabya area was estimated locally at some 25,000 souls. In Kufa. There he had a circle of students but also held office in the Tihama (Serjeant and Lewcock, 87a), and even more so when Ahmad b. Idris (d. 1253/1837) took the title of the Sulaymanfs family. In the 4th/10th century Sabya, and a number of other places and wadis, was ruled by the Hamdaun family, i.e. the Banu Hakam b. Sa'd al-Ashraf of the Kahtan [q.v.], with the Banu `Abd al-Dhaqan as the ruling family (al-Hamdani, 120.5). In the 7th/13th century, Sa'da, which was part of Yemen (Yakut, Buldan, Ukaylf, New York 1983).

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The town does not seem to have played any role in early and mediaeval Islam. As in Kufa. Sabya, Damad and Djayzan, the central part extends from Umm al-Khashab (kurd) was one of the urban settlements that was among the most densely populated of the region.

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Sa‘īd’s teachings in the fields of fiqh and tafsir were much sought after during the 2nd/8th century and played an important role in the development of fiqh before the advent of the classical schools. Many traditions on his teachings have been collected in the two Musannaf of ‘Abd al-Razzāk and of Ibn Abī Shayba, as well as in ‘Abd al-Razzāk’s and al-Tabārī’s Tafsir (see H. Berg, in al-Tabārī’s Kitab al-Mihan, Beirut vi, 256-67; Tabārī, ii, 1076, 1087, 1261-5). In the same traditions one can find a list of traditions in the “six books” and some a listing of traditions in the offikh and tafsir offikh of Sa‘īd’s teachings in the fields of fiqh and tafsir were much sought after during the 2nd/8th century and played an important role in the development of fiqh before the advent of the classical schools. Many traditions on his teachings have been collected in the two Musannaf of ‘Abd al-Razzāk and of Ibn Abī Shayba, as well as in ‘Abd al-Razzāk’s and al-Tabārī’s Tafsir (see H. Berg, in al-Tabārī’s Kitab al-Mihan, Beirut vi, 256-67; Tabārī, ii, 1076, 1087, 1261-5). In the same traditions one can find a list of traditions in the “six books” and some a listing of traditions in the fields of fiqh and tafsir. The peculiarities of Sa‘īd’s scholarship correspond to what is known from his Umar (20%), and most of Ibn Abī Shayba (70%) and Ibn Abd al-Razzak and going back to some traditions of Sa‘īd b. Dhibayr transmitted by other informants of ‘Abd al-Razzāk and going back exclusively to Ibn Abī Shayba may be suspected of being falsely ascribed to Sa‘īd. More Ibn Abī Shayba exegetical traditions allegedly going back to Sa‘īd may be found in al-Tabārī’s Tafsir (see H. Berg, The development of exegesis in early Islam, Richmond, Surrey 2000, ch. 5).

phates at Boucraa. Since the coast is full of fish, thanks to the Canaries current, fishing has become extensive and is an important activity through the creation of the ports of Tarfaya, Port Laayoune and Boudjerd. The capital of al-Sakiya al-Hamra and the whole of the Western Sahara, Laayoune, has today 150,000 inhabitants, with another 35,000 at Smara.


(Ch. Cote)

Sakk (Ar.), pl. sikāk, a technical term of early Islamic financial, commercial and legal usage, appearing in Persian, through a standard sound change, as čak, meaning "document, contract of sale, etc.", which has been suggested—for want of any other etymology—as the origin of Eng. "cheque", Fr. "chèque", Ger. "Scheck," see E. Littmann, Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen, Tubingen 1924.

The term's range of applications is wide, see Lane, Lexicon, 1709. In legal contexts, it has a similar meaning to Sidney [see Sidney, 17], i.e., a signed and sealed record of a judge's decision. In financial contexts, it often means "a written order for payment of a salary, allowance, pension, etc.", "a financial draft or assignment". Thus in Kudama b. Djatara's [q.v] section on the 'Abbasid dīwān of military affairs contained in his Kitāb al-Kharadj (early 4th/10th century), a soldier displays at the pay session a certificate of assignment of pay (sakāk) from the dīwān (W. Hoenerbach, Zur Herrschaftsverwaltung der 'Abbasiden, Studie über Abulfarag Qudāma: Diwān al-gaš, in Id., xxix [1950], 281). See for further references on the term's usage in mediaeval Islam, C. E. Bosworth, Abū 'Abdalldh al-Khwarazmf on the technical terms of the secretary's art. A contribution to the administrative history of mediaeval Islam, in JESHO, xii (1969), 125-60.

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(Ch. E. Bosworth)

Salāt-i ma'kūsa (Ar., p.), literally, "the act of Muslim worship performed upside-down", one of the extreme ascetic practices found among extravagant members of the dervish orders, such as in mediaeval Muslim India among the Čistiyya [q.v.], where it formed part of the forty days' retreat or seclusion (kihlāna, arbē'tīyya, cīlā) undertaken to heighten spiritual awareness [see Mahla]. This practice was one of those done in tortured or difficult circumstances, in this case hanging on the end of a rope over the mouth of a well; see Čistiyya, at Vol. II, 53b, and mss. v. Islam, at Vol. III, 432b. (Ed.)

Sallām al-Tardjuman, early traveller in Central Asia, who has left an account of his alleged journey to the barrier of Yadjudj wa-Mādjudj [q.v.].

In 227/842 the caliph al-Wāthik [r. 227-32/842-7 [q.v.]) reportedly saw in a dream that Dhu 'l-Karnāyn's barrier had been breached. Sallām al-Tardjuman ("the interpreter"), "who spoke thirty languages" and who, according to Ibn Rusta, 149, was used to translate Turkish documents for the caliph, received the order to make inquiries about the barrier and to report about it. The account of his journey is given by Ibn Khurradadhbih (d. between 272/885 and 300/912 [q.v.]), Ar. text in BGA, vi, 162-70; Eng. tr. Wilson, The Wall, 382-7; Fr. tr. Barbier de Meynard, Le livre des routes, 124-31 and Miquel, Geographie, ii, 498-507; Dutch tr. De Goeje, De muur, 104-9). He writes that Sallām told him the story of his journey and afterwards dictated to him the account he had drawn up for the caliph.

The dream is perhaps to be explained in relation to unrest caused by the Turks in Central Asia, e.g. by the movements of the Kijgiz [q.v.] around Lake Baykal in 226-7/841. Another reason for the mission may have been al-Wāthik's wish to put an end to what Barbier de Meynard [op. cit., 25] calls "ridiculous interpretations" current about "the people of the Cave" (Kūr'ān, XVIII, 9-26; see ḥijāb al-kaḥfa) and about Yadjudj and Madjudj with whom the Turks were identified. Ibn Khurradadhbih, 106-7, relates that al-Wāthik already had sent the famous mathematician and astronomer Abū Dja'far Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Khāraẓmī (d. 232/847 [q.v.]) to the land of Rūm in order to investigate the story of the men of Ṧakām [see ḥijāb al-kaḥfa]. As Sallām would do later, al-Khāraẓmī informed Ibn Khurradadhbih personally
about his journey. Al-Mukaddasī, 362, relates that al-Wāḥīdī had sent the same al-Khādāzīmī to the Tārkhan [g.v.], the king of the Khazar.

Sallām's journey, which probably brought him to the Tarīm Basin, took two years and four months. Leaving Sāmānī's in the summer of 227/842, he first travelled south to Yūtīfī, where he had deduced Wāḥīdī’s letter to Ishaq b. Ismā‘īl, the governor of Armenia [see AL-KARK; KARS; AL-KEREG]. The journey then went on to “the lord of al-Sarīr”, the present-day Avarāstān, a district in the middle Koy-su valley in southern Dāghistān [g.v.], then ruled by a Christian prince who bore the title of Filān-Shāh. Sallām went on to the king of the Alans [see AL-LĀN], an Iranian people in the northern Caucasus, who held the Bāb al-Lān [g.v.] or Darīal Pass, known to classical authors as “the Caspian Gates”. Sallām does not mention the Bāb al-Abwāb [g.v.] near Derbend, the real Caspian Gate.

Via the Filān-Shāh, he went on to the Tārkhan of the Khazar, who resided at Aṭīl [g.v.] near modern Askarhan. While travelling back and forth in the Caucasus, Sallām must have convinced himself that Dhu ‘l-Karnāyūn’s barrier was not to be looked for in those regions. From Aṭīl he probably travelled in an easterly direction to Ikku, which is identical with modern Ha-mi; cf. in Ibn Khurradadhbih’s text. De Goeje (164 n. 4; cf. 126 n. 4 and De muur, 109) remarks that the vocalisation of Ikku is a conjecture, but his identifying this town with Lwg seems quite plausible. During the Tang dynasty (618-907), and thus at the time of Sallām’s arrival, Ha-mi was known as I-chou, which was then under the rule of the Yüghur (cf. Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v. Ha-mi; see also KOMUL, in Suppl.). If Sallām indeed came to this town (see below), he may have travelled north of the Aral Sea. Al-Idrīṣī, who used the now lost work of al-Djayhānī (g.v. in Suppl.), adds (Opus geographicum, 935) that Sallām travelled for twenty-seven days along the borders of the land of the Bashdjirt (Bashkurt) [g.v.], a Turkish people living in the southern Ural. He may have crossed the Dzungarian Basin and passed the Gate of that name in the northern spur of the T’en Shan mountain system, on the border of modern Kazakhstān and China. But “the black, standing land” (ard saudā; munātít al-rāʾītā) which he mentions ( Ibn Khurradadhbih, 163) may also point to the neighbourhood of Lake Balkhash [g.v.], the evil smell being perhaps caused by asafoetida (De Goeje, De muur, 110). Sallām may then have followed the Ili river [g.v.] upstream. The “ruined towns” (mudun khardāb) which he then reached are perhaps the ruins of Pei-ting (or Chin-man), the site of the ancient capital of the region. He may then have passed modern Urumchi, Guchan and Barkul (see map). If he took the southern route via Turfan, he may have seen the ruins of the famous Silk Route, the ancient tracks, 270; von Le Coq, Atlas, ch. X; Hermann, Atlas, map 24). It may have been one of these impressive towers, fully 4.5 m at the base and standing to a height of over 9 metres (illustration no. 73), which inspired Sallām for his fantastic description of Dhu ‘l-Karnayn’s barrier (see the drawing in Migeal, Geographic, ii, 505). This inspiration, based on the Kurān, was perhaps influenced by the descriptions of Alexander’s Gate, found e.g. in the Syriac Alexander Song of Jacob of Sarāḏīd (see Reinink, Das Syrische Alexanderbuch, 19) and the early Islamic poets.

According to Sallām, the barrier was a double-winged iron gate, 27 m high, over which was an iron dust from the crack to show to al-Wathik. The people of the fortress told him that they had seen some individuals of Yadjudj and Māḏḏūжд on the top of the mountain, their size being one span and a half. A “dark wind” had blown them back. On top of the right wing was an inscription in iron letters “in the primordial language” (al-lisīm al-awwal), namely, “Kurān, XVIII, 93, 96). Nearby, Sallām found two enormous fortresses, in one of which were the iron cauldrons and ladles used to form the bricks. Relics of them were stuck together with rust. The governor of the fortresses rode out every Monday and Thursday (according to al-Idrīṣī, every Friday). One of his men knocked on the lock of the barrier and heard a noise as from a wasps’ nest. He was then assured that Yadjudj and Māḏḏūжд had done no harm to the barrier, since they realised that it was under constant guard. The governor assured Sallām that the only damage the barrier had suffered was a crack as thin as a thread. Sallām scraped half a dirham of iron dust from the crack to show to al-Wāḥīdī. The people of the fortresses told him that they once had seen some individuals of Yadjudj and Māḏḏūжд on the top of the mountain, their size being one span and a half. A “dark wind” had blown them back. On top of the right wing was an inscription in iron letters “in the primordial language” (al-lisīm al-awwal), namely, “Kurān, XVIII, 98: “But when the promise of my Lord shall come to pass, He will flatten it; and the Lord shall come to pass, He will flatten it; and the evil smell being perhaps caused by asafoetida (De Goeje, De muur, 110). Sallām may then have followed the Ili river [g.v.] upstream. The “ruined towns” (mudun khardāb) which he then reached are perhaps the ruins of Pei-ting (or Chin-man), the site of the ancient capital of the region. He may then have passed modern Urumchi, Guchan and Barkul (see map). If he took the southern route via Turfan, he may have seen the ruins of the famous Silk Route, the ancient tracks, 270; von Le Coq, Atlas, ch. X; Hermann, Atlas, map 24). It may have been one of these impressive towers, fully 4.5 m at the base and standing to a height of over 9 metres (illustration no. 73), which inspired Sallām for his fantastic description of Dhu ‘l-Karnayn’s barrier (see the drawing in Migeal, Geographic, ii, 505). This inspiration, based on the Kurān, was perhaps influenced by the descriptions of Alexander’s Gate, found e.g. in the Syriac Alexander Song of Jacob of Sarāḏīd (see Reinink, Das Syrische Alexanderbuch, 19) and the early Islamic poets.

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confused (taqūfī) and exaggerated (tazgeytd) it is. Al-
Birūnī (al-Afghār, 41) doubts Sallām’s credibility because he cannot believe that there were Muslims who spoke
Arabic and Persian but did not know about the caliph.

Neither is in agreement with the Western scholars
who have dealt with Sallām’s report. For Barbier
de Meynard (op. cit., 23), Sallām’s journey at least had “a beginning”, and he states that he does not see in it, as Sprenger did, an “impudent mystifica-
tion”. De Goeje does not leave any doubt about his view: “We have found the origin of the legend about
the wall of Gog and Magog, as it appears in Pseudo-
Callisthenes and the Kurān, in the Great Chinese
Wall with the Jade Gate (Tu-mo), and we have restored Sallām’s travel account as the report of a
real journey” (De moor, 116). Anderson (Alexander’s gate, 95) argues that Sallām certainly did not go to the
Chinese Wall. For Wilson (The Wall, 611), Sallām’s
story is nothing but a legend, while Miller (Mapps arabiae, iv, 93-5) holds that the place described by
Sallām is the breach in the Altai mountains made by
the river Irtish [q.v.].

Miquel finds in the account a “cotoiement d’un certain vraisemblable avec
un legendaire certain” and adds “on mesure, a cet
exemple, la place du merveilleux [sic...]. W. de Groot
states: “On the Western side of the Tarim Basin and saw part of the—by then already ruined—
western extension of the Great Wall. These Turks were
certain sections of the Great Wall. These Turks were
called Ongut ("wall") and their function was heredi-
tary (cf. Histoire des Mongols, tr. Desmazens, 47;
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(E. VAN DONZEL)

SALMĀN AL-FĀRSĪ is Salamān Pāk, a semi-
legendary figure of early Islam, Companion of the Prophet and the person regarded in
later tradition as the proto-convert to Islam from the Persian nation.

According to one tradition, the most complete
version of which goes back to Muhammad b. Ishāk, he was the son of a dīghmān of the Persian village of Diqāy
(or Dāyān; cf. Yākūt, ii, 170) near Ḥafṣān. According to
other stories, he belonged to the vicinity of Rām-
hurmuz and his Persian name was Māḥbēh (Māyēh)
or Rūzēb (cf. Justi, Iran. Namenbuch, 217, 277). Attracted by Christianity while still a boy, he left his
father’s house to follow a Christian monk and,
changing his teachers several times, arrived in Syria; from there he went right down to the Wādi ‘l-Kura in western Arabia seeking the Prophet who
was to restore the religion of Brahmān, the imminence
of whose coming had been predicted to him by his
last teacher on his deathbed. Betrayed by Kalbī
Bedouin, who were acting as his guides through the
desert, and sold as a slave to a Jew, he had occa-
sion to go to Yathrib where, soon after his arrival,
the bāmmā of Muhammad took place. Recognising in
the latter the marks of the prophet which the monk
had described to him, Salāmān became a Muslim and
purchased his liberty from his Jewish master, after
being miraculously aided by Muhammad himself to
raise the sum necessary to pay his ransom.

The name of Salāmān is associated with the siege
of Medina by the Meccans, for it was he who on
this occasion advised the digging of the ditch (khandāk)
by means of which the Muslims defended themselves
from the enemy. But, as Horovitz (see Bibl.), has shown,
the earliest accounts of the yamm al-khandāk make
no mention of Salāmān’s intervention, the story of
which was probably invented in order to attribute to a
Persian the introduction of a system of defence the
name of which is of Persian origin. The other refer-
ces to the career of Salāmān (his part in the con-
quest of ‘Irāk and of Fārs, his governorship of al-
Madā’in, etc.) are equally devoid of authority and
almost all date from the historian Sayf b. ‘Umar, the
bias of whose work is well known. Indeed, the fame

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sary volume (Asia Major, 1) London 1922, 575-612.

(E. VAN DONZEL)

of Salmān is almost entirely due to his Persian nationality: he is the prototype of the converted Persians, who played such a part in the development of Islam; as such, he has become the national hero of Muslim Persia and one of the favourite personages of the Shi'i ḥiyāya [g.v.] (see Goldziher, Mah. Studien, i, 117, 136, 153, 212). What explains the majority of the traditions relative to Salmān is the fact that the Prophet foretells to him that the Persians will form the better part of the Muslim community; he declares him a member of his own family (abi al-bayt), etc. In reality, the historical personality of Salmān is of the vaguest, and it is with difficulty that one can even admit that his legend is based on the actual fact of the conversion of a Median slave of Persian origin.

The figure of Salmān has had an extraordinary development. Not only does he appear as one of the founders of Sufism along with the Asbāb al-Suffah (K. al-Lamr, ed. Nicholson, 131-5) but the alleged site of his tomb very early became a centre of worship (at least in 4th/10th century) (cf. al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 321); it is still pointed out in the vicinity of the ancient al-Madʿāʾin, at the place called after him Salmān Pāk ("Salmān the Pure") near the former Asbānūr suburb. His sepulchral mosque, which was seen in its older form by Pietro della Valle in 1617, was renovated by Sultan Muḥammad IV [g.v.] and further restored in 1322/1904-5 (Herzfeld-Sarre, Ashdab al-Suffah (K. al-Batwī wa 'l-taʾrikh, ii, 262, n. 1). It is the object of numerous pilgrimages, especially on the part of Ṣ̄̄ḥiʿā, who do not fail to visit it when returning from Karbahāʾ. Other traditions locate the tomb of Salmān in the vicinity of Ṣ̄̄fāhān, where there is evidence of his cult in the 7th/13th century (Yākūt, ii, 170), and elsewhere, e.g. Lydā.

Salmān plays a remarkable part in the development of the futuwwa [g.v.] and the workmen's corporations. He is venerated as a patron of barbers, whence comes the tradition, unknown in ancient collections of traditions, which makes him the Prophet's barber. He is also one of the principal links in the mystic chain (stitla) in various dervish orders.

Among the extremist Ṣ̄̄ḥiʿī sects, he is placed immediately after 'Alī in the series of divine emanations. The Nuṣayriyya [g.v.] make him the third member of the trinity formed by the three mystic letters: 'Ayn ("Alī"), M (Muḥammad) and S (Salmān), of which he forms the gate (bab) (cf. R. Dussaud, Histoire et religion des Nosairis, Paris 1900, 62).

The death of Salmān is placed in 35/655-6 or 36/656-7, a statement which has no value except to indicate that the historical tradition had no note of his activity after the accession of 'Alī (end of 35/656). Like many other individuals, said to have embraced Islam after long experiences of other religions, he is credited with an extraordinary longevity: 200, 300 and even 553 years (Goldziher, Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie, ii, p. LXVI).

sustain when confronted by the this-worldly reality of contemporary Muslim history, which fulfilled the Jewish longing for a polity, or dawla, a central concept in Samawah’s polemical attack against Judaism (Husain).

Unlike his father, Samawah suggests longevity, Samawah died in 570/1175 at a relatively young age (Ibn Abī Usaybā’i, ‘Uṣūn al-anbāt’).


(R. Firestone)

**SANAD** (A), pl. *asnād*, lit. “support, stay, rest”, but in Islamic administrative usage coming to mean an administrative, financial or legal document on which reliance can formally be placed (masnūd), hence an authenticated document. From the same root *s-n-d* is derived the technical term of Islamic tradition, *sanad* (q.v. and *hadith*), literally the act of making something rest upon something else.

The Turkish form of *sanad*, i.e. *sened*, was used in Ottoman practice for a document with e.g. a seal attached, thereby authenticating it and supporting it with official proof; see Pakalm, iii, 173-4. In Indo-Iranian and *hadith*, literary term of Islamic tradition, *masnud* (sanad), the weight) of gold for gold or silver for silver are termed *sanad* attached, thereby authenticating it and supporting it with official proof; see Pakalm, iii, 173-4. In Indo-Islamic and *hadith*, literary term of Islamic tradition, *masnud* (sanad), the rate of exchange of gold for silver, or silver for silver, on the other hand, may be determined by the parties as they see fit, and even unascertained quantities (*qayyūf*) of these metals may be exchanged (cf. Mālik, al-Musattar, ed. ‘Abd al-Bākī, Cairo n.d., iii, 393 [except coins]; al-Bāḍjī, al-Muntakbī, Cairo 1322/1914 iv, 277-8, cf. al-Shaybānī, K. al-Hudūjī, ed. al-Kilāmī, Haydarābād 1387/1968, ii, 571-2). The regulation of exchanges of gold and silver was introduced in the year 762/1 in the course of the division of the spoils of the conquest of Khaybar (q.v.) (Caetani, Annali, ii/1, 38-9).

The legal rules governing these exchanges derive from the prohibition of *ribā* (q.v.) as expounded in the *hadith*, general principles of contract law, and certain monetary conceptions.

The validity of *sarf* contracts requires that performance on both sides be due at once (muḥāfaza, hulūl); neither party may be granted a term in which to make delivery, which would constitute *ribā al-nasī‘*. In fact, virtually all jurists require that delivery on both sides (*takādil*) take place during the contractual session (*muḥājila*) (but see al-Suyūṭī, al-Tanqīḥ al-rā‘ī‘, ed. al-Khuṭābī, Kumm 1404/1985, ii, 97; al-Sharī‘, al-Mīrā‘ī, al-taṣawwuf fi ‘l-’Ilm, al-Kuwayt n.d., 147-8), which may, however, be protracted. To the extent otherwise available, the parties have the benefit of the right to rescind the executory contract while in their session (*ṣawā‘ al-muḥājila*).

The Mālikīs are stricter in this regard, insisting on prompt, if not immediate, mutual delivery, even a short delay making the exchange reprehensible (mukārik) (al-Hattāb, Mawākīl al-djālīl, Tarabulus, Libya n.d., iii, 302-3, cf. Ibn Hazm, al-Abhūnūt, ed. Shākir, Beirut n.d., viii, 493). Thus while others prohibit the parties from reserving to themselves a right of rescission (*ṣawā‘ al-djālīl*), Mālikī jurists go further and exclude delivery by assignment (*hulūl*) and the giving of either personal or real security for delivery, all of which are deemed repugnant to the required promptness of performance (Ibn Dzu‘ayy, Kawwānīn al-akhdām al-shar‘iyā, Cairo 1975, 262-3; Ibn Djalāh, al-Ta‘fī‘, ed. al-Dāhmīnī, Beirut 1408/1987, ii, 154, cf. the Hanafī al-Ankīrāwī, Fatawā, Bulāk 1281/1864-5, iii, 304). For the same reason, according to the Mālikīs, the *sarf* transaction is invalid if both parties borrow the gold or silver in order to make delivery (al-sarf idāh al-djālam) (Sahnūn, al-Mudawwana, Cairo 1323/1905, repr. Beirut n.d., iii, 396; al-Dārīfī, al-Shāb al-sharī‘ī, ed. Wāṣfī, Cairo 1972, iii, 50 gloss).

There is disagreement as to whether the requirement of mutual delivery is satisfied by a set-off of debts (lāṭirah al-dāmmayn). The Mālikīs regard the set-off as a valid *sarf* if both debts are presently due, the Hanafīs and Zaydis as being void if one of the debts is not due. The Shāfī‘is and Hanbalis, on the other hand, do not consider such a transaction a valid *sarf* (Ibn Ruṣūd, Biladrat al-mudjāhādī, Cairo n.d., ii, 174; Ibn Kudāmā, al-Muṣnī‘, ed. al-Turkī and al-Hulw, Cairo 1408/1989, vii, 106; al-Sūkhī, x, 101; Ibn al-Murtadā, iii, 389).

Where there has been only partial performance of the contract the Mālikīs treat the entire contract as
void (al-Mudawwana, iii, 392; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Kāf, ed. al-Murtada, al-Riyadh 1400/1980-1, ii, 634, cf. al-Muntakā, iv, 264). The other schools, following the principle of the severability of contracts (tafrik al-sāfak), uphold the sāf to the extent it has been executed (al-Nawawi, al-Mudāmī, Cairo n.d., ix, 461, cf. al-Shāfi‘i, al-Imn, Cairo n.d., iii, 26; al-Mardawi, al-‘Anfī, ed. al-Fikr, Beirut n.d., v, 45; al-Suyūtī, ii, 98; Ibn al-Murtada, iii, 387-8). Some jurists hold the view that the parties’ failure to take delivery under the sāf contract not only voids the contract but amounts to a sin, unless they take the trouble to repudiate the contract before separating (al-‘Aqīm, ix, 460-1, cf. al-Bahrānī, al-Haddīš & al-‘Adnārā, ed. al-Ifrāwīnī, Beirut 1405/1985, s.v., 277).

The requirement that mutual delivery take place upon contracting makes it possible for either party to prevent the enforcement of an executory sāf contract by terminating the contractual session without taking delivery (al-Muntakā, iv, 264, cf. al-Shāhānī, al-Amārī, Haydarābād 1360, 15-16). Furthermore, given the widespread circulation of different m tintages and sub-standard coins in the mediaeval period, the jurists had to determine how far subsequent adjustments in the interest of a dissatisfied party were consistent with the principle of the severability of contracts (tasābi).

The prohibition of rība requires that exchanges of gold for silver or silver involve equal quantities of the metals, any inequality constituting rība al-fadl, although some early authorities, most notably Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 68/687), have reported to have rejected the doctrine of rība al-fadl, at least for a time (e.g. al-Ṭahāwī, Shāhī ṣa‘īd al-‘Adnārā, ed. al-Nadījārī, Cairo n.d., iv, 63-71, al-Subkī, x, 23-3). Thus to have permitted the exchange of unequal quantities of gold for gold and silver for silver—auch unequal exchanges being termed sāf in the hadith (al-Nasafi, Tahātī al-talāb, Beirut n.d., 114; al-Nawawī, Shāhī ṣa‘īd al-Muṣlimī, Cairo n.d., xii, 23-4), a sense familiar to early lexicography, see Ibn Sīdā, al-Muḥayṣṣas, Beirut n.d., ii, 30 (quoting al-Khāli‘ī b. Ahmad [g.]). The requirement of strict equality (tasābi) applies to all such exchanges, which means that the form of the metals, whether raw ore (laḥ), ingots (māṣ), or manufactured articles (māṣ, māṣ, māṣ), has no bearing on the equality to be measured by weight (zawāṣ), in the time of the Prophet, without regard to the market value (kimā) of the objects (e.g. al-Bahātī, iii, 262-3). The reasonableness and hence the validity of an exchange of exactly similar coins have been questioned (Ibn Nadjījārī, al-Bahr al-rūākī, ed. Cairo, vi, 193, cf. N.J. Coulson, A history of Islamic law, Edinburgh 1964, 42).

While campaigning in Syria, Mu‘āwiyah (d. 60/680) reported to have exchanged manufactured articles taken as booty for their value in the same metal, for which he was rebuked by other Companions, including the Caliph ‘Umar (al-Zurkhnī, Shāhī al-Muṣawwī, Beirut n.d., iii, 278-9; al-Muntakā, iv, 261-2), and this practice is said to have continued in Syria until ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azīz (d. 101/720) put an end to it (al-Subkī, x, 79). Nonetheless, the opinion that the value added by labour should be reflected in the rate of exchange continued to find support. This teaching is attributed to Dāwūd al-Zahīrī (d. 270/884) (al-Shāfī‘ī, Risāla fī muṣawwī al-imām Dāwūd al-Zahīrī, Damascus 1339, 21, cf. al-MuḥallĪ, viii, 493), and it is reported of both al-Shāfī‘ī (Ibn al-Murtada, iii, 387, cf. al-Shayārī, Nihāyat al-ratba fī talāb al-‘ibda, ed. al-Arīnī, Beirut 1969, 75) and Ahmad b. Hanbal (Ibn Kudāmā, vi, 60) that they prohibited equal exchanges by weight of whole for broken coins because of the discrepancy in value. The most prominent later proponent of this doctrine was the Hanbali Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), according to whom manufactured articles of gold or silver are outside the scope of the law of sāf, which is intended to promote monetary stability (al-Bahr al-rūākī ed. Ibn ‘Ibī‘īr, al-‘Adnārā, ed. al-Fikr, Cairo n.d., 127; Ibn Kāyim al-Dīwāniyya, Flīla al-muṣawwī, ed. Sa‘d, Cairo 1388/1968, ii, 154-63; al-Ḥayyānī, al-Rawd al-nadīlī, Beirut n.d., iii, 229-31; Ibn al-‘Ālīsī, Dārūt al-‘aynānī, Cairo 1400/1980, 628-44).

The attribution to Mālik of the view that coinage might be exchanged for its value in the same metal was vigorously denied by his followers (Ibn Kudāmā, vi, 60; al-Subkī, x, 79-83, cf. J. Schacht, The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence, Oxford 1950, 67). Many Mālikis did, however, support the opinion expressed by Mālik that a traveller in dire need of coins might pay for them with the same metal in such a quantity as to cover the cost of minting (al-Kabās, i, 822, cf. al-Khīrī, v, 43 [no longer applicable according to Aṣbāb, d. 204/819]; al-Muntakā, iv, 259; al-Mawwāk, al-Ṭāgī wa l-Tabbī, on the margin of Mawākib ar-dājdī, iv, 318 [only if life is in jeopardy]). Furthermore, the Mālikis permit the exchange of up to six pieces of gold for silver, or silver for gold, or for an equal number of pieces made of the same metal even when the latter are up to one-sixth greater in weight. Such an exchange, termed muḥādāla, must be in the nature of an accommodation (marāfī) to the party with the underweight (nāsī), coins, and, according to some, must be expressly characterised by the parties as a muḥādāla, not a sale (al-Muntakā, iv, 259-60; al-Tasārī, al-Bahārī shāhī al-ḥāfa, Cairo, 1370/1951, ii, 27-9).

A further set of problems is posed when one or more objects, termed ādāmīna by Twelver Shi‘īs (al-Ṣaḥḥī al-Aswāl, al-Lam al-ma‘āmkhaya, ed. Khalanjār, Kumm 1396/1976, iii, 441 and ģirāta by Zāydis (al-Ṣan‘ānī, Minhāt al-ṣaḥīfār, San‘ā‘ 1405/1985, iii, 1388), including objects subject to the laws of rība, are introduced into the exchange of the same metals, for example one dirham and a measure of dates as consideration for two dirhams (māṣalat mudd) (cf. al-Muṣawwī, ed. Cairo n.d., iii, 26; al-Murtada, iii, 387; Ibn Kudāmā, vi, 92-4; Ibn Radjāb, al-Kawā‘id, ed. Sa‘d, Cairo 1392/1972, 267-70; al-Muḥallī, viii, 494-6). The Hanafīs, Twelver Shi‘īs and Zāydis recognise the validity of such a transaction, by analysing it as a sāf of one dirham for another and a sale of the dates for the other dirham. The sāf contract meets the test for equality. Such transactions are valid when the gold or silver on the one side exceeds that on the other, so that the excess can be referred to the added object (tartīb al-‘adāmī), (Ibn al-Murtada, iii, 338-40). The Mālikis, Shāfī‘īs and Hanbalis, on the other hand, regard this transaction as invalid, seeing in it the sale of a combination of things, with unascertained value, for two dirhams (cf. Kitāb al-Haddījī, ii, 574-5; al-Ṭahāwī, iv, 72-3 [critical]). More pertinently perhaps, such a sale can be used to circumvent the prohibition of rība al-fadl, since an object of merely nominal value can be introduced to validate what is essentially an unequal sāf contract, and so should be prohibited as a preventive measure (sadd al-dharr) (cf. al-Muṣawwī, ed. Cairo n.d., iv, 277). To obviate this result, some jurists, including the Zāydi Imām al-Ḥādi (d. 298/911) (Kitāb al-ḥāka, San‘ā‘ 1410/1990, ii, 73; al-Kāsim b. Muhammad, al-Fisām bi-hābl Allāh al-matin, ed. al-Faḍlī, San‘ā‘ 1404/1984, iv, 109 and)
reportedly, Sufyan al-Thawrî (d. 161/778) (al-Mawwâk, iv, 301), insisted that the object introduced should correspond in value to the excess (fadl) on the other side, and the Hanafîs al-Shaybânî is supposed to have regarded an unequal exchange of this sort as valid on the other (fadl) being deemed ancillary to the sale (al-mawâk, iv, 301; Manâhîh al-jâlî, iv, 318-21), whereas the Hanbâlis validate similar transactions by applying them as made up of two distinct contracts, sarf and sale (al-Bâhûtî, iii, 260-1).

The exchange of a dirham and a dinár for a dirham and a dinár (al-Khîrshî, v, 36-7 gloss) is also invalid according to the Mâlikîs, Shâfî'îs and Hanbâlis, not to speak of the exchange of two dirhams and a dinár for one dirham and two dinârs. The Hanafîs, Twelver Shî'îs and Zaydîs uphold the validity of these transactions, in the latter case by referring the silver coins on each side to the gold on the other, so that there is no requirement of equality (on the use of this principle as an evasive device, cf. al-Abî, Kâtîf al-ramîz, Kûmûb 1408/1989, i, 500-1).

The Mâlikîs' aversion to mixed transactions goes beyond that of the Shâfî'îs and Hanbâlis, for they prohibit an exchange in which, for example, gold and silver transactions, in the latter case by referring the silver coins on each side to the gold on the other, so that there is no requirement of equality (on the use of this principle as an evasive device, cf. al-Abî, Kâtîf al-ramîz, Kûmûb 1408/1989, i, 500-1).

The problems posed by the sale of objects with gold or silver ornamentation and by debased gold and silver coins are dealt with according to the rules for mixed transactions (but see Ibn Ruqâd, Fatâtâvî, ed. al-Ta'lîfî, Beirut 1407/1987, i, 210; Bidâtât al-mudâjâtâh, i, 175 [approving Aqâhîbâd's rejection of this doctrine]; al-Bâghawî, Sharâr al-sunnâ, ed. al-Ârâ'îtî, Beirut 1403/1983, viii, 67 [no basis for it]). Here, too, however, the Mâlikîs recognise exceptions on the ground of hardship for transactions with a purchase price of no more than one dirham and transactions, however large, in which the sarf component involves the exchange of less than one dinár for dirhams. In either of these cases, where no more than two dirhams are due as change for a payment in dinârs, the sarf is treated as ancillary to the sale, and delivery of the coins need not take place at the time of the contract (Hâshîyat al-Dâsîkî 'âdâl al-sharî' al-kabîr, Cairo n.d., iii, 32-3).

The Hanafîs, Twelver Shî'îs and Zaydîs permit exchanges of objects with gold or silver ornamentation or debased coins for a greater quantity of the same precious metal, although for the Hanafîs, coins which are predominantly gold or silver are deemed equivalent to coins of pure metal. Where such objects or coins are exchanged for each other, the jurists of these schools cross-reference the precious metal on each side to the other component (cf. al-Muhallâ, vii, 498-501). For the purpose of upholding its validity, the transaction is analysed as consisting of two ordinary sales. The sarf requirement of mutual delivery, however, continues to apply (Fath al-kâdrî, vi, 275). This analysis would permit the unequal exchange of debased coins for each other, a consequence that the Central Asian Hanafîs, from fear that it would open the door to râhâ, are reported to have refused to draw with respect to the greatly debased silver coins that served as their primary currency (Fath al-kâdrî, vi, 275; cf. Kâdîkhân, Fâtâtâvî, on the margin of al-Fâtâtâvî al-hîdâyî, i, 252; Dâwûd b. Yûsuf al-Kâfîrî, al-Fâtâtâvî al-qâtîhîyâî, Bûlût 1325, 141-2; on gîhirti dirhams, see al-Kirmîî, al-Nâtîfî al-arâ'îyya, Beirut n.d., 150-1).


The restrictiveness of the laws of sarf engendered evasive devices, hiya [q.], sometimes included as part of the exposition of the subject, even when labelled reprehensible (cf. al-Nawâwî, Râdat al-tâlîbin, ed. 705

SARF

**SARĪK**, the name of a Türkmen [q.v.] tribe in Central Asia. Ethonyms derived from colour names are frequent in Türkic languages. Gaghatu and Uzbek have sarık, sarık “yellow, yellowish, pale, blonde” where other historical and modern Türkic languages have sarı or sarı (Laude-Cirtautas, 64-8). The genealogy of the Sarık is connected to the Salur [q.v.], tribal group, including the Salur proper, the Ėsrarı, Teke and Yomut. In his work on the historical legends of the Turkmen, the Şagıura-yı Türk kimie, Abu l-Ghāzi Bahādur Khánum of Kháwa [q.v.] links the descent of the Sarık and the Teke to Toy Tutuğ, a son of the Salur (ed. Kargi Olmez, fol. 102a, ll. 4-5). The Sarık are reported to have lived—along with other Türkmen tribes—between the Mançıghāš [q.v.] peninsula and the Balkhā [q.v.] mountains. According to Abu l-Ghāzi Bahādur Khánum (references in Bregel 1981), in the 16th century, the Teke, Yomut and Sarık together paid a tax of 8,000 sheep to their Uzbek overlord, about half of what larger tribes like the Cowdur or Ėsrarı paid at the time, or one-quarter of the tax of the Salur tribe proper. In the first Soviet census (1926), the Sarık numbered 34,000 or 4% of the whole number of Türkmen (Bregel 1981, 137). Sarık were also in the 18th century to be found in Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Iran, but at the end of the 20th century, reliable figures are not available. In the 17th century, the Salur confederation broke up and the Salur and Ėsrarı left western Türkmenistan. Their place was taken by three junior tribes, the Teke, Yomut and Sarık (Bregel 1981, 18). In the 18th cen...
tury, the Sariq nomadised between Khwarazm and the Marw oasis. Around 1800, they gradually became the dominant Turkmen tribal group among the population in and around the oasis, engaging in agriculture as well as in nomadic pastoralism (Wood 1998, 6-7, 70-5). Wood (1998) investigated the history of the Sariq of Marw (a large part of the Sariq tribal group) drawing on Western—including Russian—travel and political literature as well as on Persian, Bukharian and, in particular, Khivian sources as the chronicles of the court historian Ágháí. By 1822, Khíva succeeded in suppressing Bukhárian rule in the Marw area, keeping it until 1842 as an outpost in its frequent campaigns against Persia. At that time, the Sariq began a prolonged struggle for independence from Khíva which ended in 1855, both sides exhausted from the annual campaigns. The period of relative stability had proved profitable for the agriculture and caravan trade of the Sariq, while the Khíván khan had been able to draw revenues from them and use them as auxiliaries and border patrols. From 1857, under Persian pressure, the numerically superior Teke of Saráqis moved into the Marw oasis and forced out the Sariq who, replacing the Salur of Yolotan and Pandjíh [q.v.] on the middle course of the Murgháb river, remained there into the 20th century.


**SARIQ**

**SARIKA**

In literary criticism, “plagiarism”. What thorough minds consider “laudable theft”, etc., in the legal sense of the word is implied, as Islamic law does not recognise intellectual property. A modern book on intellectual theft stresses the moral turpitude involved, but does not invoke any Shari'a norms or punishments (‘Abd al-Mannán, Saríkát al-islimiyya). The victim of plagiarism could only have recourse to public opinion or approach a man of power (istfá’). The term often used for this is musála (see e.g. Al-Thálíb, Yàtima, ii, 119, 5), a post-classical word possibly derived from silt, a variant—by metathesis—of istfá. For an interesting plagiarism feud, see Al-Sarí al-Raffa’i. Even contemporary authorities admitted that it was very difficult to establish the truth in the case of poems recurring in various dawáns. Al-Thálíb, quoting two poems that he found both in a collection of Al-Sarí al-Raffa’i’s poetry in the latter’s own handwriting as well as in the dawán of the Khádéli brothers in the hand of Abí ‘Udmán al-Khádéli, admits: “I do not know if I should attribute this situation to a confluence of minds (tawdrúd [al-khádéliyayn]) or to plagiarism (masúlátu) (Yàtima, ii, 110, 5). The first possibility flows from the Muslim virtue of hujúr al-sârí which enjoins people always to think best about others. But with poems consisting of five lines each, the idea of tawdrúd strains credulity (while, with one or two lines, it would not be impossible in an environment of mannerist poetising). Another way of explaining duplication of poems is, of course, uncertainty of attribution on the part of redactors.

**Borrowing**

While crude plagiarism may have exercised the literary public, a situation of truly literary interest arose only with the introduction of skillful changes into the borrowed verse. Critical literature developed along two lines: (1) general classifications and taxonomies of sárka, and (2) the collection and—to a lesser extent—critical evaluation of the sárkát of individual poets.

**Classification**

The sárka classifications are contained in a number of books on literary theory, sometimes also in the introductions to sárka collections of individual poets. They tend to be highly inhomogeneous in the early
literature. The earliest example is al-Hātimī’s (d. 385/997 [q.v.]) in his Ḥiyyat al-muhāfarrāFI sinā‘at al-dhīr (see Bibli.). His terminology seems to be tentative, partly based on earlier traditions that he quotes with their chains of authorities, but without establishing a clear system. As a consequence, there is much overlap between the terms and a certain opacity prevails (see S.A. Bonebakker’s painstaking articles on al-Hātimī in the Bibli., Ibn Rasḥīd (d. 456/1063 or later [q.v.]) is aware of this inadequacy of al-Hātimī’s taxonomy, but he makes him extensively all the same, with certain alternations and re-interpretations (see von Grunebaum, Concept, 238-40; note that the author did not yet have the text of al-Hātimī’s Ḥiyya).

Ibn Wāḥīd al-Th瀱īṣ (d. 393/1003) and Abū Hilāl al-‘Aṣkārī (d. 395/1005 [q.v.]) introduced the idea that one had to distinguish between good and bad “plagiarism”. The former did so in the introduction to his attack on al-Mutanabbī’s (Ma‘ṣūf, 9-21, 22-39; the latter in the first encyclopaedic work on literary theory, the “Book of the Two Arts” (Sīnā‘at, 196-237, cf. Kanazi, Studies, 112-22). This approach takes into account the fact that mannerist poetry is in constant intertextual dialogue with past poetry (on the term “mannerism” in this context, see S. Sperl, Mannerism in Arabic poetry (Cambridge 1989); as a result, bor- rowing motifs and developing and improving them becomes a way of life.

Ibn Abī Tāhir Tayfūr (d. 280/893 [q.v.]) expressed this idea as follows: “The discourse of the Arabs hangs together, the later instances taking from the former. The original and newly invented of it (al-mutakallīF minhu wa-l-mukhtara) is rare, if you go through it and check it. Even the cautious and watchful man, who is gifted in eloquence and poetry, whether ancient or modern, will not be safe that his discourse take [something] from the discourse of someone else, even if he does his utmost in being cautious. . . . How much more so with the affected constructor of conceits (al-mutakallīF al-mutasa‘ī) who is intentionally seeking for them” (apud al-Hātimī, Ḥiyya, ii, 28). The last sentence is the description of the mannerist poet, who cannot but have recourse to the existing poetry.

After a number of further attempts to instil some order into the traditionally transmitted terms, the taxonomy of plagiarism became homogenised and solidified in the scholastic ‘ilm al-balāgha “science of eloquence” (see Bala‘igha), starting with al-Khāṭīb al-Kaḏwīnī (d. 739/1338 [q.v.]), in his Tādhkīr al-Miftāh. From the various endeavours of the theorists, some common notions emerge:

(a) The focus of the discussion is overwhelmingly the single line, which is, of course, the most common approach in literary criticism and theory.

(b) There is discussion about what is, and what is not, subject to a verdict of plagiary. Universally-known or well-worn motifs are in the public domain. Newly-invented motifs that are attributable to individual poets form the other extreme. These are rare and, according to Ḥāẓim al-Kaḏḏājānī, “infertile”, because later poets would hardly dare to take them up again (al-mu‘ātdF l-‘alim, see Minhājī, 191, 14). Of greatest interest is the group of motifs in between the two extremes, those that have been treated, developed and improved upon (or, possibly, ruined) by a series of poets. Here a charge of plagiarism can only be avoided if the later poet introduces changes that confer a certain novelty on the borrowed motif. There are various ways of doing this: (1) by changing the context, by (a) inserting the motif into a different genre (e.g. from praise into love poetry), or (b) combining it with another motif of the same kind (see below); or (2) by changing the wording. If, by doing the latter, he improves on the rendition of the motif or adds a rhetorical twist to it, he can lay greater claim to it than the original poet. According to Ḥāzim, there are four relationships between a poet and his motif: “invention” (iḥdā‘a), “partnership” (ṣarīka), which is either “equal participation” (iḥdā‘a), when there is no quality difference between the earlier and later poet, or “falling short” (iḥtīfā‘a), if the later poet is not up to par), and finally “plagiarism” (ṣarīka) (Minhājī, 192-4).

(c) Part of the taxonomy of plagiarism is based on the laż-ḥudūd dichotomy: does the alleged plagiariser take only the motif or also its wording? Taking both with only minimal changes of the wording is the worst kind of sarīka.

(d) Plagiarism can only take place if the later poet consciously borrows from the earlier. Otherwise, identical or similar lines of poetry are due to a “confluence of two minds” (tawdrud al-khdtīrayn): the two poets found the line independently of each other (see above).

(e) An identical line could also be explained as a quotation lażmīn, lit. “incorporation”). If it is not a very well-known line, the poet has to mark it as a quo- tation in order that it not be taken as plagiarism. (2) Critical assessment of individual poets

The other branch of literature devoted to sarīka consists of collections of plagiarisms of individual poets, either in separate works or forming part of critical studies dealing with one or more poets. The most famous “modern” poets have all been made targets of such critiques: Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām and especially al-Mutanabbī (at least six separate books have come down to us). There is usually very little in the way of naming and discussing their cases; the critics rather confine themselves instead to elucidating the original (mostly by a “modern” poet) and the alleged plagiarism. They usually have a lenient approach, including many “laudable plagiarisms”. They often manage to find several originals, either because the “plagiariser” has effected a combination of two “stolen” motifs or because there is some doubt as to the correct pedigree (the “originals” are sometimes not quite relevant, belonging, as it were, to a larger and later poet is not up to par), and finally “plagiarism” (ṣarīka) (Minhājī, 192-4).

The most sophisticated cases are those in which the “plagiariser” welds two different motifs together. An example would be the following (from al-‘Arīfī, Ibnīn, 31-2; the author starts with the pedigree verses and ends with the “plagiarising” verses by al-Mutanabbī):

al-Būhārī: Malā‘ta aṣḥābā ‘l-wasā‘a balāghan fa-tradda yahṣūdu fīka man lam yahṣūd
al-‘Arīfī: Kat‘a‘a aṣḥābā ‘l-wasā‘a wa-lam yahṣūd

al-Mutanabbī: Kat‘a‘tahum hasadan arshām ma bīhām fa-takatta hasadan li-man lā yahṣūd

Here we have two motifs and their confluence in al-Mutanabbī: Motif no. 1: People envy [in you] some-
one who does not have envy [because you are the best anyway, or because envy is an evil character trait that you do not have]; motif no. 2: The praised one in the first hemistich with further ado. The second hemistich is an elaboration on it (again with nāshāt).

(c) al-Mutanabbi: The entrails are gone, but the tearing apart is still there. Motif no. 2 is in the first hemistich (with an addition, namely, that this envy shows the enviers what [evil] is in them). Motif no. 2 recurs in the second hemistich, inextricably bound together with motif no. 1.

al-Mutanabbi achieves a logical confluence of the two motifs, and in addition a pleasant balance between the two hemistichs: root q-t-s followed by hasūdan, followed by a contrast between “them” and “him”.

This technique of knitting together two independent motifs seems to be subsumed under the term tanfīk. Ibn Rashīk deals with it in one chapter of his Kurddat al-dhahab (ed. Mūṣa, 95-106). He says that al-Mutanabbi and Abu 'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arrī are the outstanding masters of this procedure. (Note that the Thālībī's use of tanfīk in his K.-Taqīfī li 'l-tanfīk, ed. Hilāl Nādji and Zuhayr Zāhīd, Beirut 1417/1996, seems to differ from Ibn Rashīk's, coming closer to murāt al-nāzīr “harmony of images”.)


SARÐKÄR (q.v.), lit. "head of affairs," a term used in Mughal Indian administration and also in the succeeding British Indian administration of the subcontinent.

1. In the structure of Mughal provincial government, as elaborated under the Emperor Akbar (q.v.) in 989/1580, there was a hierarchy of the riba (q.v.) or province, under the sâhidār (q.v.). (also called sâhâsâdâr, nâzâm and pâshî-hi râbî), the sarâr, or district, under the fâdîqâl (q.v.), who combined both administrative and military functions, corresponding to the two separate officials of British India, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police; and the pargana (q.v.) or mahâll, i.e. subdistrict, headed by various officials with specific functions, such as the kâdî for the administration of justice and the kânîngo and tâdhîrî concerned with revenue collection. Thus in Akbar's time, Abu 'l-Fadl 'Allam enumerated within the province of Awadh (Oudh) 5 sarârs and 30 parganas (see PARGANA and MUGHAL, 3).

2. As a term in the historical geography of more recent India, sarâr appears Anglicised as "the [Northern] Circars", specifically for the coastal territory north of Madras and the Coromandel Coast in peninsular South India, in part to the south of the delta of the Godâvârî river but mostly to its north (hence now in the northeastern tip of Andhra Pradesh State in the Indian Union). This territory was ceded by the British East Indian Company in 1765 by the Mughal ruler in Dâhir, Shâh 'Abd Allâh II, but claimed by the Nizâm of Haydârabâd, leading to a treaty of 1766 whereby the Nizâm gave up his claim in return for the provision of a force of British troops to be at his disposal [see further, HYDÂDARÂBÂD, at Vol. III, 320b-322a].

3. In informal Anglo-Indian usage, the sarâr (local pronunciation, Sîr-kâr, often written "Sircar") meant the state or the government, and this continued to be the usage all through British Indian times. It may be noted that the term now popularly and almost ubiquitously used to denote the British domination in India, its government and administration, sc. "the Raj" (in Hindi and the modern Indo-Aryan languages, râj is a regular derivative of râgha "kingship, rule," cognate with rāgā "ruler"), is a neologism of the post-1947 period, probably from the later 1950s, when what had been "the Raj" had in fact for several years ceased to be.

Bibliography: See the Bibli. to the various administrative terms of Mughal provincial administration cited above, and also Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, London 1903, 222, 754, 840-1; P. Saran, The provincial government of the Mughals, Allahabad 1941; S.R. Sharma, Mughal government and administration, Bombay 1951; information from Prof. Christopher Shackle. (C.E. Bosworth)

SARRAF (Ar.), lit. "money-changer," such persons often functioning as bankers in pre-modern Iran. In fîkh (q.v.), sarf is a contract of sale (bâqî (q.v.)). It applies to currency exchange, originally of gold (dînâr) to silver (dirhams) and vice-versa. The Hadîth provides basic rules for currency exchange, such as that the transaction should be on the spot (yad bi-yad) [see RîA]. Among the famous hadîth relating to sarf is "Gold for silver is ribâ except hand-to-hand" (Mâlik, Muwattâ, sarf). Money-changing was an activity apparently engaged in by the earliest Muslims. This was related to their involvement in commerce, including as the Prophet himself [see râdghûn; RÂDGHU]. However, several hadîth warn of the dangers of ribâ in currency exchange if parties do not follow the rules of sarf. Thus moneychanging as a profession was not held in high esteem by the fîkahâl. The popular view was that non-Muslims (particularly Jews and Christians) were better suited to it than Muslims, who were constrained by the prohibition on ribâ (for money-changing and banking in the mediaeval Arab world, see GAMARAH and SARF, in Suppl.).

In the Ottoman Empire, sarâfs were more than money-changers; they were also moneylenders and brokers, and pawnbrokers. In time, many sarâfs became large financiers with well-recognised international connections, and played a significant role in the economy and politics of the empire. They were based mainly in the capital, Istanbul, but also operated in provincial capitals. Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Muslims were involved in the profession.

With the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 857/1453, the Italian predominance in finance in that city ended, to be replaced by that of Ottoman non-Muslim subjects, particularly Greeks. Mehemmed II (r. 848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81) favoured Greeks who played an active role in Ottoman finance, taxation through tax-farming (e.g. administration of customs zones and mines) and politics during his reign. From the mid-16th century, Jewish bankers (sarafs) and taxfarmers challenged Greek dominance in both finance and long-distance trade. Because of the activities of the Inquisition in Catholic countries in that century, under the protection of the Ottoman Sultans, several wealthy Marrano Jewish families came to settle in Istanbul. Many were to be involved in large-scale banking operations, international trade, and investment in tax farms. Financial expertise and close links to the Sultan and ruling elite gave them considerable power. Well-known Jewish names of this period include Dona Gracia Mendes, Don Joseph Nasi and Alvaro Mendes. Later, the role of the Jews declined, and Armenians became prominent as sarâfs, with some of their members rising to prominence; for example, Mustafâ III (1171-87/1757-74) appointed a member of the Armenian Duzuoglu family as manager of the imperial mint. The ability of the Duzuoglu family to mobilise credit for the state, domestically and abroad, enabled them to retain control of the day-to-day activities of the mint until the 1820s (Parnik, Monetary history, 202).

Until the 10th/16th century especially, the sarafs functioned in a context of expanding trade both within and without the empire. Facilitated by networks, their business was enhanced by increased credit or bartering as a result of the limited supply of gold and silver coins. They used several financial instruments, e.g. the havale (Ar. havâla; q.v.) was an assignment of a fund from a distant source of revenue by a written order. It was used in both state and private finances to avoid the dangers and delays inherent in the transport of cash (Isaak and Quaataf, An economic and social history, 208). Letters of credit were also widely used, particularly from the mid-11th/17th century, by merchants and for government payment. The increase in trade also meant more opportunities for currency exchange, which was abetted by the problem of a universally acceptable currency, the fluctu-
From the 11th/17th to the 19th centuries, the state continued to need and encourage the activities of the sarrāfs, tax-farming being one. Until the late 10th/16th century, the empire’s financial situation had been strong, with the major part of taxation being collected locally and mostly in kind by the sipāhis under the timār system. These funds were used locally. The timār system then began to be abandoned in favour of tax-farming [see MÜLTEZİM], and tax units (mukāber) began to be auctioned off at Istanbul. Sarrāfs based on Istanbul were thus able to purchase tax-farming privileges or to lend money to purchasers. Sarrāfs also became direct lenders to the treasury and were considered the most dependable source of liquid funds. As the empire sank further into fiscal decline after the 1760s, it relied on the sarrāfs to use their connections with European organisations to arrange short-term direct loans to the state. The sarrāfs also became personal financiers to the sultans and many leading Ottoman bureaucrats. It is estimated that, e.g. in 1860, the short-term debts of various government offices to private banking firms (sarrāfs) alone amounted to 250 million francs (Kasaba, The Ottoman empire, 80). By the mid-19th century, the power of sarrāfs as well as of tax-farmers and merchants equalled and perhaps surpassed the power of the bureaucratic elite.

Not all sarrāfs prospered. Of the hundreds, especially in the capital, which combined petty exchange with other small-scale money lending, relatively few became extremely rich, particularly through their dealings with the central or provincial authorities. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century, the sarrāfs of Istanbul organised around a guild and began to move their business to the Istanbul suburb of Galata [see GALATA, in Suppl.], later to be known as “Galata bankers”. Consolidation was also taking place. For instance, in the early 1840s, eighty members of the guild of sarrāfs were accredited by the government; by the mid-1850s, the number was down to 18. The sarrāf families included the Baltazzis, the Rallis, Zarafts, the Rodocoachis and Duzuqouls. These families played prominent roles in most of the major private and public banks that were established in the second half of the 19th century, starting with the Istanbul Bankasi (Bank of Istanbul) in 1845 (Kasaba, The Ottoman empire, 76).

The stereotypical view of sarrāfs is that they were on the whole non-Muslims. However, Muslims appear to have been involved in all aspects of sarrāf business, including tax-farming, currency exchange, money lending and international trade. A sample of 534 tax farms in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries shows that around 60% of tax farmers were Muslims (Cizakca, Comparative evolution, 154-7). Research into the 10th/16th and 11th/17th century court records of specific regions (primarily Anatolia) of the Ottoman Empire also challenges the view that Muslims were not involved in money-lending or in the traditionally problematic area of interest. While there is debate among historians as to any marked difference between the Arab and “Turkish” parts of the Empire in regard to the acceptability of lending at interest, there is evidence that such transactions were carried out by Muslims in Anatolia on a relatively large scale, and that the practice was supported by the highest religious authorities of the time and approved by the 'ālims (judges) who were responsible for implementing the Şeriat-i 'ālim and other religious authorities, declared the permissibility not only of the cash waqf but also of interest charged on loans advanced therefrom (see Mandaville, Usurious piety). However, towards the end of the 19th century, the Muslim role in sarrāf business was radically curtailed by the increasing importance of non-Muslim sarrāf families and the emergence of banks, established largely by Europeans and by Armenian and Greek sarrāfs.


(ABDULLAH SAİED)

SÂ'TT AL-HUŞRİ Ottoman official, educator, Arab Minister and theorist of Arab nationalism, d. 1968.

He was born in San'ā', Yemen in 1880 to an Arab family of Aleppo. Both his father and mother were of prominent Aleppo mercantile families. His father, Muhammad Hilal al-Huşrî (b. 1840), served as an Ottoman judge after his graduation from al-Azhar University, becoming at the time of his son’s birth Director of the Court of Criminal Appeals in the Yemeni capital. Owing to the pattern of his father’s shifting appointments in accordance with Ottoman practice, Sâtî accompanied his family to a number of countries. Receiving his early education at home, Sâ’t learnt Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and French. At the age of thirteen, he began his formal education at the College of Mülkiyye Mektebi in Istanbul, studying mathematics, history, botany, French and chemistry. Graduating with distinction in 1900, he chose to serve as a natural science teacher in a secondary school in the Balkans. During this period, he began to develop a lifelong interest in the question of nationalism and the rights of national communities. Shortly before the eruption of the Young Turk revolution in 1908, he came into contact with members of the Committee of Union and Progress [see İTŢİHAD VE TERAKKI PJEM]. He also assumed in the same period the post of district governor in Kosovo and Florina.

After the revolution, al-Huşrî returned to Istanbul with the determination to propagate and implement his belief in a modern education system, coupled with his desire to articulate a secular notion of Ottomanism. This he did by founding new journals, publishing new school textbooks on various scientific subjects and taking part in public debates relating to contemporary issues. Furthermore, between 1909 and 1912 he assumed the directorship of the Teachers’ Training College in Istanbul, restructuring and modernising in the process its entire curricula and management. He also visited a number of European countries to acquaint himself with the latest methods of pedagogy. By the end of his directorship, al-Huşrî had become one of the most influential educators throughout the Ottoman Empire.

His most distinctive intellectual contribution in the Ottoman period of his life was five lectures he delivered...
in Istanbul in 1913 on the significance of patriotism. In these lectures, entitled Vatan ʿin, he called for building a new Ottoman community based on the idea of the fatherland as an object of love. Moreover, these lectures formed the basis of his Arab nationalist theory in the wake of his decision to leave the Ottoman capital in 1918 and join the newly formed government of Amir Faysal in Damascus.

In his Arab phase, al-Ḥusrī resumed his interrupted career by acting as Director General of Education, and then Minister of Education in the Syrian government until its liquidation by the French in 1920. After a short sojourn in Italy and Egypt, he once again joined Faysal, the new king of British-mandated ‘Irak, and became Director General of Education from 1923 to 1927. He used this opportunity to create a new system of instruction geared towards the inculcation of Arab nationalism, coupled with his insistence on high standards and rigorous methods of promotion. Meeting resistance or obstruction in the course of his duties, he resigned his post and devoted himself to lecturing at the Teachers’ College and publishing a new journal on education. In 1935 he assumed the deanship of the Law College and was appointed the first director of Antiquities between 1936 and 1941. Following the second British occupation of ‘Irak in 1941, al-Ḥusrī was, along with other non-ʿIrakī Arab nationalists, deported to Syria and stripped of his ‘Irakī citizenship. In 1944 he was invited by the Syrian government to modernise and overhaul its system of education. The foundation of the Arab League in 1945 afforded al-Ḥusrī the opportunity to develop his system of instruction geared towards the inculcation of Arab nationalism, coupled with his insistence on high standards and rigorous methods of promotion. Meeting resistance or obstruction in the course of his duties, he resigned his post and devoted himself to lecturing at the Teachers’ College and publishing a new journal on education. In 1935 he assumed the deanship of the Law College and was appointed the first director of Antiquities between 1936 and 1941. Following the second British occupation of ‘Irak in 1941, al-Ḥusrī was, along with other non-ʿIrakī Arab nationalists, deported to Syria and stripped of his ‘Irakī citizenship. In 1944 he was invited by the Syrian government to modernise and overhaul its system of education. The foundation of the Arab League in 1945 afforded al-Ḥusrī the opportunity to develop its cultural and educational policies. After acting as a cultural adviser, he was appointed the first director of the Institute of Higher Arab Studies in 1953.

After his retirement in 1957, al-Ḥusrī wrote and published a number of studies on pan-Arabist subjects, including his memoirs, which dealt with his ‘Irakī period. He died in 1968.


**ṢATĪ AL-ḤUSRĪ** (a.), “concealment”, a term used in a variety of senses particularly by the Ismāʿīlīyya [q.v.]. The Ismāʿīlīs originally used it in reference to a period in their early history, called dawr al-ṣatī, stretching from soon after the death of Imam Daʾar al-Ṣādiq in 148/765 to the establishment of the Fāṭimid state in 297/909. The Ismāʿīlīs’ term, recognised as the kāʾīm or mahdī by the majority of the early Ismāʿīlīs, was hidden (māstūr) during this period of concealment; in his absence, he was represented by ḥudjīdīn (see Daʾar b. Mansūr al-Yaman, *Khābāt al-kadhīf*, ed. R. Strothmann, London 1952, 98-9; al-Sahrāstānī, 146). Later, the Ismāʿīlīs of the Fāṭimid period, who allowed for continuity in their imāmāt, recognised a series of three such “hidden imāms” (al-dīnima al-māstūrātān) between Muhammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Daʾar, their seventh imām, and ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty (see H.F. al-Hamdānī, *On the genealogy of Fāṭimid caliphs*, Cairo 1958, text 11-14).

In the aftermath of the Nizārī-Mustaʿlī schism of 487/1094 in Ismāʿīlism, the early Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs experienced another period of satī, when their imāms, descendants of Nizār b. al-Mustansir (d. 488/1095 [q.v.]), remained hidden for several decades. The inaccessible Nizārī imāms were now once again represented by ḥudjīdīs, starting with Ḥasanān-ibn-Šabbih [q.v.], who also ruled over the Nizārī state from Almūt [q.v.]. The period of satī in early Nizārī history ended with the declaration of the kāʾīmāt at Almūt in 559/1164 and the resulting open emergence of the Nizārī imāmāt. Subsequently, the term satī acquired a new meaning for the Nizārīs. As explained by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, the Nizārīs had by the late Almūt period formulated what may be called a new doctrine of satī. In this context, satī no longer referred to the physical concealment of the imām; instead, it referred to a time when spiritual reality or religious truths (ḥokāʾīk) were hidden in the batin of religion, requiring the observance of takfīyā in any necessary form, including the adoption of the Sunnī ḥanīfī as demanded earlier by the sixth lord of Almūt, Djiḥal al-Dīn Ḥasan (607-18/1210-21).

The Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīs, who survived only in the ʿĪyāfī period after the downfall of the Fāṭimid dynasty, have experienced a period of satī, in the original Ismāʿīlī sense of the term, since their twentieth imām, al-ʿAmīr bi-ʾĀlkām Allāh [q.v.], was murdered in 524/1130. It is the belief of the ʿĪyāfī Ismāʿīlīs that all their imāms, starting with al-ʿAmīr’s son al-Ṭayyīb who disappeared in infancy, have remained hidden to the present day. In their absence, ḥukm mutālākh, or supreme ḥukm, have led the affairs of the ʿĪyāfīyya [q.v.].

Satī found expression also in the Ismāʿīlīs’ cyclical conception of religious history of humankind. The Ismāʿīlīs believed from early on that this hierarchy was comprised of seven eras or dawrs, all except the last one being eras of satī, because the inner, immutable truths of religions or the ḥokāʾīk remained undisclosed. In this scheme, only in the seventh and final eschatological era initiated by the kāʾīm before the end of the physical world, would the ḥokāʾīk be fully revealed to humankind. This final age, designated as the dawr al-kakhf or the era of manifestation, would be an age of pure spiritual knowledge where there would no longer be any distinction between the gahār and batin dimensions of religion, and between religious laws and their inner meanings. On the basis of astronomical calculations, the ʿĪyāfīs of Yaman introduced further innovations into this cyclical scheme. They conceived of a grand aeon (kaʿwār al-dāmār) composed of countless cycles, each one divided into seven eras. This grand aeon would progress through successive cycles of concealment (ṣatī) and manifestation (kakhf), and it would be finally concluded by the Great Resurrection (*khāmāt al-kiyāmat*) proclaimed by the final kāʾīm.


(F. Dafyarty)

šawāljaḏān (a.), said to be an Aramaisised form of Pers. šawāγān “polar stick” [see šawāγān]. The intrusive š i this difficult, but D.N. MacKenzie, *A concise dictionary of Pahlavi*, London 1971, 22, has *kāτuš* šāγān (“of doubtful transcription”). At all events, the curve of a polar stick makes it a suitable figurative expression, either as a simile [see ṭaγāmun] or as a metaphor [see ṭi‘āra], in classical Arabic, Persian and Turkish literatures, for the curving eyebrows and locks or tresses of hair of a beautiful girl; see Annemarie Schimmel, *The two-colored brocade. The imagery of Persian poetry*, Chapel Hill N.C. and London 1992, 284-5. (C.E. Bosworth)

šēbdan (r., from Pers. šagān “servant in charge of dogs, or keeper of the sultan’s hounds”). In Ottoman Turkish, it was often spelled šagān, and also written as šagān or šeşmen, following popular pronunciation), a term of Ottoman palace and military organisation.

In the Ottoman Empire, the term had three general uses which evolved over time: first used for the guardsians of the sultan’s hunting dogs, it was then applied to members of various salaried infantry units within the Janissaries, surviving until the corps itself was abolished in 1826, and finally, as the name of groups of infantry auxiliaries or militias. Officially prohibited as a military term in the latter use at the beginning of the 18th century, it was briefly revived again in the 19th. In present-day provincial Turkish, šeşmen refers to an armed ceremonial escort in national dress.

The first use of the term šagān occurs in a ważf deed of the late 8th/14th century. Hunting and dogs were an integral part of the early Ottoman court, especially of that of Bayezid I [q.v.], who is credited with greatly expanding the number of šagāns. Servants for the hunting parties were probably recruited from war captives or as part of the military levy (deşterme [q.v.]). Early records indicate that villagers sought protection from recruitment, or from other obligations to šagāns, indicating the burden which hunting could impose on the populace. Murād I [q.v.], explicitly recognised the service of his šagāns and falconers in his will, emancipating them at his death. Šagān figures prominently in Ottoman miniature painting. Sulaymān I [q.v.] himself was portrayed as a great hunter, and surrounded by dogs and their keepers (see *şariyya*; viii. Painting, Pl. X, for an example).

In the 9th/15th century, the evolution of courtly retinue to fighting units became more marked, and it is at this point that šagāns became part of the Janissaries. In 855/1451, Mehmed II added 7,000 šagāns to the Janissaries, with a separate commander, the šagān bağlī, who joined the ranks of the high officials of the empire (Chalcondyles, ed. Bonn 1848, bk. vii, 377). Other officers of the šagāns included a kethiidsa and a kāhīn. After the middle of the 16th/16th century, the šagān bağlī was subordinated to second-in-command after the ağa, and generally remained in Istanbul when the ağa left on campaign. The šagāns formed the 65th orta of the Janissaries, and were divided into two sections: a small cavalry orta of 40-70 men, most of whom were sons of Janissary officers, and 34 bölük (companies of infantry), known as the šagān bölükleri. Hunting traditions survived in the 33rd bölük, called the ważf (hunter) bölük, which accompanied the sultan on hunting parties but not on campaigns; sons of Janissaries and statesmen alike made up its rolls.

A second general use of the term was for provincial auxiliary mercenary or militia troops, like the levend [q.v.], who served the official appointees to the provinces, the paşas, nīr-i mirāns, bölgêhêri or sandıkêh begleri [q.v.]. Initially the entourage of the governor (paşa), his private retinue and army (kâfî halkî), şagān also came to be applied to troops called to campaign, and paid out of the central treasury (nīr-i şagāns, nīr-i levend). Provincial officers were the recruiters of the şagān-levend style of troops, and by the end of the 18th century, they were each required to mobilise 1,000-2,000 cavalry or infantry for campaigns. The essential characteristic of such auxiliary units was that they carried firearms, were recruited for short periods, and were drawn from the countryside, often from among the landless and lawless [see bârûd, iv]. Their first significant appearance in that military capacity was during the Ottoman-Habsburg War of 1593-1606, when a few hundred were noted among the troops in Hungary. They were recruited as other auxiliary troops, into companies or standards (şeyrân), the latter generally numbering 50 or 100 men. Their use was increased in the latter 11th/17th century, as both Janissary and sipâhîs [q.v.] proved inadequate for facing the better-armed Habsburgs.

The demobilisation of such troops led to countryside unrest, as they often stayed together as armed bands, and participated in uprisings such as the Djeâlî rebellions [see ṭi‘ār, in Suppl.] or revolts of their provincial masters. The central government endeavoured unsuccessfully to eliminate the designation şagān around 1700, but military necessity dictated its continuance, although the term nīr-i levend was the preferred usage for such troops by the mid-18th century.

Such mercenary or militia troops could be found in all the territories of the empire, as armies of provincial officials, as the fighting units described above, or as guards of towns, where they were often in conflict with local Janissaries. They included Christian recruits, Albanians, Serbs, and Croatians, especially in the Principalities, where they were called şegmen, and could be found in the fighting forces of Moldavia and Wallachia well into the 18th century. In general, however, Muslims were the primary recruits, and Albanians and Bosnians the most prized for their military prowess.

The term şagān was revived in military usage in 1808, when Muṣṭafâ Paşa Bayrakdâr [q.v.] tried to continue the reforms of Selîm III [q.v.] by renaming the detested nīr-i şelid [q.v.], troops şagān-i şelid, and incorporating them as the eighth şagān of the Janissaries. The new troops allied with the Janissaries, however, and were instrumental in Muṣṭafâ’s own downfall that same year. The term şagān disappeared when Muḥammad II [q.v.] eliminated the corps in 1826.

SEMENDIRE, the Ottoman Turkish form of the Serbian town of Smederovo, older form Semendria. Lying on the Danube downstream from Belgrade [q.v.] (lat. 44° 40' N., long. 20° 56' E.), it was in pre-modern times a fortified town and, under the Ottomans, the chief-locus of a sandjak of the same name. Since the break-up of Yugoslavia, it has come within the Serbian Republic.

A first conquest under Murad II (842/1443) did not lead to permanent incorporation into the Ottoman Empire, since due to the crisis of 847/1444 the sultan thought it necessary to preserve the Serbian despotate as a buffer state between his own lands and those of the king of Hungary (Halil Inalcik and Mevlut Qguz (eds.), Gazavat-i Sultan Murad b. Mehemmed Han, Ankara 1978, 31-5, 102-3). According to Theodore Spandunes, it was George Kantakuzenos, named Sachatia, a brother of the Byzantine princess Irene, consort of the Despot of Serbia George Brankovic, who came from the Morea to Serbia and built the fortified town of Smederovo. In 858/1454, this was one of the major centres of the Serbian despotate, with fortifications solid enough to withstand an Ottoman attack. In 860/1454, a Hungarian attempt to take the town was also beaten back by the same George Kantakuzenos (Th. Spandunes, On the origin of the Ottoman Emperors, tr. and ed. D. Nicol, Cambridge 1997, 29, 35; Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik, tr. Renate Lachmann, with comm. by eadem, C.-P. Haase and G. Prinzing, Graz 1975, 117, 210, this being the text supposedly written by Constantine of Ostrovica, an ex-Janissary or Janissary auxiliary; Th. Stavridis, The Sultan of Vezirs: the life and times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Paşa Angeloglu (1453-1474), Leiden 2001, 82-95).

After the death of George Brankovic and that of his son Lazar two years later, Smederovo was inherited by the latter's son-in-law, the Bosnian king Stepan Tomasevic, who in 863-4/1459 surrendered the city to Mehmed Paşa, then beylerbey of Rumeli. Born a member of the Byzantino-Serbian aristocratic family of the Angelovic, Mehmed Paşa had been commissioned to take over the region in the name of Sultan Mehmed II. Pope Pius II viewed the Ottoman conquest of the Serbian despotate and the concomitant acquisition of Smederovo as a calamity all but equivalent to the end of the Byzantine Empire. Most possessions of the Serbian despotate within the kingdom of Hungary were confiscated by the local ruler as a measure of retaliation for the surrender of Smederovo (F. Babinger, Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit, Weltstürmer einer Zeitenwende, Munich 1953, 174-5).

These events had been preceded, in 862/early 1458, by an attempt on the part of Michael Angelovic, Mehmed Paşa's (probably elder) brother, a member of the regency council that took over after the death of Lazar, to make himself despot with the backing of the Ottoman sultan and take power in Smederovo. He had gained the support of Serbian nobles who were worried about a possible subjection to the Pope, in case the Hungarian party should gain the upper hand. However, the takeover failed, and Michael Angelovic was arrested by members of the pro-Hungarian party in the regency council and sent to Dubrovnik, where—probably at Hungarian behest—he was held captive by a local patrician (C. Jirecek, Geschichte der Serben, Gotha 1918, ii, 207-15). If this version of events is the true one, Michael Angelovic thus cannot have negotiated the surrender of Smederovo to his brother on the Ottoman side (Stavridis, op. cit., 102; most Ottoman chronicles, however, take the agreement between brothers for granted; see for example Âlîbâbâcâzası târîkî, ed. Âli Bey, Istanbul 1392/1914, 152. On a divergent version of these campaigns, compare The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Türsun Beg, comments and tr. by Hâil Inalcik and R. Murphey, Minneapolis and Chicago 1978, 40-5; Türsun Beg claims that the outer fortress of Smederovo was conquered by force of arms, and only the inner citadel ultimately surrendered). Subsequently, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary made various projects for a conquest of the fortress, now known in Ottoman as Semendire, but none of these led to any concrete results (Babinger, op. cit., 385).

Within the Ottoman realm, the Semendire area became a sandjak and was divided up into timars and zâmites [q.v.], itself forming part of the beylerbeylik of Rumeli; in the early 10th/16th century, Belgrade was part of this sandjak, albeit producing far less revenue than the Semendire area (M. Tâylî Gökbulğin, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlangıçında Rumeli eyaleti, in: Jâhed, ed., Hâkim, eyalet ve kasaban, in: Belleten, xx [1956], 252-7). After the conquest of Hungary, Semendire was transferred to the newly formed vilayet of Buda. In addition to the cavalry supplied by timâr and zâmêts, the local Eflak (Vlach) were accorded tax remissions in return for military services (N. Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinhauser, Quatre actes de Mehmed II concernant les Vlachs des Balkans slaves, in: Beldiceanu, Le monde ottoman des Balkans [1420-1536]; institutions, société, économie, London 1976, no. III; on Vlach-related issues in the reign of Bayezid II, see for example, Mahmud Âlî Efendi, Bâyezîd dînî ve bâyezîdevi-târîkh, II. Bâyezîd dinemine ait 906/1501 târîhî akbaam defteri, ed. by İhvan Şahin and Feridun Emeene, Istanbul 1994, nos. 208, 209). Entries in the 10th/16th-century Mühimme defterleri reflected the position of Semendire as a military base during the wars of Suleyman the Magnificent against the Habsburgs: its governor was called upon to purchase timber for bridge-building, see to the construction of boats to be used on the Danube and organise supplies of flour and barley for the needs of the army. The town also possessed a cannon-foundry (topkâhîne). A text from 951-2/1544-6 refers to the fact that much of the town had been destroyed by fire, and enjoined the kâddî to make sure that the new houses were not built so close to the walls as to endanger their military function (Hac Osman Yıldırım et alii [eds.], 7. numaralî mühimme defterler 975/976/1567-69, 5 vols. Ankara 1997, i, 273. For one of the oldest extant Mühimme registers, see Halil Sahilioglu [ed.], Topkâhîne Savrî arşiv-i H. Eser 932-952 târîkî ve mühimme defteri, Istanbul 2002, 24-5, 192-3, 219, 306; for a selection of relevant texts from this register in French tr., see Müheva Benièdei and G. Veinstein, L'Empire ottoman et les pays roumains 1544-1545, Paris and Cambridge, Mass. 1987, 8-9, 14-15, 18-19, 29, 40-3, 46, 65-6, 69-70).

Economic life was based on agriculture, stock-rais-
ing and fishing; Semendire functioned as a small-scale market for rural produce, while crafts seem to have been of limited importance and many townsmen cultivated fields and gardens. (B. McGowan, Food supply and taxation on the Middle Danube (1560-79), in Archivum Ottomanicum, i [1969], 139-96; Müneca Bertindedi, Amint Berthier, Marielle Martin and G. Veinstein, Code de lois de Murad III concernant la province de Smederevo, in Südost Forschungen, xxxi [1972], 140-63). Timber was brought in from the surrounding forests, while imports from further afield included metals, Asian spices and also slaves; the Danube seems to have functioned as a barrier at which internal customs could be conveniently collected.

After the period of Zužiturok [1015/1606 [p.r.]] had ended the Long War between Habsburgs and Ottomans, the embassy of Adam Freiherr von Herberstein was, on its return from Istanbul (1610-18/1608-9), permitted to view the fortifications of Semendire (M. Brandstetter, Itinerarium oder Reisbeschreibung, in K. Nehring, Adam Freiherr zu Herberstens Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel: ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zužiturok (1600), Munich 1983, 174-5). This permission may have been granted because Ottoman military men regarded the fortifications as obsolescent. Brandstetter described a once powerful stronghold that he did not, however, consider very suitable for contemporary warfare. Roofs and floors had been neglected, while heavy artillery could only be placed in the towers and on the bare ground; but the fortress did suffice to control traffic on the Danube. Brandstetter also noted the existence of an inner citadel protected by its own water-filled ditch and five towers, as well as the presence of a garrison commander, but he made no reference to a civilian population.

An 11th/17th-century description from an Ottoman perspective is owed to Ewliya Celebi, who visited Semendire as a participant in several Balkan campaigns (Evlîya Celebi Seyahatnamesi. Topkapâ Sarayi Baydâg 307 yazmasının transkripsyonu-dizisi, v. ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and İbrahim Sezgin, Istanbul 2001, 316-17). Ewliya relates a set of partly counterfactual traditions concerning the Ottoman acquisition of the town, seventeen years before Constantinople, possibly an allusion to the ephemeral conquest under Murād II. These stories are, however, important because they possibly circulated among the local military men and show the “ideological” importance of Semendire even at this date. Other conquest traditions involve a marital union between Sultan Bâyezîd I Yildırım and a daughter of the Serbian despot which resulted in the conclusion of peace between the two states—this was possibly a reminiscence of the marriage of the Serbian princess Mara to Murād II. These stories also include an account of military conquest on the part of Mehmed II and a subsequent return of the town to the unbelievers in exchange for the liberation of the commander Ball Bey, who had been taken prisoner in battle. After his return, Ball Bey supposedly attacked and took Semendire, so that he was regarded as its second conqueror, his memory perpetuated by a zawiye slightly to the west of the town. This latter story probably refers to one of the first sizeable mosques of the province, Ball Bey Malkoçoglu, who became famous for his two campaigns against Poland and other feats of derring-do (Babinger, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechts der Malkoç-Oghlus, repr. in Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante, i, Munich 1962, 355-70; and see Malkoç-Oghullarî, in Suppl.).

As in the late 10th/16th century, Semendire in Ewliya’s time was a centre of the homonymous sandjak, famous on account of the numerous soldiers domiciled in this place (‘Ayn-‘Ali Efendi, Kütüphanî-i dîvâni-i ‘Othmânîn deḥkülâ-i meddâm-i derâ-i dîvân, preface by Gökbûlgûn, Istanbul 1979, 17; compare also the description by Kâtib Celebi, Rumeli and Bosna, tr. J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812). The fortress supposedly consisted of an inner and an outer section, with a circumference of 4,000 paces and four gates, protected by the Danube on three sides and in addition by 36 towers. Apart from the garrison officers, the urban elite consisted of the kâbîl, the şehri kethüsâni and the teachers in two local medreses, while four Friday mosques, one of them bearing the same name as Mehmed the Conqueror, were available for worship. There was a settlement outside of the walls (wanîkât) that supposedly contained 3,000 houses and 300 shops, accessible by wooden bridges crossing the river or else the water-filled ditch that made the fortress into a virtual island. Due to the marshy ground, few buildings were of stone, roofs were often covered in wooden shingles and even the streets were paved with boards. Although Ewliya claims that an abundance of goods was available in the two local bâlanit and elsewhere, the lack of a covered market probably indicates that this was not a town noted for its commerce (on the limited economic activity of the entire area, see McGowan, The Middle Danube cul de sac, in Huri İslâmoglu-Inan (ed.), The Ottoman Empire and the world-economy, Paris and Cambridge 1987, 170-7).

In the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1094-1111/1683-99, Semendire shared the fate of nearby Belgrade: it was first taken by the Habsburgs and then re-conquered by the Ottomans. The Ottomans, however, gave it back to Belgrade in 1140-1/1729; this was probably a sign of the town’s declining relative importance (Adolph Kunike [ed.], Zeyve hundert vier und sechzig Donau-Absichten nach dem Laufe des Donaustromes, comments by Georg C.B. Runy, Vienna 1826, repr. Munich n.d.; non-paginated brochure appended to the lithographs). Nevertheless, in the early 13th/19th century, Semendire formed one of the centres of a Serbian movement for autonomy; in 1219-20/1805 local troops in rebellion against the Ottomans. The Ottomans then gave the town back to Belgrade (J. Stroy, Maršigt’s Europe, 1680-1730: the life and times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, soldier and virtuoso, New Haven 1994, 57, 74-5, 78, 95, 109; Barbara Jelavich, History of the Balkans, i, Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Cambridge 1983, 91, 198).

Documenting the physical shape of the town at the beginning of that century, there survive two remarkable lithographs published in 1241-2/1826 (Kunike op. cit., nos. 180, 181). These show that the town preserved quite a few of the characteristics described one and a half centuries earlier by Ewliya Celebi. While according to Runy’s comments, the fortress lay partially in ruins, this is not apparent from the images, which show a wall surmounted by towers of different shapes and sizes and protected by a palisade. The town proper was located not on the peninsula/island but on the river banks, and there was a Muslim section surrounded by many minarets, more than the few surviving in Ewliya’s time. Semendire possessed a sizeable Christian quarter as well, for there was also a church with a high steeple, rather Central European in character. Roofs and walls made for shingles still formed a notable feature of the local architecture, and the Austrian commentator remarked that the town had “a handsome appearance”.

SEMENDIRE 715
SHAH Dagh, a peak of the most eastern
mountain range which in medieval Islamic times separated the districts of Kuba from Shamsa. It now lies in the northeastern part of the Azerbaijan Republic.

SHAHBANDAR (p.), lit. "harbourmaster", an official of the ports in Safavid Persia and one also known on other shores of the Indian Ocean. A lack of information from before the advent of the European maritime companies notwithstanding, it is likely the office of shahbandar first appeared in Persia, and from there spread throughout the Indian Ocean basin. The precise status of the shahbandar remains unclear for the early period. Moreland concluded that, while elsewhere around the Indian Ocean the term had a wide range of meaning in the 10th/16th century, in Hormuz it clearly referred to the harbourmaster. He documents a shahbandar in that port for 1521, and for 1584 the Portuguese sources identify the chief officer of customs du praya, chief warden of the beach and customs house. The Portuguese sources also mention an official called juiz da alfandega, judge of the tollhouse. Already at that time the function had a political dimension as well, for at some point in the early 10th/16th century, the vizier of Hormuz combined his position as governor of the port with that of head of customs.

Most of the subsequent information on the shahban-
dar concerns the position in Bandar 'Abbas [q.v.] after the arrival in the Persian Gulf of the English and Dutch East India Companies in the early 17th century, and is a function of the documents generated by their agents. In the Persian sources the shahbandar appears as the shahbandar, commander of imports and exports, but he is rarely mentioned, reflecting the fact that, although the Persian Gulf trade was important to the state and the official served the central administration, the region itself was not at the centre of official attention.

The shahbandar wielded considerable power in the port. He administered the payment of tolls on incoming and outgoing goods, which generally amounted to 10% of value for both. In order to secure smooth transactions, merchants were forced periodically to hand him gifts, which was really a form of taxation. Thus the Dutch and the English typically paid the shahban-
dar of Bandar 'Abbas 50 tumanis annually, but in 1654 we hear of local merchants being forced to pay a sum of 1,000 tumanis, and in 1661 the resident Indian merchant community was made to pay a similar amount. Shakhbandar were also wont to make private deals with brokers, who bribed them to let goods pass. Shakhbandar had their own agents in other Persian Gulf ports and India and elsewhere in Persia who tried to entice merchants to patronise Bandar 'Abbas. There are also reports of the shahbandar of Bandar 'Abbas terrorising the local merchants and interfering with their trade, demanding the choicest wares available at below market prices and refusing to give a transport license when they demurred.

While sharing many of his responsibilities and traits with shahbandar in other parts of Asia, the shahbandar in Persia resembles the ones in India and South East Asia more than his colleagues in the Ottoman Empire. Whereas in a place like Aleppo the shahbandar was chosen from among the wealthy local merchants, and was sometimes a Jew or an Armenian, in 11th/17th-century Persia he was invariably a political official with a fixed salary, who was sent down by the central government with the task of collecting customs revenue for the shah. At the end of his term in office he had to account for his dealings and submit his financial report to the crown's financial council. The fact that in the late 1620s Maluyim Beg was simultaneously the shah's commercial factor and shahban-
dar of Bandar 'Abbas suggests this strong nexus between politics and commerce. The reports of the maritime companies also make clear that the shahbandar was a shadowing official, sent down to supervise and report on the khan of the town. As this surveillance was mutual, it often led to rivalry and even violent confrontations between the retinue of both officials. As was the case for most positions in Safavid Persia, the post of shahbandar tended to be hereditary, yet no single family managed to establish a hold over it for any length of time. For most of the 1650s, Muhammad Beg, who later became Grand Vizier, and his family furnished a series of shahbandars, beginning with Muhammad Beg himself. Of Armenian descent, he was a ghulam [q.v.], one of the many originally Christian slaves from the Caucasus region who attained high political positions in Safavid Persia. Georgian ghulams, who by the 11th/17th century had taken over most of the administration in the country, infiltrated the position as well. In 1669 it was reported that the new shahbandar was a Georgian ghulam.

Several changes occurred in this same period. Until 1656 the port of Kung fell under the jurisdiction of Lâr [see Lâr, Lâristan]. When 'Avad Beg left his post as khan of Lâr, a separate governor-cum-shahbandar was appointed for Kung, apparently in order to improve the central government's control over its revenues. A similar motivation underlay the changes effected in the smaller ports of the Persian Gulf, which until the second half of the 11th/17th century did not have a customs house and therefore no shahban-
dar. As this prompted those merchants keen to evade tolls and harassment in Bandar 'Abbas to turn to those ports, the Safavid government in the mid-1660s conducted an investigation and decided to establish a customs house in Bandar Rag. Bâghîr [q.v.], which was of minor importance, had a shahbandar, too, at this point. Smaller ports must have remained under the jurisdiction of local shahbandar.

In a more structural change, the position of shahban-
dar of Bandar 'Abbas began to be farmed out in this period. Until the reign of Shah Sulayman (1077-1105/1666-94), each individual port had its own customs official and the office of shahbandar had rotated on an annual basis. Mismanagement, corruption and the attendant dwindling income from customs in the early 1670s prompted the Safavid government to consolidate the customs administration by bringing it under the control of one official, who now farmed the post for six to eight years at a fixed salary and a stipulated revenue of 24,000 tumanis. (Chardin claims that the change came in 1674, but it is more likely that it was part of a series of reforms effected by the Grand Vizier Shâykh 'Ali Khan in 1671-2.) The term of a given official might be prolonged after expiration. Thus in 1684, Mirza Murtaza, having served one term, received the post for seven more years. He was also reinstated as shahbandar of Kung. Various other sources report that, ten years later, the shahban-
dar of Kung acted both as customs official and as dârûgra [q.v.], or mayor of the town, and that he
farmed the customs of Kung, Bandar 'Abbas and Bandar Rīg, for an annual sum of 20,000 tūmāns. 

Būghrū in the mid-12th/18th century offers an example of an Armenian ḡhābdan—-as opposed to a ḡhābdīn—who had been made to convert to Islam. This person was named Khâlel Mellek, a subordinate of the ḡhābdan of Bandar 'Abbas. In 1748 the town's governor, Shâykh Nâṣir, usurped the position. This may have set a precedent, for in the 19th century the head of customs in Būghrū appears to have been the port's ḍâbīn or kalantar (q.v.) or mayor, rather than a ḡhābdan. Beginning in ca. 1850, when the port's trade began to flourish, customs were collected by a private functionary called the hammalbāshī. In Bandar 'Abbas, the term ḡhābdan long remained in use, but here, too, it was the hammalbāshī who in the 19th century collected customs fees. In the smaller ports, tribal chiefs or government officials called ḍâbīs were usually the ones to manage the port's customs.

Having become obsolete for the port towns of Persia, the term ḡhābdan was now used for the official who represented the interests of the Turkish merchants operating within Persia.


SHĀ'IR.

1. B. From the 'Abbāsīd period to the Nahda.

Poetic communication is part of a larger system of social communication governed by a particular set of rules and carried out by participants who are more or less aware of the value and meaning of these rules. The role of the poet is only one of several roles which are mutually co-communicative. Any discussion of one of these social roles must perforce take into account the other roles. S.J. Schmidt (1992) described four action roles which are used below to inform the discussion of shā'ir.

(a) Production. In the period between 750 and 1850, poetry was composed by a very different range of people from all walks of society in the Arab speaking world. Among the producers of poetry we find caliphs and craftsmen, secretaries and slaves, religious scholars and rogues, members of noble Arab tribes or people of non-Arab descent, rich and poor, famous and infamous. Of the three main panegyrists of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Tammām (d. ca. 251/865 [q.v.]) was of Christian descent (and embarrassed by this fact), and had to earn his living as a weaver's assistant and a water carrier in his early years; Ḥāfīz al-Rūmī (d. 283/896 [q.v.]) was of Christian descent as well (and of it), whereas al-Ḥujṭūṭi (d. 284/897 [q.v.]) was of pure Arab stock and grew up in a tribal milieu.

There was no uniform group of poets, nor was being a poet considered a specific profession with an established and definitive course of study or a canon of specific knowledge to be learned. Instead, everybody who had learned to compose poetry that met with common approval was called shā'ir. Professional poets during the 'Abbāsīd period were primarily court poets who were financially dependent on the favour of a patron. In later periods, poets most typically came from the ranks of the 'ulama'. During the whole of the period in question, however, it was taken for granted that every educated person had the ability to take part in poetic communication, at least in the role of a receptive listener/reader. Therefore, poetry composed by professional poets forms only one segment of the poetry composed, composed, and transmitted. Even those poets who can be considered professional poets often played more than the role of the producer of poetry and engaged in processing literary and other roles. SJ. Schmidt (1992) described four action roles which are used below to inform the discussion of shā'ir.

(b) Mediation. The oral recitation of a poem by its producer has always been considered the basic means by which poetry was made accessible to others. Professional singers were not only important but often even famous transmitters of poetry from the latter
Umayyad period onwards, not only in courtly arenas but also in other well-to-do households. Written transmission in the form of letters or books also played an increasingly important role. The output of individual poets was often collected in the form of a diwān, frequently by those other than the original poets themselves. An example was Abu Bakr al-Sṹfĩ (d. ca. 335/947 [q.v.]) who collected the diwān of Abũ Nuwãs, Abũ Tãrmãm, Ibn al-Rũnĩ and others. Of enormous importance for the transmission of poetry were anthologies [see MAŠĀR] and other works of adab. Both linguistic and historiographical works as well as collections of biographies contain a great deal of poetry. Religious texts of an edifying nature and Sṹfĩ works are hardly to be found without poetry. After the rise of the madrasa [q.v.], the formal parameters of poetry (metre, rhyme) and peculiarities of literary language [see AL-MA'AN! WA 'L-BAYAN] would become part of the propaedeutic discipline of adab (in this case meaning the whole of linguistic disciplines). Poetry itself, however, was not a regular subject in the curriculum. Only the most famous works, such as the Diwān of al-Mutanabbi and the Makāmat of al-Hãrîrĩ, were taught within an academic framework. Story-tellers and preachers [see ÎSÁS] included poems in their speeches and thus contributed to their own popularity among the masses. As a whole, the process by which poetry was imparted has not yet been studied adequately.

(c) Reception. Poetry was an everyday commodity. A poet could “réciter une gaïda à son entourage, à ses amis, à des confères. Qu’il aille dans les souks de la ville, parcourt ses rues, fréquente les cabarets de ses faubourgs et leurs jardins, dans le demeure d’un bourgeois ou d’un prince, partout... il peut declamer sans étonner, parler d’amour sans surprendre, pleurer de douleur sans choquer” (Bencheikh, 38). Poetry was an effective system of communication in which a substantial part of the population took part and by which the emotional and affective requirements of the people were met. People listened to poetry for its social, emotional, and intellectual effect [see TĀRAB; TA'ĀMUJ], and it was considered the poet’s task to convey information and to stir emotions, curiosity and interest in poetry rather than to express his own feelings. Modern modes of reception, influenced by the cult of the poet as a genius who is expected to be more in touch with deeper feelings and thoughts than other people, and the individualistic notion of poetry as a means to express one’s own very specific emotions, have often lead to misconceptions about pre-modern Arabic poetry. Whereas modern and individualistic conceptions of poetry have fostered an acceleration of literary change, they have also led to an increasing social marginalisation of poetic communication. By contrast, although the pre-modern understanding of poetry as a social activity resulted in a greater stability of poetic forms and content, it nonetheless allowed literary forms to remain effective and meaningful for a wide range of people over the whole period considered here and thus allowed a greater sector of the population to participate in elaborate artistic activities.

(d) Processing. The Arabic pre-Islamic literary and cultural heritage forms, next to Islam itself, one of the two foundations of Arabic-Islamic culture. The collection of and commentary on pre- and early Islamic poetry therefore was one of the primary activities in the first centuries of Islamic scholarship. The disciplines of grammar and lexicography owed their development more to the need to comment upon ancient Arabic poetry than upon the normative texts of Islam. This creation of a consciousness of poetry was one of the prerequisites for the rise of the scientific study of contemporary poetry and of literary criticism by the 3rd/9th century. These disciplines cannot be dealt with here (see the overview by Ouyang), but it should be remarked that, during the 'Abbãsîd period, literary history and criticism was a discourse clearly separated from the production of poetry itself, notwithstanding the exertion of mutual influence. Among the major poets, only Ibn al-Mu‘azzaz and Ibn Rûshûf were famed theorists as well. The Mamluk period, in which the merger of a secular and religious discourse had already been perfected, witnessed the complete synthesis of poetic production, on the one hand, and literary theory and rhetorics on the other in the form of the badi‘yya commentaries by Šãlî al-Dîn al-Hãlîf (d. probably 749/1348 [q.v.]) and Ibn Hûdîjîdî al-Ḥamawî (d. 837/1434 [q.v.]), among others.

Other important forms by which literature was processed are various forms of intertextuality such as the mušarãd or the sâkhãsî [q.v.], in which a poet transforms a given poem into a new work of literature following a literal rule. These techniques should be understood within the framework of similar forms of appropriation-cum-transformation of the scholarly, cultural and literary heritage of Islamic culture, such as the commentary (Qarî [q.v.]) or the abbreviation (mukbãsîr [q.v.]).

Four important social environments provided a framework for educated poetic communication between the Umayyad and the modern period.

1. The Court. Throughout the entirety of the 'Abbãsîd period, the courts of the caliph(s), provincial rulers, governors and the court-like households of viziers, generals, and other high officials served as centres of literary activity of preeminent importance. Two kinds of literary activities should be distinguished here: first, the recitation of panegyric poems as part of the official representation of the ruler; and second, poetry as part of court entertainment.

Panegyric poems [see MADĪH] formed the most important political discourse throughout a great deal of Islamic history. In panegyric poems, the subject personage was described as an embodiment of royal virtue, above all in terms of military prowess and generosity. The recollection of these virtues simultaneously confirmed and reinforced them, for society as well as for the ruler himself, and by confirming the ruler’s ideal fulfillment of these normative values, the poems contributed to his legitimisation. Further, they served to spread the news of important events (such as battles won), and helped to memorialise them and to locate them and their protagonists within a broader historical context.

To understand the mechanism of the panegyric poem, it is important to bear in mind that the patron, to whom the poem is addressed (the mamlûkh), is not identical with the intended public of the poem. Of course, panegyric poems could fulfill their political and social role only if a general interest in them was granted. Therefore, the dichotomy of the poet and the mamlûkh, which appears in the texts themselves, should be expanded to a triangle with the “public” as third participant. Each of the three participants in this form of communication acted in a mutually informative give and take. This triadic interplay can be generally schematized as follows:
Given the first-rank importance of the panegyric-political discourse as a means of representation and legitimisation, even rulers who had no feeling for poetry could hardly afford not to patronise poets. On the other hand, many rulers and princes pursued an intense interest in poetry, had expert knowledge at their disposal, and often composed poetry themselves. Just to mention a few, the caliph Harun al-Rashid (d. 193/809); his sister the princess ‘Ubayya b. al-Malid (d. 210/825); the prince Ibn al-Mutazz (d. 296/908), one of the greatest poets of letters of the ‘Abbâsid period; the caliph al-Râdi bi llâh (d. 392/940); the Hamdânî Sayf al-Dawla (d. 356/967); and the Ayyubîd Abu ‘l-Fida ‘alî (d. 732/1331). Members of this dynasty. In such cases, where the mandâh assumed both the role of the patron as well as the role of the public, poets had to accommodate their poems not only to general panegyric standards but also to the personal taste of the patron. To mention two examples: al-Bulyuri replaced the traditional našt [q.v.] with all its intertextual strands with the more modern genre of ghazal [q.v.] in order to meet the taste of al-Mutawakkil, who had less literary training than his predecessors. Ibn Nubata al-Misrî (d. 750/1349 [q.v.]) faced the opposite problem after the death of Abu ‘l-Fidâ al-Misrî and tried to win the favour of his pious and ascetic successor by replacing the nasîb of his panegyric odes with ascetic poetry.

Panegyric poets hoped for an immediate reward for any given poem, which often reached rather exorbitant sums of money. Considering the fact that generosity was one of the main virtues praised in the panegyric odes and that the poet offered himself as a first object for the demonstration of this generosity, the exchange of poem for reward assumed the character of a ritual exchange. If successful, poets could even hope for a permanent patronage of the ruler, thus being spared having to wander from patron to patron. Al-Mutanabbî—an extraordinary self-confident poet—could prove to be a sharp weapon indeed. Again, al-Mutanabbi—an extraordinary self-confident poet—provide us with examples in his invectives against the Khâhid ruler Kâfarî [q.v.]. Many poets, however, experienced feelings of humiliation when forced to “beg” for monetary reward for their poems, as is repeatedly told in their biographies.

The circumstances under which courtly panegyric poetry was performed have been only little studied so far. Obviously, panegyric poems were often performed as part of public ceremonies, during a ma’dîls or a banquet. The poems that were recited may have been pre-selected by court officials (al-Kifîr, ibdâh, iv, 149). How these poems became known by a broader public has not yet been explored in detail. The poets themselves, philologists, compilers of anthologies and literary critics may have participated as mediators in this process. In the end, however, this process must have been rather effective, since in most books on literary criticism, panegyric poetry is given privileged interest, and anthologies and chronicles overflow with quotations of eulogies. Since without the participation of the recipients, the process of panegyric communication must have been ineffective as a whole, the study of this part must be considered a major desideratum.

In addition to the ritual and public performance of panegyric poetry, courtly life offered a great many other opportunities for poetry making. Hunting excursions provided an opportunity for the recitation of hunting poetry (iṣrâyîla [q.v.])—banquets and musical gatherings gave rise to the presentation of wine poetry [see hâmallî], love poetry and other genres. On these occasions, the ruler was accompanied by his nuddamî “ boon-companions” (sing, naddâm [q.v.]) a group of talented people from various fields. Even the office of the naddâm was institutionalised at the ‘Abbâsid court. Poetry played a prominent role in the gatherings of the ruler and his nuddamî, and was practiced not only by professional poets but also by nuddamî with other professions. And poetry itself, both ancient and contemporary, was often the subject of conversation in the ma’dîls. It must be stressed that the kind of poetry recited and sung in these courtly environments was not fundamentally different from that practised outside the court in urban milieux. Therefore, a common term like “courtly love” characterising the relations between lover and beloved in a current type of love poetry (ghazal, našt) is misleading, since love poetry sung at caliphal banquets in no way differed from the poetry that was popular in other social environments. Instead, it was rather the ideals, ethical models, and literary tastes of the udbâh and kutdîtî which dominated at the courts [see zarî]. Nuddamî circles also existed in the households of viziers and high-ranking kutdîtî, and the same people practised their poetic skill in circles of philologists and udbâh as well as in their role as naddâm at the court.

In the period after the fall of the ‘Abbâsids and...
Ayyūbids, the importance of the court for Arab literary culture decreased considerably. Though panegyric poems in the Arabic language were still composed about Mamlūk and Ottoman sultans (and poets duly rewarded for them), the Mamlūk and Ottoman courts no longer offered the resources for a vivid literary culture in Arabic language. One of the main reasons for this development is, of course, the fact that rulers of these dynasties often had only limited (if any) command of the Arabic language. But it should also be borne in mind that, whereas in the ‘Abbāsid period political authorities were part of the culture of the civilization non-religious elite of the kuttab and were eager to see their legitimisation expressed in the medium of poetry common to both, the post-‘Abbāsid period witnessed the merger of a religious and non-religious elite, which now formed a counterpart to the military elite which no longer shared this culture. Rather than poetry, Mamlūks instead patronised architecture to an hitherto unprecedented extent.

The kuttab for this development is, of course, the fact that rulers were more interested in private matters. The merger of the religious scholars required knowledge of pre- and early Islamic poetry in order to be able to comment upon the Kuttab and Hidāt, and some of them composed at least poetry of the zuhdiyya [g.v.] genre, as the collection of poetry ascribed to al-‘Abdallāh (d. 204/820 [g.v.]) demonstrates. Due to its emotional effectiveness, poetry of the zuhdiyya genre, as well as love poetry was used in sermons. However, scholars were rarely proficient poets, and in his collection of the biographies of linguistic scholars, al-Kīfī repeatedly speaks with derision of grammarians and other scholars who composed verses of the kind of the poetry of grammarians (mubāth/scientific poets) [– al-Kīfī, Inshā, iii, 219, 263, 267, 288, 343, iv, 165]. Nevertheless, from the latter ‘Abbāsid period onwards, there is an increase in the number of ‘ulmā’ who were composing poetry in different genres. A few kāfīs and muhaddithūn have already been mentioned in al-Tha‘alibī’s [g.v.] anthology al-‘Ayn kitāb al-dahr, which contains poetry from the second half of the 4th/10th century. By the time of ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Isdahānī’s [g.v.] anthology, the adab of culture, as well as in the urban middle class in general. In bdh, the number of ‘ulmā’ composing poetry and the quality of their poems had obviously increased considerably. Here, in this period of transition, we can witness the gradual merger between the adab-oriented culture of the kuttab and the sunna-oriented culture of the ‘ulmā’ (Bauer, Kaffinaat, Homerin, Praehoming poetry). From the Saljūq period onwards, the kuttab gradually ceased to be a distinct social group with their own cultural values. Instead, the duties of the kuttab came to be fulfilled by people who had received the training of a religious scholar. The result, as it becomes very obvious during the Mamlūk period, was a rather homogeneous group of ‘ulmā’ who had become the bearers of Islamic religious as well as secular culture. Remarkably, this development did not prove detrimental to literary culture. Instead, the process of ‘‘ulmā’‘isation of adab’ was counterbalanced by a process of ‘adabisation of the ‘ulmā’’, who in the meantime had made the adab discourse of the kuttab their own. Though the political relevance of poetry decreased, its relevance for the civil elite increased, so that one can speak of a process of privatization of poetry. Poetry became a pre-eminent medium of communication between ‘ulmā’, and this medium included panegyric poetry, which now became addressed from one ‘ulum to the other rather than to rulers and military leaders. For the ‘ulmā’, it would become more and more important to be able to take part in this form of poetic communication. Consequently, the poetry of the Mamlūk period grew more personal and more interested in private matters. The merger of the secular and religious elite into a new group which shared to a considerable extent the values and ideas of the old religious elite, but which also had appro-
ried the literary culture of the old secular élite, led to an unprecedented rise of religious poetry. Since also the boundaries between high and popular culture became blurred, the percentage of the population taking part in a rather homogeneous literary culture became larger than ever. The Mamluk period, therefore, may have been the period which displayed the broadest literary culture in Arab history.

The Ottoman period has not been studied well enough to allow a more detailed assessment. At least, it is beyond doubt that the 'ulamāʾ still played the most important role in poetry. Arabic poetry at this time may have witnessed a decrease in its local importance, but at the same time could expand its geographical range due to the increasingly global and cosmopolitan character of the 'alāma. Texts displaying a very similar literary taste were composed in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as in the Indian subcontinent. Locally, Şiʿī circles seem to have developed into one of the main centres of the production of poetry.

iv. Urban milieu

A study of the involvement of different social environments of the urban middle classes in the poetic discourse has not yet been carried out. However, it is clear from countless hints in the sources that poets wrote in the standard language and the established genres was esteemed and even produced among craftsmen, merchants, and in similar milieus. The site of Abu Nuwās’s (d. ca. 196/813 [p.4]) wine poems is not only the courtly banquet but also the tavern. Another and rather different urban milieu was that of the qurūg, in which the poems of al-ʿAbbās b. al-ʿAmānaf [p.4] are set. Several little-known poets mentioned in Ibn al-Mu’tazz’s Taḥākāṭ al-ḥamārī bear names pointing to crafts, and even professional poets like Abu Tammām had to earn their living by manual work before they were famous enough to live from their poetry. In any case, social boundaries were not as strict as in Europe, and people of low descent and non-privileged social positions were not in principle excluded from taking part in high culture.

In the 4th/10th century we find a baker (al-ʿKhābbāz al-Baladī, see Sezgin, GGS, ii, 625-6), a fruit-seller (al-Waṣṣa [p.4]), and a darner (al-Sarī al-Raffī [p.4]) among the well-known poets of the age. Another poet, al-Khuzāʿaʿarūzī [p.4], was a baker of rice bread in Basra and became famous as a ghazal poet. Young men from all over the town used to visit his shop in the hope of becoming the object of one of his love poems. By quoting poems by al-ʿAmānaf al-Ukbarī, al-Thaʿalībi (Ṭalṭama, ii, 122-4) allows a glimpse of the poetry of the vagabonds [see SāSN, BAN]. These poets owe their lasting fame to the fact that representatives of high culture took an interest in their productions, but they may also be taken as evidence of the kind of interest in poetry that cut across different levels of society.

Sources are much more copious for the Mamluk period, during which a convergence between high and popular culture is attested. The most representative figures of popular poetry (in standard Arabic, as well as in dialect), appealing to ʿulāma and people of the street alike, were Ibrāhīm al-Mīʿāmr for the 7th/13th and Ibn Sāmīna for the 8th/14th century. These and quite a few of other similar figures represent a “missing link” between modern forms of popular literature and time-honoured forms, themes, and motives, and thus point to the fact that Arabic literary culture was not the exclusive prerequisite of a small élitarian group, but was, at least in its fundamental parameters, ideas and way of achieving emotional effects, shared by a broad sector of the population.

During the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, religious poetry was extremely popular in all urban environments. Şīʿī poetry, prayers [see WRD] and poems in praise of vaqīfāt [see VAQ], were composed and recited among adherents of the Šīʿī orders [see TARIQA and TASAWWUF], which were deeply rooted in the middle classes.

During all periods, different forms of folk poetry co-existed alongside poetry which was eventually written down. In many environments, both written and oral forms of poetry influenced each other, and sometimes it is not easy to draw a clear boundary between them. Other forms of poetry transmitted only orally existed without being noticed by the educated. So, for example, Bedouin poets continued to compose poetry in a style reminiscent of pre-Islamic poetry throughout the centuries. This can be deduced by the existence of the so-called nabiṭ poetry [p.4], which has been recorded from the 19th century onwards and is still practised in the Arabian peninsula even today. For further information about the complex of folk poetry, see ŚNA. 1. E. The folk poem in Arab society, at least, was not a phenomenon limited to the south of the Arabian peninsula.

SHAKHAB, (Battle of) [see ‘MARQ AL-SUFAK].

SHALISH, also written Djalish, a term referring to either the vanguard of an army or a flag raised to signal the announcement of a campaign. The word is of Turkish origin, derived from gala, meaning “battle” or “conflict” [see G. Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen, Wiesbaden 1963-75, iii, 32]. It appears in Persian during a sword wound to his face (al-Minakrif, M. Iqbal, GMS, NS, 2, London 1921, 347), with the ed.

In the late Seljuk era (Rawandf, Mamluk period, it is used on the one hand as a syno-

teral nature, the term is found in the description of

mamluk army (Baybars al-Mansun, ibid., i, 885); the exact inten-
d. i, 499; Ibn ‘Asakir, xxiii, 189). Shamir led the Hawazin,
d, i, 480). Shamir led the Hawazin,

Umar that if he failed to obey this order he would be replaced as com-

mander by Shamir (ibid., ii, 315-6). Umar reluctantly

obeyed and put Shamir in charge of the foot-soldiers

(Al-Baladhuri, iii, 391; al-Tabari, ii, 317). On 9

Muharram 61/9 October 680, as Umar was making final preparations to do battle with the Husayn, Shamir offered a safe-conduct to three (or four) sons of ‘Ali by Umm al-Banin bt. Hizam, who belonged to Shamir’s tribe, the Banû Kîlîb; the sons rejected the offer, insisting that the Husayn, too, should be granted safe-conduct. Shortly afterwards, a report reached the court of Mâlik ibn Anas that in the battle of al-Baladhiyra, 391; Ibn ‘•hâm, iii, 105; cf. al-Tabari, ii, 316-7).

The next morning—the Day of ‘Ashā’ar—Umar put Shamir in command of the army’s left wing (ibid., ii, 326). Shamir intended to burn down the Husayn’s tent with the women and children inside, but was shamed into withdrawing (ibid., ii, 346-7) and acceded to the Husayn’s request to spare them (al-Baladhuri, iii, 407; al-Tabari, ii, 362). Shamir’s role in the death of the Husayn is disputed in the sources. While some accounts merely refer to his participation in the battle (e.g. Ibn ‘Asâkîr, xxii, 186), he is more usually said to have instigated the final assault, while yet other reports explicitly mention him as having killed the Husayn (al-Wâkidî, in al-Baladhuri, iii, 418; al-Ishafânî, 119; Ibn Hazm, Dharar san’a’î al-arab, ed. ‘A. Hârin, Cairo 1382/1682, 287), as having decapitated his corpse (al-Sâfîdî, xii, 425, xvi, 180), or both (al-Mdqlîs, xlv, 56; cf. al-Tabari, 250). This conflicts with reports that it was Sinân b. Ansâl Kâlî’s who killed the Husayn and decapitated his body (Abû Mîkhnîf, in al-Tabari, ii, 366), or that Sinân killed him and Khawalî b. Yazîd al-Asâhî cut off his head (al-Baladhuri, iii, 418; cf. Ibn ‘Abîl-Barr, i, 393). In the ta’ziya [q.v.] passion plays, Shamir is habitually presented as the Husayn’s killer (Chelkovski, 15, 106, 110, 146-7, 159, 165; Ayoub, 127) and as more evil than even Sinân (Virolleaud, 94-5; Chelkovski, 160).

After the battle, the Shamir was about to kill al-Husayn’s son ‘Ali [see ZAYN AL-A’DAB], but was prevented from doing so (Ibn Sa’d, i, 480). Shamir led the Hawâzîn, who formed one of the contingents that brought the heads of the fallen warriors to Ibn Zîyâd (al-Tabârî, ii, 386; Ibn Tâwîs, 85; later he accompanied the survivors to Damascus (al-Tabârî, ii, 375). An address is preserved in which he recounts to Yazîd the events of Karbalâ’ (al-Dinawarî, 260-1, cited in D. M. Donaldson, The Shiite religion, London 1933, 102-3; this same address, however, is also ascribed to Zâhr b. Kays al-Dhâfî; see al-Tabârî, ii, 374-5). Back in Kufa, Shamir was said to have repented of his actions, explaining that he had been duty-bound to obey Ibn Zîyâd (al-Dbâhâbî, Mitîzan al-‘ubad, ed. ‘A. Mu‘awwad and ‘A. Abd al-Mawgjid, Beirut 1416/1995, iii, 385; cf. Ibn Sa’d, i, 499; Ibn ‘Asâkîr, xxiii, 189).

In 66/686 Shamir was among the Kûfân aghfî who rose against al-Mukhtâr [q.v.]. After they had
been defeated at Djabbanat al-Sabic (in al-Kufa), al-Mukhtar sent his slave Zirbl in pursuit of Shamir, who was surrounded, tried to fight his way out but was killed by one of the attackers (al-Baladhurf, vi, 407; al-Tabari, ii, 663). In the early 1980s, the population of the region was ca. 220,000, these being Zaydis, with the Banu 'l-Sharafi, 'Alid descendants of the founder of the Zaydi dynasty of Yemen, being the most important lineage there.

Al-Sharaf al-ÁlA denotes the northern part of al-Sharaf, whereas al-Sharaf al-Asfal denotes the slightly lower, more southern region, although it seems that in the time of al-Hasan (4th/10th century), the former denoted another region, that of Sharaf Akyan or Shiba'm Akyan (modern Shiba'm Kawkabán), to the southeast (ed. Müller, 107 ll. 17-18, 135 1. 8). The name of al-Sharafín appears very often in the Yemeni chronicles.

In fact, there are numerous al-Sharafins in Yemen, reflecting the term's basic meaning of "eminence, height", hence it is not surprising that Yákút had difficulty distinguishing various homonyms (see Isma’il al-Akwa', al-ÁlA Úmumiyah "nd Yákút al-Husayni, Kuwait 1405/1985, 155).

Al-Sharaf does not appear in pre-Islamic inscriptions, but Hadjur is attested once as Hg Lmd (Ja 616/25) for a small tribe belonging to the Daw'at federation confronting the Sabaean king Naga'karib Yuhuin Yuharib ca. A.D. 260-270 (A. Jamme, Sabaean inscriptions from Mabrum Bilgí, Málaga, 1982, 113-17).

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(Ch. ROBIN and AHMAD AL-GHUMARI)
chief of the conquest period and Sara the Visigoth—and these two families long governed Seville.

The enemies of the Sevillans on various occasions launched raids which ravaged the iklim of al-Sharaf, e.g. the Berbers, during the early part of the fitna, Alfonso VI during the reign of al-Mutamid Ibn Abbas [q.v.], and the Portuguese during the Almohad period.

The iklim was very densely populated in Hispano-Roman and Islamic times, with al-Idrisi mentioning a figure of over 800 kawar or villages. In regard to demography, two periods should be distinguished. During the pre-Almohad period (i.e. from the Arab conquest to the second half of the 6th/12th century), al-Sharaf formed, as from Hispano-Roman times onwards, a very populous region with many small villages spread along the watercourses which crossed the region (the Majalberraca and the Repudio). The two hisnas at that time were Kawara (Coria del Rio) and Hīn al-Kaṣr (Aznalcazar). The function of both was to guard lines of communication, that of the Guadalquivir in the first case, and the Guadiamar in the second, as well as the east-west land routes.

In Almohad times (second half of the 6th/12th century to the mid-7th/13th one), there was a change. The Almoravides, who located their important points Sanlucar la Mayor after 1189 to defend this region against Portuguese attacks, and Hīn al-Faradj (San Juan de Aznalfarache) in 1195 as a garrison for the Almohads, the Almoravides, and the Almohads. During the course of the 19th century, since ‘Ali Bâgh Mubârak, our main source for Egyptian Sufism in the late 19th century, does not cite any Sufi order bearing that name in his al-Khdhât taufâkhiya al-ghadâdi li-Msr al-Qâhir, Cairo 1887-9), another indication of its disappearance at this time is that the Shadhîlí shaykh and author Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Kawâkdjî (d. 1305/1888) was the disciple of an ‘Abî ‘Alâ al-Wahhâb (al-Sharaf) who initiated him into the path of his illustrious and homonymous ancestor, but this ‘Abî ‘Alâ al-Wahhâb seems to have grown up amongst the Shâdhiylîs rather than the Shârānîyâ (M. WINTER, Society and religion in early Ottoman Egypt. Studies in the territories of ‘Abd al-Wahhâb al-Sharānî, New Brunswick, N.J., 1982, 70). However, the anniversary of al-Shârânî’s birth (mawlid) continued into the 20th century (ibid., 85 n. 111).

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(É. GEOFFROY)

AL-SHÂRÂNÎ, SA`D b. ‘ABD ALLAH b. MIYÂH b. LÝ♫AS b. YUSUF AL-KHÂFRî (1840-1912), linguist and literary figure of the Arab literary Renaissance (nakdâ [q.v.]) in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and a good example of the prominent group of vocational intellectuals of this period. Born in Shartûn in Lebanon, he studied under American missionaries before devoting himself to a lifetime of scholastic activities. He taught in Damascus and in the Jesuit schools of Beirut and Cairo, and also worked for many years as a proof reader of Jesuit publications whilst carrying out his intellectual pursuits. Like a number of his contemporaries, he worked for many years as a newspaper editor and contributed articles to respected journals, mainly on linguistic issues. His eclectic interests are reflected further in his involvement in the publication of a number of works on Maronite history. Although most sources concur on the years of his birth and death, variant dates given for the former include 1848 or even 1847, and for the latter as early as 1907.

His principal scholarly interests lay in the fields of inqîbâ’ [q.v.] “[the art of] composition, style” through which he is generally held to have been a major influence on a new generation of “stylists”; grammar; and lexicography. Some sources maintain that his most enduring contribution to the Arabic linguistic heritage is his dictionary entitled Akhrab al-mawdûdh fi inqîbâ’ al ‘arabiyâ wa l-khâfrî (Beirut 1992, 2 vols., based on ed. Beirut 1899-91, 2 vols., with a supplement in 1983). In this work he sets out to demonstrate the original purity of the Arabic language which, he argues, was being eroded, particularly as a result of the growing influence of foreign languages on Arabic. This was a common, if ultimately unachievable, goal of some scholars of the language at that time who worked
assiduously to prevent it from further degeneration, thus underlining the status of the Arabic language as a nationalistic expression. In his dictionary, al-Shartūnī scrutinised closely the content of previous lexicographical works based on the classical sources, or even those that had errors in their transmission of material from the original manuscripts. In both these regards his scholastic approach to scholarship was no different from the techniques of many of his contemporaries and pre-modern scholars. This work was heavily influenced by the famous dictionaryMuḥāf zoo al-muḥāfiz compiled by his friend Butrus al-Bustanī and was heavily influenced by the famous dictionary lexicographical works based on the classical sources, a form of nationalistic expression. In his dictionary, assiduously to prevent it from further degeneration, claiming that the editors had made errors in their...
the abuse, Muhammad becomes angry and, eventually, springs to his feet. After the dispute has finished, Abû Bakr asks Muhammad why he did not support the Meccans, but instead became angry when he, Abû Bakr, attempted to defend himself. Muhammad replies that an angel had appeared to him and commanded him to go to Mecca, but when Abû Bakr returned some of the abominable words to his adversary the devil entered the scene and he, Muhammad, was unable to remain in a place where the devil is present. This episode from Ibn Hanbal's Musnad, like other similar passages in the canonical hadith collections, suggests that the vilification of the Prophet or his Companions was considered intolerable and therefore forbidden by some of the religious scholars at the time when the respective hadith books were compiled. This impression is corroborated by a report describing possible legal consequences of insulting the Prophet Muhammad (sabb al-nasîl) in the 2nd/8th century. According to this report, a certain Muslim b. Sa'id b. Hassân al-Urdunî was executed in 153/770, in all probability because he had supplemented the hadith: "I am the seal of the prophets; there will not be any Prophet after me" with the phrase "if God does not intend otherwise". This report indicates blasphemous by the scholarly and political authorities at that time (J. van Ess, Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra, Berlin 1991, i, 136-7).

However, the extent to which these hadith reflect theological disputes about the role of the Prophet and his Companions in the first two centuries of Islam still remains to be analysed in depth.

In any case, early legal literature confirms the assumption that blasphemy against the Prophet Muhammad was regarded as intolerable in the 2nd/8th century. The chapter on al-muhâthara of 'Abd Allâh b. Wahhâb's (d. 197/812) Mawsû'at contains a paragraph on the blasphemer in which the one who insults (sabb) the Prophet Muhammad is threatened with the death penalty. Ibn Wahhâb states that Mâlik b. Anas (d. 179/795) held the opinion that a blasphemer against Muhammad, be he Christian or Muslim, must not be granted repentence. In the same passage, the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz (r. 101-4/717-20) is reported as having stated that the vilification of Muslim, but not of any other person, is to be punished (M. Muranyi, 'Abd Allâh b. Wahhâb (1253-743-747/812). Leben und Werk. Al-Muwattâ'. Kitâb al-muhâthara, Wiesbaden 1992, 287-8). However, a 3rd/9th-century legal manual, the 'Ushûrâya by the Mâlikî fakhr al-Muhammâd al-Uttî (d. 253/869 [q.v.]), mentions blasphemy against Muhammad's Companions as a punishable act (al-Ushûrâya, printed with Ibn Rughûl, al-Bayîn wa 'l-tâhîf, Beirut 1986, xvi, 420). Also, an opinion ascribed to the Hanâfî legist al-Tahâwî (d. 321/933 [q.v.]), states that the vilification of Muhammad, but not of any other person, is to be punished (M. Muranyi, 'Abd Allâh b. Wahhâb (1253-743-747/812). Leben und Werk. Al-Muwattâ'. Kitâb al-muhâthara, Wiesbaden 1992, 287-8).

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insulted some of the Prophet’s closest companions like Abâ Bakr, ‘Umar b. al-Khâṣîbâ, and ‘Âthâr b. ‘Affân as violators of the rights of the Prophet’s descendants. When he refused to revoke his blasphemous attacks against these sahâbah, his case was presented to the tribunal of the four Sunni maulûdhs in the Dâr al-sâlihâ. As a result of this session, the blasphemer was sentenced to death by the Mâlikî chief judge (al-nâ’îb al-mâlikî) and executed immediately after judgement had been issued. His body was burnt by the plebs of Damascus who later walked through the city showing his head and accusing that this was the punishment of the one who abuses the Companions of the Prophet. A closer look at the religious-political situation of 8th/14th-century Egypt and Syria suggests that insult against the Prophet’s Companions or even against the Prophet Muhammad himself, on the part of some Shi’îs, or accusations brought forward by the Sunnis against alleged Shi’î blasphemers, are an expression of the strong Shi’î-Sunnî hostilities at that time.

The offence of insult against the Prophet and his Companions continues to be an issue of legal debate and political discourse in Islamic societies until the present time. The controversy on Ahmad Rushdie’s novel The Satanic verses has been the most prominent among a number of cases in which Islamic communities and their leaders have reacted to acts that were conceived of as an insult against Muhammad and other venerated personalities. As has been shown, the legal foundations for this reaction date back to the 2nd/8th century.


**SHAYKHZADE II** [see SİYEH-ZADE. 3].

**ŞI’R**.

5. In Malay and in Indonesian.

In line with their strong preference for theology and Şi’î mysticism over literature and philology, the interest of the Muslims of the Malay-Indonesian world in Arabo-Persian Şi’î has been predominantly drawn by the findings of the four religious writings and its derivative verse forms. It was initially mainly in the north Sumatran kingdom of Aceh [see APRAJ]—in the early 17th century the dominant power in the region around the Straits of Malacca and an important centre of Islamic learning—that this religious poetry was closely studied (Braginsky 1996, 372-3) and it was there that most local forms of Islamic poetry were developed under its influence, subsequently to spread among the Muslim communities of the Archipelago.

A case in point is the genre of Malay poetry, called nazam (from the Arabic synonym for Şi’î, nazm). It consists of a long sequence of couplets (bayt [qfr.]) comprising two hemistichs, each usually numbering from nine or ten up to twelve syllables, that rhyme with each other on one of the following patterns: (a) aa, bb, cc . . . ; (b) aa, aa, aa . . . ; (c) aa, ba, ca . . . . Couplets rhyming ab, ab are rare. The oldest specimens of nazam, teaching good rulership, are found in the Mirror for Princes, Tadi‘ al-sâlihîn (1012/1603-4) by the Acehnese ‘îâm Bahâdur al-Dâjahwârî (Braginsky 2000, 183-209). Some of these ([pattern [a] are modelled on the Persian mathnawî [qfr.], while others ([pattern [b]) resemble the poetry of Arabic versified treaties of scholarly or religious content (udîgâzâ [see ra’dâz]), whereas still others ([pattern [c]) imitate the Arabic kasîda or ghazal [qfr.] with its monorhyme (Braginsky 1996, 377-80).

Malay nazam, containing religious teachings, praise of the Prophet and suchlike, have subsequently come into prominence to the extent that in Malay and in Indonesian, containing religious teachings, praise of the Prophet and suchlike, have subsequently come into prominence to the extent that in Malay and in Indonesian.

6. In the Indonesian Archipelago.

The metre of its lines, which tend to comprise four feet (Snouck Hurgronje, ii, 1906, 73-8; Djajadiningrat, Indonesian literature called nalam was practised, which, like the Malay nazam, was probably also created using partly Arabic udîgâzâ, partly kasîda as a model. Although the nalam’s verse line seems to be patterned on the Arabic ra’dâz and tawîl [qfr.] metres, it has remained closely tied to indigenous conventions. According to the demands of its metre (sanja, from Arabic sanja [qfr.]), it usually comprises two hemistichs and numbers six to ten metric units of one to three syllables each, the latter being arranged to form eight feet of a sort. The fourth foot, that is, the last foot of the first hemistich, is connected by a compulsory internal rhyme to the sixth foot, that is, the second foot of the second hemistich, while all lines have an external monorhyme represented by words ending with the vowel a. Thus the arja (from the Arabic ra’dâz) metre of the nalam is an eight-foot modification of the sanja metre and its sanja (from the Arabic tawîl) metre, one with nine feet (Snouck Hurgronje, ii, 1906, 73-8; Djajadiningrat, 1934, 279, 462, 664, 988).

The most important new genre of poetry to emerge in the early 17th century Malay literature is the şair (in the Malay version of the Arabic script, Jawi, this word is usually written şîr but sometimes şîr). The şair consists of a chain of quatrains, each of them monorhyme of the type ana, bbba, cccc . . . The metre of its lines, which tend to comprise four full words of a length of two to three syllables including their bound morphemes, is based on a relative tendency towards isyllabism. Each line may contain between nine to twelve syllables, a ten-syllable line being the dominant tendency, and is divided by a caesura into two roughly equal hemistichs that tend to form complete syntactic units (Braginsky 1998, 225-6). The following sample is from the poetry of the
Acemihouse Sufi mystic Hamza Fansuiri [q.v.] (active ca. 1600), who is now generally accepted to have created the genre: “Bahh-al-Hakk terlaalu dalmun / ombaknya menjadi ‘alam / asalnya tiada bersiang malam / di laut laut itu ‘alam nin larnam” // Dengankan hai anak dagang / lautnya tiada bersurut pasang / muarananya tiada bersang-sangang / banyaklah orang sana terkenang” (Drewes and Brakel 1986, 134) (“The Sea of the Truth is immensely deep, / The world has sprung from Its waves, / Its beginning is foreign to day and to night, / And the world will sink again in that Sea. / /Hear ye, oh wanderer, / There is this indicates that Hamza may well in part have modelled it on a variety of kasda or ghazal, widespread in Persian, Ottoman and Urdu Sufi poetry, which is ca. [q.v.] four lines, doing away with the final monorhyme, a line of forty-one or forty-two syllables, consisting of a chain of between thirteen to twenty stanza-forms with four rhymes in each of the four lines, operating as a monorhyme. Amusingly, eddied it on a variety of kasidas and nazams. The introduction of kasidaa in Arabic and nazam (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 262-4; Lombard-Salmon 1977, 1993; Sanders 1986, 266-82).

In the transition of Malay literature to modernity that began to manifest itself in the major colonial cities of the Archipelago between 1850 and 1870, concomitant with the rise of the printing press and the newspaper, the syair was enthusiastically taken up by non-Muslim writers as well (ethnic Chinese and Eurasians) and was published in profuse numbers, in lithographs, printed booklets and newspapers. At the same time, it underwent yet another widening of its thematic scope, treating, for instance, sensational events, as it adapted itself to its urban milieu and usage. (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 262-4; Lombard-Salmon 1977, 1993). In the love stories in the early novels of Modern Indonesian and Malay literature written around 1920, syairs were inserted at moments of climax, and both literatures used them for lyric (sometimes nationalistic) poetry in Indonesia until about 1930 and in Malay until about 1950 (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 260-1; Johan Jaafar et al. 1992, i, 67-83, ii, 58-60; Teeuw 1967, 49-51). In the modern poetry of the Malay-Indonesian world, except that of the Sultanate of Brunei (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 238), there is now no longer any place for the syair, but its place as an Islamic genre of poetry is still acknowledged; among the Malays, syairs continue to be performed at important religious feasts and events in the Islamic lifecycle alongside kasidas in Arabic and nazams (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 266-82).

On Java’s northern coast and in east Java, in particular in Ponorogo which is well known for its religious schools, a form of Islamic poetry is found called syair or geguritan, treating themes similar to those of religious syairs. To what extent this genre can be related to Arabo-Persian shfr is still an open question. Like the syair, it consists of verse lines of between eight to ten syllables in length. These may be broken into rhyming couplets or, as in the syair, into quatrains, but may also be arranged into groups of variable lengths as “tirade poems”. The singir is performed by singers to the accompaniment of musical instruments (angklung, terbang) (Darnawi 1964, 53-4; Pigeaud 1938, 304-321).

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[V.I. BRAGINSKY and G.L. KOSTER]

SHIR—SIBA

SHIR—SIBA

SIBA, BILDÀ AL-SIBA, a term borrowed from local speech
by the French colonial authorities to designate the
absence of control by the Sultan of Morocco
over a considerable part of his territory at
the end of the 19th century. It presupposes a con-
genital disorder threatening the existence of the
"aus-
picious empire". The origins of the term go back to
explorers like Charles de Foucauld, academic profes-
sors like Alfred Le Chatelier and Augustin Bernard,
and military men like Lyauyey, eager to conquer
Morocco from the contiguous French territory of Algeria. It forms the concept behind the Comité du
Maroc, a lobby operating at a level below the deci-
sion makers in Paris with the idea of extending French
power over the land, given shape in the Protectorate
of 30 March 1912. These experts put together an
imagery based on a dichotomy between the Bilad al-
siba and the Bilad al-makhzan [see MAHKZAN].
The former was a land outside the authority of the Sultan,
hence free from taxes and conscription, whose peo-
ple lived in an insolent, free fashion impervious to all
outside influences. The latter was the land over which
government authority levied taxes in an iniquitous
fashion and recruited tribal militias, driving rural soci-
ety into a state of non-submission, siba.

Colonial terminology equated the antagonistic
dichotomy of the two terms with a semi-racial cleav-
age, setting the autochthonous Berbers against the Arab
invaders, who imposed themselves on a refractory
indigenous element. The Berbers lived under cus-
tomary law, sa'd, whilst the Arabs were subject to the
shar'ia, an expression of Muslim theocracy and a pla-
ny system under the Sultans' despoticism which the
Berbers continuously rejected. It was postulated that
the Berbers were spirits basically inspired by laity
under their Islamic coating and that they had attained
a form of republican local democracy in their strong-
holds of mountain towns and regions. This vision of
Morocco gave further life to the Kabyle myth so
active in the constituting of French Algeria and con-
verged on a policy of separating the Berbers, the
"good savages", in their mountain retreats, from the
Arabic-speaking peoples of the plains and the great
Muslim cities, as illustrated in the famous Berber dahi
of 1930 [see SAFTIK], which did much to crystallise
national sentiment in Morocco.

The Bilād al-siba rightly appeared to post-colonial
Moroccan historians as a fantastic intellectual con-
struction meant exclusively to bolster the Berber pol-
icy of the French Protectorate. However, the term
appears, if only rarely, in the correspondence of the
Mahzhan in the 19th century, for stigmatising local
tribal groups hostile to all the local authorities (ka'd-
mudaddam, ca'asure and kalb' over tribal sections) who
tended to interpose themselves between the Mahzhan
and the segmentary base of society. In fact, the term
Bilad al-siba is an ancient one going back to early
times, and its usage, current in al-Andalus from the
11th century onwards, became generalised in the
vocabulary of Maghribi 'alsami' from the 15th century
onwards for condemning the backward rural areas
living in a state close to djahdisiya since they ignored
injunctions like the shari'a and transgressed the pres-
scriptions of fikh.

These Maghribi scholars were correctly following
the original sense of the term sā'tiba, one which
denoted, within a semantic and spatial complex, suc-
cessively: a beast brought out of the herd for offer-
ing to the gods of ancient Arabia; a freed slave, but
one foot-loose and without a patron in early Islam;
by extension, a woman left to herself, a rebel or a
prostitute; the breaking of allegiance to a sovereign
and, from that time onwards, the territory where this
disobedience was rife, when the term passed from the
East to the West via al-Andalus. Bilad sā'tiba appears,
probably for the first time, in a commentary of Mālikī
law on Sahānīn's Mudawwana by Abū 'l-Mā'in al-Fāsī
(d. 430/1039), a scholar of Moroccan origin settled in
Kayrawān.

The Term Bilād al-siba was never, however, used
by those Maghribis to whom it applied. Most of these
were vacillating and uncontrolled subjects. They were
vaccillating because they oscillated between allying to
the sovereign and rejecting the central power's local
agents, between being dogs and wolves, when they
could not be sheepdogs, to use Ernest Gentner's
metaphor. They were uncontrolled, as the maxim in
the Tunisian Djerid says, tā bāy, tā rāy. They feared
subjection to the central power which would entail
their being shorn like sheep by its local agents. This
is why, except for some islands in the mountains and
along the Sub-Saharan fringes, the Bilad al-siba never
corresponded to a fixed territorial entity which could
raise up a lasting counter-force able to divide up the
area over which three powers claimed control since
the 16th century. In a certain way, the Bilad al-siba
was everywhere, as appeared from the difficulty of
travelling without a safe-conduct negotiated with the
tribal peoples. It insinuated itself over almost all the
territory through the institution of the mahāla [q.e.],
a splendour which inspired local riches but also redis-
tributed them, in such a way that all the prince's
subjects were in a relationship, more or less asymmet-
rical according to the place and time, with the sovereign
and his local representatives. In practice, when it
became a concrete entity, the Bilad al-siba was sought
after for bringing to heel the Bilād al-makhzan. Some
rebellious tribes acted as guard dogs over the tribes
which had submitted, showing how far they were
integrated in a unified system personified by a Bey in the Ottoman Maghrib, and by the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, in Morocco.


**SIÎHÅFA.**

4. Persia.

During the century and a half of its existence, the Iranian press has experienced several periods of expansion and contraction. From 1851 to 1880 the press had only a limited audience, as it meant only for civil servants. In all, some seven newspapers (*ruznâma-hâ*) were published. From 1880 to 1906, the press began publishing for all Persians, although few could afford a newspaper. By the end of the century almost forty newspapers and journals had been published. From 1906 to 1925 the number of newspapers grew enormously and editors were able to influence the course of events in the country. During the period 1925-41, the press was reduced to an instrument in the hands of a strong authoritarian state. The period 1941-53 marked the country's return to a free and expanding press. From 1953 to 1977 the press was basically muzzled; after 1965 it became a cheerleader for the régime. From 1978 to the present the press experienced, first, four years of freedom, followed by the severest censorship it had ever known. Since 1998, however, the press has become more expansive and is trying to become a free agent of change.

The first Persian newspaper, *Ahkâbâr-i Wakâyê*, was published in Muharram 1253/April-May 1837 in Tehran (*JRAS*, v [1839], 355-71), but it lasted less than two years. It was only in February 1851 that a new government weekly newspaper, *Wakâyê-i Itfâkâyê*, was published. The stated purpose of the newspaper was to explain government activities. By royal order, all leading government bureaucrats had to subscribe to the newspapers. From 1871, the press was under the control of the newly-created Ministry of the Press with its censorship office. The rationale for censorship was published in issue 522 (22 December 1863) of the government newspaper *Akhbâr-i Wakâyê*, sc. to bar publications harmful to infants and contrary to religion. The text was addressed not to readers but to listeners, which confirms what Eichwald noted in 1826, sc. that literature or news was read out loudly for the entire community (E. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Caucasus unter nommen in den Jahren 1825-1826*, 2 vols., Stuttgart und Tübingen 1834, i, 384). Given the very low level of literacy (about 5%), this is understandable, and confirms that the actual readership of the newspapers was much larger than the number of subscribers. The "journalists" were civil servants reporting on non-controversial and approved events (government, religion, foreign, literature, science). After 1880, political reformists started to publish newspapers but to avoid the censors they printed their papers outside Iran. Once published, they smuggled them into Iran. These newspapers published abroad had an enormous influence inside Iran, and those that were published was killed in *Suppl.* was killed in 1924, allegedly by the authorities. One year later, the Pahlav régime was established, which did not allow any discussion of political subjects, and certainly not criticism of government. The number of newspapers dropped from 30 in 1914 to 20 in 1925 and 1941. They served to propagate the government's programmes and were censored by the Department of Press and Propaganda prior to publication.

After the fall of RâdÅ Shâh [p.2] (1941), the press was controlled by the Allies (1941-6) and by martial law (1941-8), although there was considerable freedom of expression. The Allies, as well as national interest groups, wanted certain positions taken, and thus editorials were again mostly marked by their extremely partisan tones and aggressive styles. Most newspapers were small, limited in circulation, and short-lived. The journalist (*ruznâma-nizâs, ruznâma-nigâr*) was usually both editor and publisher. The topics were mainly analysis and criticism of personalities in public life, and discussion of contemporary social-economic-political problems. Although nobody wanted censorship or banning of newspapers, both methods were used, for the new 1941 Press Law could not rein in excessive vituperation in the press. However, suppressed papers would often immediately reappear under the name of a legally-licensed other newspaper. Attempts to bring about a more responsible press failed, because often financing of papers was provided to attack certain political issues (blackmail of politicians; subsidies from foreign powers). The strongest group was the pro-Soviet Tudeh (*Tûdá*) press that formed the Freedom
Front in 1943. There also was a pro-British, nationalist coalition of papers, and some independents. The suppression of separatist movements in Ardabil, Gorgan, and Kurdistan in 1946 led to a clamp-down on the journalistic role of Tabriz that had been in the forefront from the beginning. The struggle between the conservatives and those who favour greater press freedom has become a major issue in Iran, resulting in banning of newspapers and jailing of journalists. Following the 1999 student uprising, parliament passed new laws banning any publication other than those specifically sanctioned, holding the licensee, editors, writers and even typists directly responsible for any unauthorised article or publication.

From 1956, a School of Journalism offered a four-year B.A. course. In 1960, an advanced course was added. There were 137 graduates in 1960, when Tehran University announced that it would close the school. The two major dailies also offered courses on journalism in the 1960s. The major papers also started to hire more qualified, academically trained staff. Although the Universities again offer Journalism as a subject for study, its effect is minimal. Since 1966, about 900 people have graduated from journalism courses in Iranian universities, of whom 95% are not working for the press. Although 68% of current journalists have a university education, only 4.6% have received academic education in communications.


5. Turkey.

(a) Up to ca. 1960 [see TaRDA. iii].

(b) Since the 1960s.

The 1960s.
The military takeover of 27 May 1960 put an end to the period when freedom of the press had been seriously threatened in Turkey due to the increasingly close cooperation with the Doenek Padi [g.v.]. For the most part the Turkish press welcomed the coup and the resultant “Government of National Unity” (Millî Birlik Hükümeti). The Constitution of 1961 (articles 22-7) guaranteed freedom of the press, and laws restricting it were abolished. A new press law assured
the rights of journalists in their working place, much to the chagrin of certain newspaper barons. The restrictive Penal Code remained in force. The "Press Advertising Organisation" (Baskin İlan Kararnası) was established in 1961 for the purpose of controlling the distribution of advertisements from public institutions and organisations. The Turkish press decided to institute a system of self-control: a code of press ethics (Baskın ahlâk Yasası) was signed by all major newspapers.

The principal successor to the DP, the "Justice Party" (Adalet Partisi; AP), which won the general elections of 1965 and remained in power until the muhtra of 1971 (see below), remained tolerant towards the press. The leftist press, often supporting the newly-founded "Labour Party of Turkey" (Türkiye İşçisi Partisi; TIP), flourished during the 1960s in a hitherto unknown way: the weekly Yim (1961-7) founded by Doğan Avcioglu (1926-83), was one of the most discussed periodicals in Turkey for a while. It was followed by Ant (1967-71), and Dervim (1969-71) (see on these J.M. Landau, Radical politics in modern Turkey, Leiden 1974, 49-87). Among the newly-founded papers of the 1960s, the Yeni Gazete (1964-71) was the first daily paper printed in the offset technique. Another newspaper of economic liberalism was Akit (Akit gazetesi) Gündayin, founded in November 1968 by Haldun Simavi. Among its editorialists (köşê yazarlann) was Aziz Nesin (1916-95) who also edited its weekly humoristic supplement Ustana. The rise of the conservative-nationalist paper Teriman (founded in 1955) also began after 1961. Hürriyet [see Çagıda, iii] was the first newspaper whose circulation exceeded one million in the middle of the 1960s (Gevgülî, Türkiye bâzim; 225). Television was introduced in Turkey in 1960 and from then on it was only one black-and-white channel until the mid-1980s.

The 1970s

Increasing violence in the country brought about a second military intervention, through the memorandum (muhtra) issued by the armed forces on 12 March 1971. Martial law was proclaimed in eleven provinces. This intervention did not abolish the parliament, but governments of that period exercised pressure, especially on the leftist press. Journalists were arrested, papers were banned and publications forbidden. The 1973 elections paved the way for a return to parliamentary democracy. The work of journalists was then, however, seriously disturbed by something like a civil war which ravaged the country. Numerous journalists, both rightists and leftists, became victims of attempts on their lives. A climax was reached with the assassination of Abdi İpekçî (1929-79), editor of Milliyet [see Çagıda, i] by Mehmed Ali Ağca (who later attempted to kill Pope John Paul).

Social and political polarisation was also reflected in the media. Apart from the conservative papers Teriman, Son Havadis, Haikat (founded in 1970, it changed its name to Türkiye in 1971), and Güneş (founded in 1975), there were left-wing periodicals like the dailylets Ortona, Cevdet Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (DBSK) and Politika (1975-7), whose director Ali İhsan Özgür was assassinated in 1978. A paper close to the AP was Yeni Aya (founded in 1970). The Islamist Millî Selâmê Partisi (MSP) had the support of the Millî Gazete (founded in 1973). The ideas of the neo-nationalist Millî Harakat Partisi (MHP) were voiced by Hurğan, Millî (1975-86) and Ortağûlu (1972), whose director İhsan Darendelâghûlu was assassinated in 1979. Several old-established newspapers ceased publication in the 1970s: the might-piece of the CHP, Ulu (1934; founded in 1920 in Ankara as Hâkimiyet-i milletvekli, ended its existence in July 1971, Vatan (1923 [see Çagıda, iii]), whose orientation had changed several times since 1950, in 1978. Important news magazines of the 1970s were Türk (founded 1973; the intermittent On Time, Mehmet Ali Kağha), 7 Gün and Toplam. Güder, founded in 1972, was to become, after Kinoledîlî and Mad, the third largest satirical paper in the world.

The 1980s

After the third intervention of the military on 12 September 1980 (12 Eylül), all political parties were banned. Printing houses of newspapers were closed down, and four papers (the leftist papers Demokrat, Politika, Aşkülî and Hurğan, the organ of the MHP) were banned immediately after the coup. Between 12 September 1980 and 12 March 1984 publication of eight national papers was suspended seventeen times, for 195 days. In total, 181 journalists and writers were arrested and 82 of them sentenced during the same period (details in Baskın 80-84, 197-230).

The influence of the military decreased after the general elections of 1983 were won by Turgut Özal’s "Motherland Party" (Anawat Partisi; ANAP) with a clear majority. This victory inaugurated a new period of economic liberalisation. The Turkish press had a share in the relatively rapid re-democratisation of the regime and became a significant factor in politics. Most papers were eventually fiercely opposed to the ANAP governments. In the late 1980s, Prime Minister Özal used the control of paper supplies against the hostile press. The freedom of the press continued to be restricted on the basis of the restrictive Constitution passed in 1982 (esp. articles 22, 24-30), the Press Law, the "Law on Harmful Publications", and the Penal Code (esp. articles 312 and 158). A series of government regulations in the spring of 1990 and later the "Law on Terrorism" also brought censorship to the press. In 1984, the "Kurdish Workers’ Party" (PKK), founded in 1978, had started its first action. A number of papers was founded in the 1980s among which Doğru (1981), Sabah (1985), Cemân (1986; see below) are still published today (2003). The circulation of Sabah, founded by the dynamic Dinç Bilgön (b. 1940), publisher of the Izmir-based Yeni Asr, exceeded that of Hürriyet in 1987. Aşkam, then the oldest newspaper of Turkey (founded in 1918 [see Çagıda, iii]), ceased publication in 1982, Yeni İstanbul (founded 1949) in 1986, and SonHAVADIS in 1988. In the second half of the 1980s most papers adopted the editorial system (computer system, first used by Yeni Asr). The tabloid Güneş (1982-9) gave new impetus to give-away and lottery campaigns in the Turkish press which only Cumhuriyet refused to join. There was an explosion of weekly and monthly magazines in the 1980s, including cultural reviews of superior quality, 2000'e Doğru (1986) was one of the best-known news magazines. A Turkish version of Playboy came on the market in 1985. The world of the press was shaken by the Asil Nadir affair in 1989. This Cypriot business man had acquired, thanks to his contacts with government circles, the tabloids Gündayin and Tan, as well as several magazines, including the news magazine Nokta (founded in 1983 with the French Le Point as a model).

Most papers had left at that period the Avenue of the Sublime Porte (Bâbîsîli Caddesi) in Istanbul, the Turkish Fleet Street. In 1988 a Press Museum (Baskın Müzesi) was opened in the same area thanks to the Newspapersmen’s Association (Gazeteciler Cemiyeti).

The 1990s and beyond

The downfall of the ANAP government in 1991
has been in part attributed to the mobilisation of public opinion by the press. Tansu Çiller became the first female prime minister in 1993. The end of Kemalism seemed to have arrived with the general elections of December 1995 when Necmettin Erbakan's Islamist Welfare Party (Refah Partisi, RP) obtained 21% of the vote. A coalition government, the first Islamist-led government in Republican Turkey, was formed in July 1996. But once more, the military started to play a more active role. An ultimatum issued by the generals in February 1997 to restrict the influence of Islamists compelled the prime minister Erbakan to resign. His downfall was speeded by a sustained campaign in some sections of the press. Subsequently, the country was governed by various coalition governments formed by Kemalist and nationalist leaders. The PKK-led Kurdish insurgency came to an end after the capture of Abdullah Öcalan in Kenya in 1999. The country was shaken by a severe economic crisis in 2001. In November 2002, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan won the general election with his moderate Islamist Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP).

These developments were also reflected in the Turkish press at the turn of the 21st century with the rise of a "Kurdish" press and a growing importance of Islamic and Islamist papers (see below). Violence against journalists continued in the 1990s. Cumhuriyet lost seven of its writers through attacks, the most prominent victim being Ugur Mumcu (1942-93), known for his investigative journalism, who was killed by a car bomb in 1993.

Concentration and monopolisation (tekelleme) became one of the major problems faced by the Turkish press. There was also serious concern about the media moguls', journalists' and columnists' increasingly close relations with the political establishment. Most national newspapers belonged (in 2003) to three important press groups which also controlled the country's largest private TV channels. Traditional ownership had already disappeared from the media market. Cumhuriyet remained the only independent paper. Twelve papers, including the mass circulation papers Hüriyat, Milliyet and Radikal founded in 1996 and considered by some as the most "Western" paper, and the sports paper Fanatik, belong to Aydın Doğan's Doğan Media Group. It is said to control nearly 40% of the country's advertising revenues and 80% of distribution (2003). The Sabah group plunged into crisis when its head Dine Bilgin was jailed in 2001. Thanks to its promotional activities, the paper Sabah had reached a circulation of 1.5 million in October 1992. A law (promouyoy yasasi) eventually prohibited in 1997 promouyons except those of cultural value. Tercüman ceased publication in 1994, but two papers bearing the same name re-emerged after 2000. The leading news magazines in the 1990s were Aktüel (circulation: 40,000), Tempo (28,000), Akşiyon (18,000) and Nokta (3,000).

The "Kurdish" press

The 1990s also saw the emergence of a new type of papers focussing on Kurdish issues which appeared in Istanbul and Ankara, usually in Turkish. All of them were accused of being close to the PKK. The first of them, Özgür Gündem, founded in 1992 and later known as Ankara State Security Court (DGM) in 1994, lost seven of its writers and correspondents and thirteen vendors to killings. It was followed by Özgür Ulke (1994-5), whose premises in Istanbul were the target of a devastating bomb attack in December 1994. Terci Politika (13 April-16 August 1995) was one of the most often censored papers in Turkey. Its successors (Demokrasi, Ubıde Güdçem, Özgür Baktı, 2000'le Yeni Güdçem) had a similar fate, and functioned usually in a most precarious situation. Terci Otuz Güdçem (founded in September 2002) had a circulation of ca. 10,000 in November 2003. In the 1990s, many Kurdish weekly or monthly magazines also began to appear, including local papers. The Kurdish language paper Rojname was soon banned after its first publication in December 1991. In the same year, the prohibition of Kurdish publications had been removed. There is now (2003) a Kurdish-language literary magazine, Azadiya Welat, published in Istanbul. However, most papers destined for Kurds from Turkey are published in Western countries known for their large Kurdish immigrant population (e.g. Sweden, etc.). The paper Özgür Politika is published in Europe. Kurdish satellite TV and numerous internet sites have created what has been called a "virtual Kurdistan".

Islamic and Islamist press

The spectacular rise of the Islamic and Islamist press dates from the 1980s. Prior to 1980, its percentage in terms of newspapers and periodicals was 7%, in 1993 it had reached 47% (G. Seufert, Politischer Islam in der Türkei, Istanbul 1997, 392n.). Many periodicals (including newspapers like Terci Aya, Türkiye, Milli Gazete) have been associated with religious orders and groups in the Muslim world, the Nakshbandi dervish order and its branches [see NAKSHBANDIYYA] being particularly influential. Terci Safak (founded in 1995) was financed by a pious industrialist. The paper Zaman (see above), organ of the group around Fethullah Gülen of the Nurcu (see NURCUKUL), is now (2003) among the top five national daily newspapers in Turkey, with an average circulation of 300,000. It has been described as the first Turkish daily newspaper to appear on-line (since 1995). It has bureaux and correspondents in many countries all over the world. It has special international editions for twelve foreign countries, those for the new Turkish Caucasian and Central Asian republics being printed in their own alphabets and languages. Zaman also owns the weekly news magazine Akşiyon, a children's monthly, a news agency, and the private TV channel Samanyolu.

Islamist reviews and magazines include weeklies, numerous monthly magazines (Sems, İltizam, published by the Türkiye Öğretmenler Vakfı, founded in 1978), and publications for women: Kadın ve Aile (founded 1985) was the largest Muslim women's magazine, reputed to have sold 60,000. It was closely associated with that branch of the Nakshbandi order whose major mouthpiece is the magazine İslam (circulation 100,000), Bizim Aile (published since 1968) is a spin-off of the magazine köprü, published since 1977 and representing the views of a section of the Nurcu order.

Local newspapers

National newspapers based in Istanbul account for about 90% of total circulation. But there have been registered up to 745 local newspapers published in Turkey, almost half of them being dailies. The circulation figures vary according to the economic development of the region. Terci Aşır, published in 1924; its predecessor, 'Aşır, was founded in Ottoman Sultanı in 1895), remains the biggest newspaper with a regional character (circulation 43,000 in November 2003). The local press has been trying to renew itself technologically in recent years and many papers are produced by printing houses with offset printing facilities.

Turkish papers published in Europe

The first Turkish papers printed in Europe were Akşam and Hüriyat (Munich 1969). They were followed
The decline of the Greek community in Istanbul from the 1960s onwards was also reflected in the Greek minority papers. Elefteri Phiné and Emaros, which figure among the signatories of the Basin ablak yasan, disappeared in 1965. Two Greek dailies still appear in Istanbul for a community of 2,000-3,000 souls: Anayegeszvágy/APygosmatini (founded in 1925), which until the death of its founder, Gr. Yaverides, and Milliyet, Fanatik Hqfta Sonu, in the 1970s, used to employ some ten journalists; from the 1960s onwards was also reflected in the souls: appear in Istanbul for a community of 2,000-3,000 Turkish newspapers sold in Europe.

The minority press


**SIHAFÄ — SILAH**


The press freedom in Turkey remains limited by various laws and a frequently restrictive interpretation of press freedom and freedom of expression by the judiciary. There is no functioning journalist's trade union. Journalists continue to be arrested and sentenced to prison terms. Lefist, Islamist and pro-Kurdish media are the primary targets. For many modern Turkish writers and intellectuals, criminal prosecution has been an indispensable part of their curriculum vitae. But even members of the mainstream media occasionally face legal action, although these papers usually practice a sort of self-censorship and avoid sensitive issues such as criticising the military and high-level corruption.

**Conclusion**

The number of newspapers with an average daily circulation over 10,000 was 11 in 1983, 14 in 1990 and 32 in 1997. According to August 2003 figures, the average total daily sales of 35 major daily papers was about 4 million. Some 25 of them had their own website in 2004, including several regional papers. The number of magazines has increased with extraoordinary speed. Its total number, which was 20 in 1990, reached 110 in 1999 (total circulation around 2,300,000). They include magazines with foreign brand names like Marie Claire, Cosmopolitan, Harper's Bazaar, Esquire, Your Beaux, or National Geographic. As far as printing techniques are concerned, the Turkish press has attained in most domains European standards.

But some basic issues remain: press readership is still low. Attestations of any parallel form of sildhdt has exceeded twenty within a few years. But even the curriculum vitae. (founded in 1917 by Albert Carasso), disappeared in 1971. It is, however, published in Turkish, with an English-on-line edition.


to official sources (Facts about Turkey, 412), the average number of newspapers sold to 1,000 persons is 58 (cf. Germany: 314). The habit of reading newspapers regularly has remained the privilege of a relatively small group, around 15% of the population (estimated at 67 million in 2000). The visual media have emerged as the most influential institution shaping public opinion. The number of private TV channels has exceeded twenty within a few years.

SILAH

II Chron. xxiii. 10, Joel ii. 8, etc., and as a possible parallel, despite the phonetic problem, Akk. šēlu “to sharpen weapons”, šēluš “dagger blade” (CAD, Letter S, ii. 275).

1. The pre-Islamic period.

The weapons of the pre-Islamic Arabs were essential parts of their culture. The use of the spear or lance. Our knowledge of these weapons of theirs is almost entirely a bookish one, and it was from the evidence of pre-Islamic poetry that F.W. Schwarzlose compiled his Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt (Leipzig 1886, repr. Hildesheim 1982), a work concerned primarily with the nomenclature of weapons and their component parts.

Fighting was a prominent aspect of desert life, in which tribes often competed over pasture grounds, sought to drive off opponents’ herds or were involved in protracted vendettas entailed by the unwritten laws of revenge, retaliation and the exacting of compensation for losses to the tribe’s fighting strength [see dīva; rīsā; thā’ra’i]. Hence a rich vocabulary evolved for weapons and armour, often descriptive, by metonymy, of some special characteristic (“shining”, “incisive”) or of some origin, real or supposed (“Indian”, “Yemeni”, “Khāṭṭī”). This vocabulary naturally, attracted the philologists of Islamic times, concerned to elucidate the names of weapons, armour and their synonyms in early poetry. Whence the composition of works with titles like Kitāb al-Silḥ, such titles being attributed to the Bayrān scholar al-Nādīr b. Šumayyāʾ (d. 204/820), al-Aṣmāʾī, Ibn Durayd (d. 320/932) and Shāmīr b. Hamdāwāyh (d. 555/846); see Schwarzlose, 11 n. 1. Few of these works have survived (Sezgin, GAS, 173 n. 3), but there are rich sources of information on the nomenclature of weapons and their component parts. It is highly improbable that any of these works gave any actual descriptions of weapons or their use—the authors were literary men, who probably never wielded a weapon in anger in their lives, and not practical warriors—and on these points we have virtually no information. It is not till later mediaeval times that practical treatises on the art of war and the use of weapons are known [see below, 2; Fittow 1987: 102 n. 1]. The only direct, contemporary source which might conceivably give us some idea of pre-Islamic weapons lies in possible representations in petroglyphs and similar drawings. There are quite a lot of depictions of warriors wielding lances and bows, and possibly swords, on horseback and on foot, in the Thamudic and Safaitic materials, cf. also the frontispiece photograph of a rock graffiti showing an archer, and the drawing of a South Arabian spear, of uncertain age, at p. 65 of R.B. Serjeant, South Arabian art, London 1976.

The weapon most frequently mentioned in the ancient literary sources is the sword (ṣiyf), for which special works by the philologists are recorded, e.g. Abū ‘Ubayda’s Kitāb al-Siyf and a work by Abū Ḥātim al-Sūdāstānī, a Kitāb al-Siyf wa l-rumāḥ; see Rummūs; Schwarzlose, 124 n. 1). These must have been stabbing swords for close, hand-to-hand fighting rather than cavalry swords. There emerges that swords of Indian steel (hantī, samhān) were particularly prized; whether the Hind envisaged here relates to the Indian subcontinent or to lands beyond in Southeast Asia, such as Malaya or Sumatra, is unclear, but any such weapons were presumably imported via the Persian Gulf ports. Nearer home, the ancient Arabs prized blades forged by the smiths of Syria, e.g. of Būṣrā (ṣir), see (see below), a land which had access to supplies of iron ore and to wooded terrains for the production of charcoal. On the other hand, it is unlikely that “Yemeni” swords were actually made in Yemen; more probably, blades or complete swords were imported from lands further east, to the ports of the Thamudic and Hadrami tribes of Yemen, thus acquiring this territorial name. See in general on swords of this period, Schwarzlose, 124-209.

The spear or lance (rumāḥ, ṣawāqa, kānāt, the latter term, originally “bamboo, reed shaft” being used by synecdoche for the whole weapon) was, it seems, included in the work by Abū Ḥātim al-Sūdāstānī on swords and spears mentioned above (see also Schwarzlose, 210 n. 1). It was used as a thrusting weapon in close fighting, but spears which could be thrown at the enemy like javelins (muṣṭak < Pers. nīq, mīnud, harba) are also mentioned, and the designation mīnud indicates that such throwing weapons could be used for hunting as well as war. Spears with a bamboo or strong reed shaft (kāndt) are often described as khāṭṭī, from al-Khāṭṭī (ṣir) in Bahrain or Hadjar, where a certain Samhar is said to have been an expert fashioner of spears, whence samhāri ones. Whether these spears were made from the stems of the vegetation growing along the Gulf shores, or were imported from further east, as the term kāndt al-Hind implies, is unclear. Various trees are also mentioned as providing wood for spear shafts, such as the wakūḏī or ash (?). Spears had a head (ṣarrān) and a tapered iron butt at their lower end which could be stuck into the ground when the weapon was not being carried (zuddī). See, in general, Schwarzlose, 210-45.

The bow and arrow were used by the ancient Arabs, and the sources distinguish “Arab” from “Persian” bows. See further 2 above, and Schwarzlose, 246-319.

As well as all these offensive weapons, there are frequent mentions of protective body armour in the shape of coats of mail (dir or sard, zard, muzarrad < Pers. zard, traceable back, according to Franz, Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im arabischen, 241-2, to a Persian form preceding MP zārith with a final d, Avestan zardita; see in Kurān, XXXIV, 10/11, in a passage concerning King David’s skill as a maker of closely-woven mail, cf. Jeffery, The foreign vocabulary of the Qur’ān, Baroda 1938, 169). The manufacture of chain armoured coats must have been basically in the settled fringes around the Arabian peninsula, as the Persian origin of some of its nomenclature shows. Also, Būṣrā in the Hawrān region of southern Syria was in Byzantine times a noted centre for the forging of weapons and the making of armour, and the Byzantine authorities tried on occasion to stop the export of these to the nomads. In waṣīrī (ṣir) lore, the original making of mailed coats is attributed to King David (or, as some Arab commentators on ancient poetry averred, to a celebrated Jewish (?) smith called Dūwūd or to his son, but the identification of the inventor of mailed coats with the Biblical David was already made in pre-Islamic times [see nāwān]). This skill was also attributed to the Tuba’i kings of Yemen. See, in general, Schwarzlose, 322-49. Mailed coats were accounted valuable in desert fighting, and it was weapons and coats of mail which the poet and prince of Kinda, Imrūʾ al-Kays, allegedly entrusted to the Jewish Arab poet and lord of Tama’ar al-Samaw’al b. Ḥadhīr (ṣir), and which the latter refused to give up to the Ghassānīd king al-Hārith b. Ḏibāla. Iron helmets were termed byḍ̄a, from their resemblance in shape to an ostrich egg, see Schwarzlose, 349-51, and also ḏīḏa or Pers. khūd. Although not
mentioned extensively in poetry, which prefers to extol fearless warriors who scorned to protect themselves in battle behind shields, the pre-Islamic Arabs do seem to have employed shields on such occasions (turs, ḥijānna, miḏgann, ḏānika). Such shields were probably made of hide (as is specifically said of the ḏānika) stretched over a wooden frame, enough to deflect the indifferent weapons of the nomads. See Seidensticker, 351-6.

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C.E. Bosworth

2. The Islamic period.

The military technologies of Arabia at the time of the Prophet Muhammad remain little known, but they were still clearly under strong influence from neighbouringtechnologically advanced neighbours such as the Byzantine Empire, Sāsānid Persia and India via maritime trade contacts. Not surprisingly, early Byzantine styles dominated in the north and west, Persian in the east and, to a less certain extent, Indian in southern Arabia. Swords and spears remained the favoured weapons, while archery played a minor role and only amongst foot soldiers. Most armour was of mail although leather defences were also widespread, much of this latter probably being manufactured in Yemen (see 1. above). Similarly, the people of prosperous but strife-torn trading regions such as the Hidjaz and Yemen drew on weapons to be copied in weaponry.

With the rapid Muslim Arab conquest of vast regions from Central Asia and India to Spain and the Atlantic Ocean, other military techniques began to appear in the arms and armour of Muslim armies during the 8th and 9th centuries. After the establishment of an Islamic “empire”, such armies became largely territorial which further encouraged the development of regional styles. Thus Central Asian Turkish military techniques had their first impact in 8th to 9th-century Transoxiana and what is now eastern Persia, while Sāsānid Persian military styles remained dominant in western Persia and eastern parts of the Arab world until the 9th-10th centuries. Early Byzantine military styles survived in areas like eastern Anatolia well into the 10th century, and in Syria and Egypt well into the 12th century. Yet the situation was less clear in North Africa and the Iberian peninsula. Here pre-Islamic military techniques had generally been more primitive than those of the conquering Muslim Arabs, despite a residual early Byzantine military heritage.

This is not to say that the Muslim Arabs merely adopted the military styles of those whom they conquered. Nevertheless, the Muslim Arabs’ contribution to the development of a specifically Islamic military tradition, and to the history of military technology as a whole, was primarily to open up a vast area to differing military influences. Thus Persian influence was eventually felt in North Africa, Byzantine technology reached Iberia and, above all, the Turkish Central Asian military tradition spread throughout the Middle East. Such Turkish influence also served as a channel whereby Chinese military techniques spread westward and may even have reached the Iberian peninsula, though in a very diluted form.

A truly Islamic tradition of arms, armour and their associated tactics developed rapidly, yet this was neither uniform nor monolithic. Large variations could always be seen between different regions resulting both from local traditions or conditions, and from the recruitment of troops from specific geographical zones which had their own distinctive styles.

In general, however, it could be said that Persian and Turkish influences were the most powerful, whereas those of the Byzantine or Mediterranean countries were of secondary importance, at least after the first century of Islamic history. Such a pattern persisted until early modern times as peoples and dynasties of essentially Turkish origin rose to political dominance in most of the militarily significant Islamic countries. Only in the late 16th and 19th centuries, with the rise of European military power and strong colonialism, did indigenous or Turkish military practice rapidly give way to a widespread adoption of European weaponry and of the tactics associated with such modern technologies.

Weapons

For Islamic bows and archery, see KAWS; for firearms, see BANDAN; for siege weaponry, see HISAR; and see also QAYNV.

Since ancient and pre-Islamic times the long bamboo-hafted spear or ṭamīd had been regarded as a typically Arab weapon. It was used on foot, on horseback and when riding camels. In the early Islamic centuries the Arabs were also renowned for their use of a relatively short sword (ṣayf). This was probably a broad-bladed weapon reflecting Roman and Byzantine infantry traditions rather than the cavalry traditions of Persia, where long-bladed slashing swords had been widespread for some centuries. Whereas the typical Arab sabre or sayf was to become a popular weapon well into the 10th century, the Arabs’ short ṣayf was soon replaced by longer-bladed weapons suitable for mounted combat, though these were still largely known as ṣayfī. Only in southern and eastern Arabia (Yemen, Ḥḍrāmawt and ’Umān), and in a few other isolated parts of the Arabian peninsula, did short swords persist along with a tradition of infantry-dominated warfare.

Long, single-edged cavalry swords were already characteristic of Turco-Mongol Central Asia and had appeared in Persia and the Byzantine Empire shortly before the Islamic conquests of the 7th and 8th centuries. Thereafter, they become increasingly popular throughout most of the Islamic world, becoming the dominant cavalry sword by the 15th century although the single-edged sword or sabre never entirely replaced the double-edged weapon. The curved or true sabre spread from Turkish Central Asia into Islamic Persia by the 11th century, or perhaps slightly earlier. Thereafter, in a great variety of forms, it spread throughout most of the Islamic world reaching Granada, the last bastion of Andalusian Islam, by the 15th century. Heavier straight and double-edged weapons were, nevertheless, still used in many parts of the Islamic world in the 19th century, particularly in Islamic sub-Saharan Africa.

Smaller weapons, including those which fell between the categories of sword and dagger, were similarly used in most areas at most times. Here there may have been a greater degree of similarity across the Islamic world, perhaps because a particular type or shape of personal weapon was often worn as a mark of religious or cultural identity. The most obvious example was a heavy dagger or short stabbing sword widely known as a khanda (for variations on this and other weapons terminology, see the Glossary below). Although the development of the khanda drew on many regional traditions and evolved into various shapes of dagger in different parts of the Islamic world, the basic weapon again appears to have been of eastern Iranian or Turkish origin. Other sometimes highly distinctive styles of dagger were limited to smaller areas, generally on the fringes of the Islamic world such as Morocco, the Caucasus and the East Indies. In the latter region, the double-edged kīris
dagger or short sword was retained from pre-Islamic times and continued to have an almost magical and pagan significance amongst a population sometimes only superficially converted to Islam.

Other weapons where a distinctly Islamic style developed were war-axes and maces. The latter were occasionally described as a "friendly" weapons, suitable for use during conflicts with fellow-Muslims as a lighter mace, when skilfully used, could incapacitate without killing a foe. Both also involved a large and complex terminology which distinguished between sometimes minor varieties of weapon but which nevertheless remains in part obscure. This terminology, along with surviving weapons and abundant pictorial representations, show that axes ranged from those with large "half-moon" to narrow spiked blades, while maces varied considerably in weight, shape of head, length of haft or handle and in the material from which they were made.

The javelin was widely used during the early period (7th-15th centuries), particularly by Arab and Persian troops, and remained in use by cavalry in most Islamic countries at least until the 15th century, certainly long after the javelin had been abandoned in western Europe. This probably reflected the more mobile and more disciplined character of Islamic armies during the mediaeval period, at least when compared to their European rivals, as well as the lighter styles of armour associated with Islamic tactics. The fact that such an apparently simple weapon as a javelin came in a large variety of sizes, weights and types of blade, along with an equally complex terminology, further illustrates the importance of the javelin in the hands of both foot soldiers and horsemen. It is also worth noting that cavalry training exercises or "games" involving the javelin were not only developed within the Islamic world but were copied by neighbours ranging from Spaniards and Ethiopians to Armenians [see DJERID and FURQASYAYA].

Armour

Islamic armies have been widely regarded as lightly armoured when compared to their Western European rivals, but this is a misleading over-simplification. The amount of armour available to early mediaeval European forces such as those of the Crusaders has been exaggerated, while that available to Islamic armies from the time of the first conquests onwards has generally been underestimated. Nevertheless, there were wide variations between regions resulting from the differing availability of iron and of wealth to pay for the manufacture or importation of expensive military equipment.

Four types of body armour dominated throughout Islamic military history. These were mail (inter-linked metal rings, usually of iron); lamellar (small scales of iron, bronze, hardened leather or other rigid materials laced to each other but not to a flexible fabric or leather backing); so-called soft- armour of felt, quilted material or flexible buff leather; and a distinctive later form known as mail-and-plate armour. A fifth system of construction has only recently been recognised on the basis of archaeological finds rather than obscure textual references and barely decipherable artistic representations. This is a form of flexible protection consisting of partial hoops of hardened or apparently reconstituted leather which may have been of Central Asian or even Chinese derivation. Hardened and apparently reconstituted leather was also used in the construction of helmets, as shown in written sources such as Mar' Gö or Mur'da b. 'Ali al-Tarsus [see AL-TARSUSI] (Tabisarat arbab al-labab, ed. and tr. Gl. Cahen, Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin, in BEO, xii [1948], 103-65), and confirmed by recent though as yet unpublished archaeological finds in Syria. Carbon dating tests on wood and sinew amongst these finds have produced dates of the 10th and 12th century, while tests on the leather have produced an optimum date of A.D. 1220. It is however, worth noting that a leather helmet or reinforced hat amongst these Syrian finds incorporates small piece of wood; supposedly "wooden" helmets have been mentioned in previously inexplicable texts.

Full plate armour consisting of large shaped pieces of iron buckled or rivetted together, of the type known in western Europe from the 14th century to early modern times, remained rare though not entirely unknown in the Islamic world. Where they seem to have been occasionally used, as in al-Andalus, southern India and the Philippines, they almost invariably reflected direct Western European military influence.

The body-covering mail hauberk (coat or tunic-like protective garment) generally known as the d'iz, and the coif (hood) known as the migfar, were by far the most common form of metallic protection throughout the Mediterranean lands, the Middle East and Persia at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. It subsequently evolved into a greater variety of forms than was seen elsewhere, ranging from ordinary hauberk, given names describing their overall size or shape, to the kazişgard which had its own integral padded lining and a decorative outer layer of cloth.

Only in eastern Persia, Afghanistan and Transoxania was lamellar armour common, although it was used in the late Roman Middle East and Sassanid Persia during earlier centuries and remained known to only occasionally worn. The period from the 8th to 15th centuries saw such lamellar armour spread westwards in the Islamic world along with other essentially Turkish Central Asian military styles. As a result, the lamellar d'awshan became widespread throughout most Islamic countries (with the possible exception of North Africa and the Iberian peninsula) by the 12th century, and even in the Islamic West, lamellar was known if not popular. Nor was mail armour abandoned in favour of such lamellar protections. Instead, the two were often worn together, usually with the lamellar d'awshan on top, until the development of mail-and-plate protections combining the advantages of both forms made it unnecessary to wear two armours at once.

Such mail-and-plate armour appeared in a variety of forms and used varied terminology, some of it stemming from earlier and different usage. In the Ottoman Empire, however, such the new style of body protection was often called a konaç, from the common European term cuirass and its various Balkan dialect forms. In this mail-and-plate armour, pieces of iron plate of varied shapes and sizes designed to protect different parts of the body were linked by pieces of mail of varying widths depending on the degree of flexibility required. It was an essentially Islamic technological development, perhaps first appearing in 'Irāq or western Persia in the 14th century, from where it spread to become the most typical 15th to 16th-century form of Islamic armour for both men and horses. As such it was characteristic of the late Mamluk, Ottoman, later Persian and Indo-Muslim states.

So-called soft armours were widespread in early Islamic centuries and seem to have remained popular until the early 14th century, thereafter largely being relegated to the hottest regions such as India and Sudan. These should not, however, be seen only as
a cheap alternative to metallic armour. Rather, they were a light, effective and easily-made protection suitable for the highly mobile cavalry-dominated warfare which characterised Islamic military history. Soft armour could also be combined with other forms of protection. In particular, it was worn beneath or combined with mail protections. Soft armours were also suitable in the relatively short chariots characteristic of some Islamic countries and survived throughout the 19th century in the sub-Saharan Sudan.

The history of Islamic helmets differed from that of Europe, generally reflecting a preference for good visibility and mobility at the cost of less protection. Little is yet known about helmets in the early Islamic period (7th to 9th centuries), but in general they seem to have continued previous Romano-Byzantine and Persian shapes and forms of construction, most of which were based on two pieces joined along a central comb. Unfortunately, the terminology, though varied, cannot usually be identified with one specific form of helmet. In fact, it seems that the naming of helmets, though not entirely interchangeable, was generally unspecific (see the Glossary below).

Central Asian types of pointed and segmented helmets were already spreading into the Middle East and eastern Europe before the coming of Islam. Thereafter, single-helmet forms became more widespread, with various designs joined either to each other or to an iron frame, spread throughout the Islamic countries. Meanwhile, advances in metallurgy within Islam during the 8th to 11th centuries, and perhaps even earlier, led to the production of one-piece iron helmets in relatively large numbers long before such defences appeared in Europe or even the Byzantine Empire. By and large, this one-piece form was known as the bayda. Helmets were an obvious and popular object on which wealth or prestige could be demonstrated, as a result of which most of the techniques of inlay and surface decoration found in other forms of Islamic metalwork also came to be seen on helmets. Meanwhile, lighter helmets made of leather and, apparently, a form of reconstituted hard leather were also used in most regions.

Facial and neck protection was provided by mail coifs (hoods) and mail or lamellar aventails (veil-like skirts hanging from the rim of a helmet). Only rarely were rigid metallic face- or hinged visors seen on Islamic helmets. Nevertheless, they did appear in Central Asia and Persia during the 12th to 14th centuries and, in a very different form, in the Iberian peninsula around the same period. These exceptions probably reflected special military circumstances, such as an enhanced threat from horse-archery composite bows in the east and from a greater use of handheld crossbows in Iberia. Elsewhere, flexible mail or lamellar head and neck protections, often pulled across the face to leave only small apertures for the eyes, were common in many regions.

Shields of wood, hardened leather, wickerwork and, in later centuries, of iron were all used by Muslim warriors. Most were round and relatively small, being suitable for light cavalry warfare. Yet there were plenty of other variations. Tall, kite-shaped shields for infantry use were used in the Middle East during the 11th to 13th centuries. These included the flat-based djinnānāyya whose name might indicate that it was initially imported from Genoa, since identical flat-based infantry shields or mantlets were also characteristic of Italy though not of other parts of western Europe at this time. Large shields which were apparently mantlets (shields that could be rested on the ground), made of woven reeds, were probably widespread in Arabia at the time of the Prophet and appear to have continued in use, at least in Irāk, until at least the 9th century.

Large and flexible shields made from various animal hides were used in the Sahara, North Africa, Egypt and the Iberian peninsula during the mediaeval period and subsequently developed into the smaller but distinctive kidney-shaped “Moorsih” adarga of 14th to 17th-century Spain and Portugal (this name stemming from the Ar. daraka meaning a small shield, usually of leather). Shields of purely European form were also used by Muslim Andalusian soldiers during periods when western European military fashions dominated, most obviously in the 13th century.

Meanwhile, the typical Turkish kalkan shield was constructed from a spiral of cane bound together with cotton or silk thread. This formed an exceptionally light and effective cavalry shield in which the threads gave almost unlimited scope for colour and decoration. Iron shields were known by the 12th century, the earliest known example being of segmented construction, but they only became more widespread and of one-piece construction in the 16th and 17th centuries. These later metal shields had developed in response to guns, as they had in Europe, and were as rapidly abandoned when advances in firearms rendered them redundant.

Armour of a rigid or semi-rigid type for the limbs was used in several Islamic countries long before it became more than a localised novelty in mediaeval Europe. This almost certainly resulted from the importance of close-combat cavalry warfare with swords. Nevertheless, Islamic warriors never took limb defences to the extremes seen in later mediaeval and early modern Europe. Early Islamic arm protections such as the hāzār band, haff and sī'ād (7th to 14th centuries), though never very widespread, followed in the Byzantine and Turco-Persian traditions. The latter consisted of segmented vambraces for the lower arms, probably of iron or bronze but perhaps also of hardened leather, while the upper arms were protected by the sleeves of a mail hauberk or by flaps of lamellar armour attached to the body of a lamellar cuirass. A style of long-hemmed, half-sleeved lamellar cuirass became more widespread after the Mongol invasions of the 13th century but was rarely seen west of Persia. A rigid tube-like iron vambrace for the lower arms, known in Turkish as the koğtuk or kaltük, appeared in the second half of the 13th or early 14th century and was almost certainly of Sino-Mongol origin. Thereafter it remained popular in Central Asia, Persia, Turkey and Mamlūk Egypt.

Leg protections of similar construction to arm defences were known in pre-Islamic Transoxiana but seem to have declined in popularity after the coming of Islam. Mail leg protections appeared in Islamic and Byzantine sources in the 11th century, slightly before they did so in western Europe. These and other forms, included those of mail-and-plate construction, reappeared in later years being known as butuğ, dizieğ, kalsat zarad, rūnāt ṣadūl and sāh al-māżū. Nevertheless, such items of armour were generally reserved for a small elite of heavily-armoured cavalry.

**Horse-armor**

It has often been assumed that horse-armor was rare or even unknown in the early Islamic period because it is virtually unknown in art before the 14th century. Documentary sources, however, make it clear that various forms of horse-armor were widespread. The most popular type appears to have been of quilted or padded construction; this being reflected in the
most common Arabic term for horse-armour, *tağhāf*. Before the late 13th century, references to horse-armours of scale, lamellar, mail or mail-and-plate construction in the Islamic world where, even in the later period than close-range shooting. This was clearly true for arrows or other such missiles. Even in these circumstances it was more effective against long-range harassment than close-range shooting. This was clearly true for the rider’s own armour, though there tended to be a certain time lag between the introduction of new styles for the rider and for his horse. Thus a rider might wear a mail-and-plate cuirass while riding a horse still protected by hardened leather lamellar.

The chamfron or armour for the animal’s head was also used, being known as a *burkā*, *kasagha*, *sāri* and probably *tishtanṭiya*; the variety of terms indicates that this form of protection was more widespread than is sometimes thought. This was probably of hardened leather until plated metal forms, along with fully laminar horse-armours, became common in the 14th century. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that rigid metal chamfons were known in Egypt and neighbouring Islamic territories some centuries earlier and that these were almost certainly descended from Roman forms of horse-armour.

A few surviving head protections for camels date from the Ottoman period but these are likely to have been for parade rather than war use. Much elephant-armour was, however, used in war. Naturally, it was most highly developed in Islamic India although war-elephants continued to be used elsewhere in the eastern parts of the Muslim world, as they had been in the pre-Islamic period (see fl. 2. As beasts of war. Little is known about such early Islamic elephant-armour, although enormous circular shields to protect the animal’s vulnerable ears do appear in art sources from the 12th or 13th centuries.

**Terminology.** The terminology of Islamic arms and armour is huge and embraces several languages with the same terms, or minor variations on such terms, being used within several languages. Many other terms are merely descriptive or poetic. The following list includes only the most important.

**GLOSSARY**

*a*māz: short spear or staff weapon with a large elongated blade (Ar.)

*a*nāz: short infantry spear, Mughal India (Indo-Pers.)

*anj*: nasal of helmet (Ar.)

*ard*: blade of large-bladed spear (Ar.)

*a*nā*: flat surface of sword-blade (Ar.)

*a*nūk-i kāju*: horse-armour, Mughal India (Indo-Pers.)

*a*sā*: club, cudgel, iron staff or light form of mace (Ar.)

*a*bā*: possibly the cheek-pieces of a helmet (Ar.)

*a*ā*: helmet, equivalent of Ar. *khwā* (Kipčak Tk.)

*a*š*: shaft of spear (Ar.)

*a*š*: staff weapon in which the blade is longer than the haft (Ar.)

*a*layn*: individual lamellae or pieces of a lamellar cuirass (Ar.)

*ā*gy*: central ridge of a spear-blade (Ar.)

*b*dān*: short hauberk or shirt of mail, sometimes sleeveless (Ar.)

*b*aghlā*: horse-armour, usually quilted (Pers.)

*b*akht-i kāju*: scale or scale-lined armour of Mongol origin, Mughal India

*b*allam*: broad-bladed short spear, Mughal India

*b*alta*: war-axe (Kipčak Tk. and Ar.)

*b*alt*: war-axe, Mughal India

*b*and-maṣ#: “watering” pattern on sword-blade (Indo-Pers.)

*b*ank*: dagger with extravagantly curved blade (Hindi)

*b*aɾāːh*: spear all of metal, Mughal India

*b*aɾāːs*: horse-armour or caparison (Ar.)

*b*ard*: type of sword-blade (Ar.)

*b*ayf*: helmet, probably of one-piece construction (Ar.)

*b*zābān*: vambrace, lower arm protection (Pers.)

*b*eker*: cuirass, usually lamellar (Mongol)

*b*hala, bḥalla*: spear or cavalry javelin (Indo-Pers.)

*b*ḥandʒ*, *bʰandʒ*: armour with throat-guard, Mughal India

*b*ḥir*: combined axe and dagger, Mughal India

*b*īr*: knife (Kipčak Tk.)

*b*īr*: single-edged dagger, Mughal India

*b*īm*: body armour of Mongol origin, Mughal India

*b*īř*: pl. *bīra*: chamfron (lit. “veil”); (Ar.)

*b*cʰār*: helmet, probably of one-mirror construction (Ar.)

*b*cʰār*: helmet with a neck-guard, pendant ear-pieces and a sliding nasal (Tk.)

*b*cʰār*: face-covering aventail of helmet (Pers.)

*b*cʰur*: single-edged sword or large dagger with a reinforced back, known in Europe as a “Khyber knife”, Mughal India (see also *salawar* and *chur*)

*b*cʰur*: face-covering aventail of helmet (Pers.)

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*b*cʰur*: helmet with a neck-guard, pendant ear-pieces and a sliding nasal (Tk.)

*b*cʰur*: body Armour (Pers.)

*b*cʰur*: infantry mantlet (Indo-Pers.)

*b*cʰur*: cavalry axe, Mughal India

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*b*cʰur*: helmet with a neck-guard, pendant ear-pieces and a sliding nasal (Tk.)

*b*cʰur*: body Armour (Pers.)

*b*cʰur*: infantry mantlet (Indo-Pers.)

*b*cʰur*: cavalry axe, Mughal India
čibah: staff or club, or shaft of spear or mace (Pers.)
čibah-i ąham: probably long form of infantry mace (Pers.)
čakah: mail hauberk (Tk.)
čakmar, ąkmar: mace (Kipcak Tk.)
čamuk, ąmuk: mace (Kipcak Tk.)
dabkās, dabkās: general term for mace (Ar.)
dab która: rear part of a helmet, neck-guard or aventail (Ar.)
dabna: curved dagger (Pers.)
darakā: small shield, usually of leather but sometimes of other materials (Ar.)
dās: agricultural implement sometimes used as a weapon (Pers.)
dāgha, dāg: large dagger (Pers.)
dast: edge of sword-blade (Pers.)
dāmāna: vambrace, Mughal India
dāwarī: javelin with a long socket to the blade, like Roman šalm or Frankish aex (Ar.)
dest-chab: mace (Tk. from Pers.)
dāfā: shield, Mughal India
dāfil-kāfā: shield of folded silk, Mughal India
dāgūbāc: decorative tassels on spear or sword, also wriststrap of sword (Ar.)
dāgbā: point or top part of sword (Ar.)
dāghā: straight sword with enclosed basket-hilt, Mughal India
dū: mail hauberk (Ar.)
dīzēk: thigh and knee defenses (Ott. Tk.)
dāba: fabric-covered mail hauberk; also quilted soft-armour or incorporating such a soft-armour (see also dīgha; Tk.)
dāfē: scabbard (Ar.)
dāgūnāk: axe with narrow blade shaped like a bird's beak, Mughal India
dāk: throwing disc (Indo-Pers.)
dāfār: form of mace (Pers.)
dāfāqār: broad thrusting dagger with a horizontal grip, Mughal India
dāruṭiyya: kite-shaped infantry shield with flattened base (perhaps originally "from Genoa"); (Ar.)
dārā: light cavalry javelin (Ar. "palm branch stripped of its leaves")
dāsāb: shield or mantlet of wood and leather, or perhaps of leather-bound cane (Ar.)
dāwaḵānow: lamellar or laminated cuirass (Ar. and Pers.)
dāfā: quilted soft armour, Mughal India (see also dīgha)
dīmuṭ: style of dagger, Algeria, lit. "Genoese" (Ar.)
dīnīb: cover for scabbard and perhaps also sword (Ar.)
dīrī: Indian dagger (Ar.)
dīwarī: unclear form of Indian armour (Pers.)
dīgūba: large form of quilted soft armour, sometimes incorporating a layer of mail (Ar. and Pers.)
dinnā: shield, normally wood (Ar.)
dīdū:kā: double-edged short-sword or dagger, Mughal India
dū-sangā: spear or pike with two-pronged blade (Indo-Pers.)
dūshālīgī: domed helmet without ear-pieces, Mughal India
dūshārī: crupper, armour for rump of horse, Mughal India
durē: infantry spear with a doubled-point, later perhaps an infantry axe with half-moon blade (Pers.)
dūghī: small dagger (see dāgha; Ar.)
dulaṅga: sling (Pers.)
fāṭifā: rivets of mail links (Ar.)
fāret: "watering" pattern on damascene sword-blade (Ar.)
fakrā: groove down sword-blade (Ar.)

furangiyya, furangiyya: infantry spear or staff weapon, possibly with European-style flanges or "wings" below the blade (Ar.)
ganda: quillons of Malayān kiris dagger (Malay)
gura: knot or lacing or armour (Pers.)
gurandit: gauntlet, Mughal India
girva: girvāt: quilted leather soft-armour, or a form of quilted shield or mantlet (Pers.)
gislāf: scabbard, sheath or container for armour (Ar.)
gislāla: rivets in construction or armour or weapons (Ar.)
ghīmā: scabbard (Ar.)
gīrār: edges of sword-blade (Ar.)
ghuṭavā: mail hauberk with integral coif, Mughal India
gīra: hooked spear (Indo-Pers.)
girbān: aventail, gorget or tippet (Pers.)
ghudhā: infantry javelin or staff-weapon (Pers.)
gundā: javelin (Tk.)
gūpā: form of mace (Pers.)
gupt kard: small thrusting knife with integral gauntlet, Mughal India
gur: mace, probably asymmetrical, animal-headed form (Pers.)
gustuwan: horse-armour (see bangustuwan; Pers.)
hakka: coif or more likely aventail (Ar.)
ahdā: point or perhaps edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
ḥadīgāf: shield, usually leather, of Africa and Andalus (Ar.)
ḥadjarat al-yaf: hand-thrown stone (Ar.)
ḥakka: ring, either as part of a mail hauberk or for other purposes (Ar.)
hamīlā, himīlā: baldric, or attachment points on scabbard for a baldric or sword-belt (Ar.)
handjēr: dagger (see khandjēr; Ott. Turk.)
harba: large-bladed infantry spear or staff-weapon (Ar.)
harbā: edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
harī: Indian dagger (Ar.)
ḥagū: padded garment or soft armour (Ar.)
ḥeṣna: decorative elements on scabbard and sword (Ar.)
ḥirāwa: thick haft of a staff weapon or spear (Ar.)
hūsūm: edges of sword-blade (Andalusian Ar.)
ḥukhūst: ball and chain (Urdū)
ḥakha: grip or hilt of sword (Pers.)
ḥakā: a pommel of sword-hilt (Ar.)
ḥābāra: heavy form of cuirass (Ar. prob. from Pers.)
ḥadd: sword-blade (Ar.)
ḥuddara: two-straight edged sword (Pers.)
ḥijam, ḫadīm, ḫāfin: horse armour of mail (Pers.)
ḥaff: gauntlet or extension to a vambrace; also perhaps an upper arm defence attached to body armour (Ar.)
ḵēfīr-kūbāt: form of mace (Ar.)
ḵhazana: thick haft of spear or staff weapon (Ar.)
ḵūm: hilt of sword (Ar.)
ḵal: form of straight broad sword-blade (Ar.)
ḵ탈ākhār, ḵaṭāf, ḵalṭāfī: curved sword or early form of sabre (pos. from Turk. kilč, Pers. and Ar.)
ḵakāla: helmet-crest, Mughal India
ḵalī: ring on scabbard to attached baldric or straps to belt (Ar.)
ḵalā: centre of shield, over the grip (Ar.)
ḵalkan: spiral cane shield bound with silk or cotton (Turk.)
ḵalsāt zardat: mail chausses (Ar.)
ḵamand: lasso (Pers.)
ḵamarband: waist and abdomen protecting armour or the central part of a ʤewšan cuirass (Pers.)
ḵanāt: long spear (Ar.)
κανθα: caparison or horse-cloth (Ar.)
κανθα-Ꮀ buổiha: gorget for neck and throat, Mughal India
kantup: one-piece helmet, Mughal India
kanyūl: sword associated with Central Asian Turks, probably a corruption of kalatūr (Indo-Pers.)
kāṅd: knife or small dagger (Pers.)
kārkal: quilted soft armour or arming coat, later incorporating iron scales or plates (Ar.)
karta: Indian curved sword or dagger (Ar.)
kord: straight-bladed narrow-bladed dagger, Mughal India
kārīna: leather mantlet padded with cotton (see also gārāna; Indo-Pers.)
kāshīka, kāshkēḍ: chamfron or the front part of horse-armour, Mughal India
kaskara: Sudanese straight double-edged sword
kātrā: Indian sword or large dagger (Pers.)
kātīr: rivet-heads of a mail hauberk (Ar.)
kātrīḍa: sword associated with Central Asian Turks, probably a ... war-axe, equivalent of Arabic tabar (Kipcak Tk.)
kālīḍ: one-piece helmet, Mughal India
kātup: arm protection (Tk.)
kummiya: sabre or curved dagger (Berber)
kurtārya: relatively short cavalry spear for thrusting only (from Greek kontiōnos; Ar.)
kūf: mace (see ghūf; Pers.)
kūrūn: edges of spear-blade (Ar.)
kūz: mace (see gūz; Pers.)
kūsh: belt for sword and archery equipment (Tk.)
lakḥīṭ: form of mace (see lāṭī; Pers.)
latt:Berber and Saharan large leather shield (Ar.)
latt: mace with elongated head (Ar.)
līfīm: aventail also covering the throat, lit. "veil" (Ar.)
lakummiya: sabre or curved dagger (Berber)
lūtā: tassels on sword (Ar.)
līmid: grip of sword-hilt, probably corruption of niḥād (Ar.)
lūṣ: Berber javelin (Andalusian Ar.)
lūṭī: swords (Ar.)
lūṭī: shield (see gūnna; Ar.)
lūṣ: knife or dagger used by Europeans (Ar.)
lūṣ: nail fixing blade to haft of spear (Ar.)
lūṭ: short cavalry spear (Ar.)
lūṭ: short infantry spear or javelin (Pers.)
lūṣvar al-wṣūr: horizontal lacing of a lamellar cuirass (Ar.)
mandībāḍ: individual links of a mail hauberk (Ar.)
māndīb: sword-belt (Ar.)
mārāba: short spear (poss. from Greek riptaria; Ar.)
mard gīr: spear with a hook beneath the blade (Indo-Pers.)
naktīl: early Arabian sword, largely in poetic usage (Ar.)
masrīda, niṣrīda: possibly the scales of a coat-of-plates (Ar.)
mīghtār: hood or coif, usually of mail, to protect the head; later sometimes referring to the mail aventail attached to a helmet (Ar.)
mīghtīr: helmet (Ott. Tk. from Ar.)
mīghtīr: helmet with a hook beneath the blade (Ar.)
mīkād: curved or single-edged sword (Ar.)
mīkīdā: slings (Ar.)
mīkūra: club or cudgel (Ar.)
mīkūz: foot or shoe of spear-shaft (Ar.)
mīzāba: foot or shoe of spear-shaft (Ar.)
mīsīrār: nail or rivet attaching hilt to sword (Ar.)
mīsīrūka: form of helmet largely consisting of mail with a small skull-top, mostly used in the Caucaus (from Tk.)
mīṣtūla: short hunting spear, javelin or staff weapon, later used as a standard (Ar.)
mīyān: sheath or strap to hold mace (Pers.)
mīzūk: javelin with armour piercing blade (Ar.)
mudālkāla: possibly a scale armour (Ar.)
mudīlīltā: protective leather costume worn by fire-troops (Ar.)
mudāllā: curved or single-edged sword (Ar.)
mudībā: slender sword-blade (Andalusian Ar.)
murūnā: infantry spear with flexible wooden haft (Ar.)
mustanṣīfiya: long halted mace, probably ceremonial (Ar.)
muzā-i lāḥān: iron leg armour, Mughal India (Pers.)
nīnāk: war-axe, perhaps with half-moon blade and often with a hammer at the back (Pers.)
nīnāk: war-axe (see nīnāk; Tk.)
nīnāk: war-axe (see nīnāk; Ar.)
nūl: shield-boss or nails to hold grip, North Africa (Ar.)
nūl: blade of Indian or Yemeni sword (Ar.)
nuṣ: point of spear-blade (Pers.)
nuṣ: short spear with a pointed foot (Ar.)
nuṣ: war-axe, equivalent of Arabic tabar (Kipcak Tk.)
nūṭā: scabbard-mounts for rings to baldric or sword-belt (Ar.)
tenke: individual lamellae of a lamellar cuirass (Tk.)
.tafrut: sabre, Morocco (Berber)
.tafrut: soft armour quilted with camel hair (Ar.)
.tafrut: part of spear-shaft entering socket of blade (see tālībīh, Ar.)
tāţifīf: horse-armour of quilted material or felt (Ar.)
tīfrī: knife or small-sword (Berber)
tīgh: sword-blade (Pers.)
tīßi: cavalry shield, Mughal India
.tīr-i andāžān: light infantry javelins (Pers.)
tīfrīī: sheath or holder for mace (Tk.)
tīfrut: long-hafted battle axe or halberd (Pers. and Ar.)
tīghāntiya: probably chamfron, armour for horse’s head

(Ar. from Latin)
tīra: wooden mantlet, Mughal India
tīrīs: shield (Ar.)
.tikīsī: Berber infantry mace (Ar.)
.tāri, pl. of tārar or tārār: holes in the rim of a helmet by which it is attached to an arming cap or an aventail (Ar.)
talakāhānta: bamboo or leather shield, Mughal India
.tarman: mail hauber; or body armour, Mughal India
tāwāf: Berber sling (Ar.)
tāwāh: lasso (Ar.)
tāfīrt, tāfrūt: slender thrusting dagger, Berber
(prof. from Berber tāfīrīt, Ar.)
tīkhāndī: sword-blade, Mughal India
.tarq: knuckle bone of left hand-gloved short sword (Ott. Tk.)
.tarqān: ear: early Southern Arabian spear or javelin (Ar.)
tāzālik: axe with a pointed rather than curved blade,
India
.tarāka: local form of helmet (Andalusian Ar.)
.tarādīs: mail armour in general (Ar.)
.tarādīsī: mail coif or helmet largely of mail construction (Pers.; see also zardīsī)
.tarādīsī: rings to attach scabbard to baldric (Ar.)
.tarādīsā: mail hauber; or layer of mail forming part of armour (Ar.)
.tarābīn: javelin (see mūzārāb; Ar.)
.tarīm gīqi: mail-and-plate cuirass (Ott. Tk.)
.tarī: mail hauber; or mail armour in general (Pers.)
tāzā: edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
.tarībīn, timpi, zariqī: heavy javelin with a pointed foot or second blade (Pers.)
tażīdīf: iron foot of spear (Ar.)


apter (ed.), Furusiyya, i. The horse in the art of the Near East, ii. Catalogue, Riyadh 1997; C. Beaufort- Spontin, The Scheuchzle boots of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, in Alexander (ed.), Furusiyya, i, 184-9; Nicolle, The origins and development of cavalry warfare in the early Muslim Middle East, in ibid., 92-103.

Captions

1. A hard-cased crocodile-skin helmet with an iron lamellar neck-guard and one remaining crocodile-skin cheek-piece; said to be from Wadi Garāra east of Kalabsha in Nubia. Although this helmet is sometimes considered to be from the "Roman" era, the presence of a neck-guard made of iron lamellae over camel skin could indicate a later origin, perhaps from the 5th to 8th centuries. Until the helmet is carbon-dated, the question remains unresolved; meanwhile, the helmet itself is an interesting example of non-metallic Middle Eastern military technology. (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung, inv. nr. 30882, Germany)

2. A very corroded iron helmet made of two pieces joined beneath a flat comb, from Hadftah in the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, Jordan. This typical late Roman helmet is generally considered to date from the 4th or 5th centuries, though the history of Hadftah as a Romano-Byzantine military outpost could make a late 6th to mid-7th century date more likely. This helmet was also found in conjunction with a dagger or short-sword identical to one found in Pella [see Fahl] and undoubtedly dating from the mid-8th century. Comparable helmets continued in use elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire and parts of Western Europe at least until the 8th century, and are likely to have similarly continued in use in the early Islamic Middle East. (Castle Museum, Karak, Jordan)

3. An iron and bronze helmet excavated at Nineveh in northern Irāq. It is a late and undecorated version of the so-called Parthian Cap style characteristic of Sāsānīd troops. The style and context suggest that this helmet dated from the very end of the Sāsānīd Empire in the early 7th century, though some pictorial evidence from the first centuries of Islamic civilization indicates that comparable helmets continued in use for a century after the coming of Islam. (British Museum, inv. 22497, London, England)

4. A second iron helmet found at Nineveh is in a completely different Spangenhelm style stemming from Central Asian military techniques. It also retains a fragment of its mail aventail. This helmet represents a major technological shift which would also be seen in much of Europe. It is again assumed to date from the very end of the Sāsānīd period, but is just as likely to have been made during the first century of Islamic rule. (British Museum, inv. 22495, London, England)

5. A well-preserved iron helmet in a version of the Spangenhelm form of construction in which the "frame-plates" are actually broader than the "infill-plates". It probably dates from the 8th or 9th centuries and was found at Stary Oskol, near Voronezh in Russia. Yet it was probably imported from Islamic Persia or Transoxania, where identical helmets are shown on fragmentary wall-paintings dating from the 8th to 10th centuries. (State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)

6. The earliest known helmet forged from a single piece of iron is this low-domed protection with a row of iron rings. These were probably the attachment for a lamellar or mail aventail rather than being the uppermost row of mail links. It was found in the early 8th century stratum in a ruined temple at Waraghsar near Samarkand in Uzbekistan. Whether such advanced metallurgy originated in Transoxania, the Islamic Middle East or reflected Chinese influence remains unknown, but it is interesting to note that one contemporary Arab chronicler differentiated between enemies "wearing round helmets" and those "wearing pointed helmets" on the north-eastern frontier of the Islamic world. (From a drawing by the archaeologist, Masud Sambayev; present whereabouts unknown)

7. A much better-known one-piece iron helmet came from Chamosen in Switzerland and dates from the 9th or 10th century. It is believed to be of Arab-Islamic origin and, beneath its purely decorative "frame-straps" and more functional brow-band, this helmet has essentially the same narrowing around its rim seen on the earlier one-piece helmet from Waraghsar. (Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zürich, Switzerland)

8. A third one-piece iron helmet was found in Tunisia. Though provisionally dated to the Hafsid period (13th to 16th centuries), it has a virtually identical outline to the helmet from Chamosen. As such, it might have been made as early as the 10th century. (Museum of Islamic Studies, Rakkadah, Tunisia)

9. Another very distinctive form of iron helmet, of which this appears to be the only surviving example, appears in Christian Iberian art from the 12th to early 14th centuries. It is generally worn by "evil" figures which might indicate that it was originally associated with Muslim troops from al-Andalus. This style of helmet may, indeed, have originated in the Islamic south of the Iberian peninsula. (W. Scollard private coll., Los Angeles, USA)

10. This apparently unique helmet is so unusual that it might initially be dismissed as a fake, except that a very similar form of helmet is illustrated in a Moroccan manuscript dating from 621/1224. If it is genuine, then it could be a very late development of the Roman two-piece helmet seen in figure 2. (From a drawing by Dr. Michael Brett, made in the local archaeological museum at Frawān in the 1970s; present whereabouts unknown)

11. One of two very similar late 13th or early 14th century Turkish helmets, still with their long neck and shoulder covering mail aventails. This one has a bowl either strengthened by widely spaced "ribs" or made from plates joined by "rolled joints". The other has a one-piece bowl, though both are characterised by exceptionally deep brow-bands and decorative eyebrows. (Askeri Müzesi store, Istanbul, Turkey)

12. A simple Spangenhelm from southern Persia. It was found with the remains of a lamellar cuirass and perhaps a lamellar aventail to be fastened to the rim of this helmet. The ring on the finial suggests that it dates from after the Mongol conquest, as this was a feature of perhaps Chinese origin which was introduced to many areas by the Mongols. The helmet probably dates from the later 13th or early 14th centuries. (After a drawing by V.V. Osvyannikov; present whereabouts unknown)

13. A damaged but still recognisable lacquered leather or rawhide helmet, lined with small blocks of wood judged by a second fragmentary example, which came from the Ephrates region of northeastern Syria. It was decorated with black and red lacquer (shown here in black) which included a heraldic lion on one side. This heraldic cartouche, plus inscriptions on other pieces of equipment from the same location, indicates that they were of Mamlūk origin, the optimum
14. One-piece helmet with an inscription dedicated to the second Ottoman ruler Orkhan (Ghazâ), mid-14th century. It is the earliest known example of the so-called "turban helmet" style which originally originated in Anatolia or western Persia and would become particularly associated with Ottoman armies of the 15th century. (Askeri Müzesi, Istanbul, Turkey)
15. A magnificent though extremely practical late 13th or early 14th century iron helmet with an original mail aventail to protect the wearer's neck and shoulders. By this period, armourers in the central Islamic lands, including Persia and the expanding Ottoman Empire, had reached their metallurgical and stylistic pinnacle. Their products were also very different to those made by European armourers to the west and Chinese armourers to the east. (State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)
16. At the end of the mediaeval period, a very distinctive style of helmet appeared in the Islamic Middle East, thereafter being almost universal in Persian speaking regions, Islamic India and parts of the eastern Arab world. The example shown here may be one of the earliest surviving examples since the dedicatory inscription (X) names the early 8th/14th-century Mamluk ruler Nâsîr al-Dîn Muhammad b. Kalâwûn. It is, however, possible that this dedication was a later anachronism. (Musée de la Porte de Hal, Brussels)
17. As Islam spread across the Eurasian steppes, a number of very distinctive forms of helmet appeared, particularly in the western steppes where Turkish, Mongol, Persian and perhaps also Byzantine influences combined. One result was a form of tall one-piece iron helmet based upon the segmented Spangenhelms of earlier years, but incorporating an anthropomorphic visor which seemed to reflect European artistic values. These helmets are generally thought to date from the immediate pre-Mongol period but are more likely to stem from the late 13th-early 14th centuries A.D. This was a period of cultural transition when the western Mongol Khânate was evolving into the Islamic Golden Horde. (State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)
18. This late 7th/13th or early 8th/14th-century helmet, probably from Mamlûk Egypt or Syria, has some features in common with the visored helmet from the Golden Horde while remaining very different in other respects. It is forged from one piece of iron, then richly decorated with arabesques and Arabic dedicatory inscriptions. (After a drawing by H. Russell Robinson; present whereabouts unknown)
19. Though now lacking its characteristic mail aventail and sliding nasal bar, this 8th/14th-century Persian helmet is a fine example of a form that would be widely used throughout most of the eastern Islamic world from the late 14th to 19th centuries. (Wawel Collection, Cracow, Poland)
20. During the 15th and 16th centuries an apparently new form of cavalry helmet came into use in Mamlûk and Ottoman armies. It proved so successful that it was adopted throughout most of Europe, spreading as far as England where it became known as the "Cromwellian pot helmet". In reality, it was of neither European nor Islamic origin but seems to have been developed by the Mongols or their successor khânates from a Chinese original. Thereafter, it was copied and developed by Mamlûk and Ottoman armourers. The crudely-constructed example shown here is one of the earliest. It was found in a Turco-Mongol grave near Płysy in the Ukraine, from the superficially Islamised Golden Horde and dating from between 1290 and 1315. (After a drawing by M. Gorelik; present whereabouts unknown)

**AL-SÎN**

5. Chinese Islamic literature.

Muslims settled in Kuan-chou (Canton, Khandu [q.v.]) and possibly in Ch'ang-an (Hai-an) and Ch'uan-chou (Zazyûn) as early as the Tang dynasty, 2nd/8th century, thereafter also in Hang-chou (Khandse [q.v.]) and Pei-ching (Khandabalik [q.v.]), and throughout China (see also mîbahâ). Extant tombstone and other inscriptions in Arabic and Chinese, however, date only from the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Ch'en Ta-sheng, Leslie, Guide, 26-31; Beijing National Library list of rubbings of inscriptions).

The most significant are three stelae in Chinese, from 749/1348 in Ting-chou, 751/1350 in Ch'uan-chou, and 751/1350 in Kuan-chou. The first two describe the supposed visit to China of Wakkâs (the Companion Sa'd b. Abi Wakkâs [q.v.]), a maternal cousin of the Prophet, and a famous general in the 1st/7th century, sent, it is suggested, as an envoy of the Prophet himself (Yang and Yu, 91-106; Devéria; Tasaka, Wakkâ). One should also mention an inscription dated 770/1368, set up in Nan-ching and copied in Wu-ch'ang, supposedly written by the first Ming Emperor Tai-tsu, the Hung-ua Emporer (Low). Most intriguing is an undated inscription in Ch'ang-an, claiming a permit to build a mosque as early as 86/1705 (Picken).

These Chinese-style inscriptions served four main purposes: to record the history of the community; to explain Islamic ideas to the Muslims themselves and to non-Muslim Chinese; to demonstrate Confucian attitudes; and to protect the community. They are invaluable for the history of Islam in China, but of less value for the religious beliefs and practices of Chinese Muslims.

Islamic astronomy and medicine were influential in China in the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Four volumes (out of 36) of the large medical translation Huî-hui ywo-fang are extant, preserved in the Yang-lo ta-tien, 811/1408.

One should note, too, the Sayyid Adjall, Muslim official of the Mongols in China, about whom much has been written [see al-sîn, at Vol. IX].

Three books written about the voyages between 808/1405 and 837/1433 to Africa and Arabia of Cheng Ho, the famous Muslim admiral of the Ming, include the Ting-yai sheng-lan, written by a Muslim who accompanied him, Ma Huan [q.v.], in 837/1433 (Mills). It is only with the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), that Islamic literature in Chinese as such developed. The earliest extant full-length Islamic book written in Chinese is the Cheng-chiau cher-ch'ien by Wang Tai-yüi, in 1052/1642. This gives a full account of the Islamic religion, with some criticism of Chu Hsi, the Sung dynasty Aquinas of Confucianism. The main aim was probably to educate Muslims living in China, who by now could be called Chinese Muslims. A large stream of Islamic books, some in Arabic, some in Arabic and Chinese, and several only in Chinese, were written soon after this, some translations, some original. Most significant are: Ma Chu, Ch'ing-chen shih-nan ("The compass of Islam"), in 8 volumes, 1095/1683 (Hartmann); and Hu-tai yuan-lai ("The origin of Islam in China"), possibly 1135/1722 (Devéria).

The peak of Islamic literature in Chinese was reached around 1704 to 1724, when Liu Chih [q.v.] (Liu Chieh-lien, Liu I-chai) wrote his three main works:
Tien-fang hsing-li about Islamic philosophy; Tien-fang tien-li about Islamic laws and rites (this book was reviewed by the prestigious Ssu-k'ü ch'ian-shu tsung-ma ti-yao). Another book by Tien-fang chih-sheng shih-li, a biography of the Prophet, probably based on the Tang-kum-yi Mawlid i-Mustafa, is available in Arabic and Persian translations from the Arabic work by Sā'id (al-Din Muhammad) b. Mas'ūd b. Muhammad al-Kāzarānī, d. 758/1357 (a partial translation is given by Mason). Two other works by Liu are Wu-kung shih-i and Chen-kung fa-wei (Palladius).

The first two works include lists of sources with titles in transliterated Chinese, Chinese paraphrases of the title, and Arabic originals, many of which can be identified with the help of Brockelmann, Storey, etc. (see section XVIII (by A. Vissiere); Vissiere, Ouvrages de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris 1987). These works are: (1) Tōfu (Ch'ung-ch'ŏng chu) (one or more); (2) Lawo'á (Ch'ung-ch'ang chao-wei), by Džāmi, d. 898/1492; (3) Aght'ā (al-lama'āt) (Fei-yin ching or E-shen-ch'ing) by Džāmi; (4) Miṣrād al-šabā (Kui-ch'en yao-yo or T'ai-yuan cheng-tao), by the Kubrawīya Nadīm al-Rāzī Dāya (sic. This is according to the Mardj, al-Nasiri al-Djarkas! al-Hanafi, d. 930/1524 [see IBN IYAS].)

Other works by Pai Shou-i (1948 [mostly reprinted in 1982-3], and 1985, 1988, 1992, 1997); Ma En-hui (1983); and also some for the P'u family, possibly tracing descent from P'u Shou-K'ung of the Sha families; and also some for the P'u family, and Sha families; and also some for the P'u family, but also Kui-ch 'en's story. At this time, several Muslims were suc-

There are also several works written analysing the voyages of the Muslim admiral Cheng Ho to Africa and Arabia.

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SINDHI [see sind. 3.]

SINDHU, the Sanskrit name for the Indus river. See for this mirhah, and for the lands along its course, SIND, MULTAN, PANDJAB and KASHMIR.


He is said to have imparted to the famous Abu Yazid al-Bistami (al-Bastami) (d. 261/874 [q.v.]), Sharh-i nisba, i.e. Hindu or Buddhist, influences. However, current sources have tended to consider not Abu Yazid as the founder of the doctrine of fanā’ but rather his contemporary Abu Sa’d al-Khârîj al-Baghdâdi (d. 277/890-1 [q.v.]).


SÎRB

I. The Ottoman period to 1800

A. SERBIA BEFORE THE OTTOMANS

(a) The origins of the Serbian kingdom. The arrival of South Slavs" in the Balkan peninsula took place in the second half of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th one. These peoples, later to be called "South Slavs", were grouped round three main tribes: those of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, who had occupied Pannonia towards the end of the 6th century and who had moved from there towards the Adriatic coast, slowly assimilating the various Romanised peoples of Illyria. The most numerous of these "South Slavs", the Serbs, became implanted, towards the end of the 8th century, in a territory defined by the rivers Ibar (in the east), Neretva (in the southwest), Bosna (in the west) and Sava (in the north).

At that time they were organised into petty principalities, governed by jupans, and when one of them secured an ascendancy over the rest, they would assume the title of great jowan. Under the political tutelage of Byzantium, the Serbs became Christian in ca. 874, Serbia became independent towards the mid-9th century, thanks to the first princes of Raška (Rascie), i.e. the "Old Serbia", whose capital was at that time in the town of Ras (on the Ibar, to the northeast of Skadar/Scutari/Shkodër [see YEST BàRA]). Under pressure from its enemies, notably the Byzantine emperors and the Bulgarian kings, the Serbian state's centre of gravity then moved towards the Zeta (the modern Montenegro and the extreme northwest of modern Albania) and then, at the time of Stevan/Stephen Nemanja (r. ca. 1166-96) and his successors (sc. the dynasty of the Nemanjići or Nemanids, ca. 1166-1371) towards the valley of the river Morava, towards Kosovo [see KOSOVA and PRIVITEA] and towards Macedonia [see ÔSKÖN]. In 1219, one of the sons of Stevan Nemanja, Rastko (the future great saint of the Serbian Church, under the name of St. Sava), obtained from the Patriarch at Nicæa archiepiscopal consecration and the autocephalous status of the Serbian Church and an action which was going to play an important role in preserving Serbian identity during the five centuries of Ottoman domination. The mediaeval Serbian state's apogee was in 1346, under Stephen IX Uroš IV Dušan (r. 1331-55), who had himself crowned "Emperor (zar) of the Serbs and Greeks" and had the Sabor or Assembly at Skoplje set out the Dušanov zakonik "Code of Dušan" (1349). The anarchy which followed his premature death at the age of 47 favoured the beginning of Ottoman expansion in the Balkans during the next decades. (On the Nemanid tradition and the introduction of "sacral kingship" in Serbia and in general, see B.I. Bojović, L'archéologie dinastique et l'ideologie de l'Etat serbe au Moyen-Age (XIII-XV siècles), in Cyrilometodieum, xvi-xviii [Thessalonika 1993-4], 7-92.)

(b) The first contacts with the Ottomans. It was in the time of Tsar Dušan that Turkish units (at that time still only mercenaries or allies of the Byzantines) inflicted their first defeats on Serbian forces: first before Stephaniana in 1344 and then near Dimetoka [g.v.] in 1352. But the real Ottoman conquest of Rumelia (this time, undertaken on their own account) began in 1354 by the seizure of the fortress of Gallipoli on
the Dardanelles [see GELIBOLT], or, to pinpoint the moment when the Serbian state felt the Ottomans pressingly, seventeen years later, in 1371, at the battle of the Maritsa [see MERIG], in the course of which the Serbian king Vukašin Mračević (who ruled western Macedonia) and three of his sons, plus his own brother Ugljesa Despot of Serres [see SIROZ], were killed. However, this was only felt within the Serbs' collective memory as a baneful prelude to the disaster suffered by the troops of Prince Lazar (the "Tsar Lazar" in popular memory) on 15 June 1389 at the "Field of Blackbirds", the battle better known as that of Kosovo [see KOŠOVA, KOSEVO]. On the one hand, this event gave rise to the "myth of Kosovo" and, on the other hand, to a famous cycle of Serbian popular epic poetry (gathered together by Vuk Karadžić at Vienna from 1814 onwards, which was to attract very close interest from European intellectuals of the time; see, most recently, Kosovo, six siècles de mémories créées, in Les annales de l'autre Islam, no. 7, INALCO [Paris 2001], with further references).

B. SERBIA UNDER OTTOMAN DOMINATION (TO 1804)

The first four centuries of this history can be divided into three phases: (a) from the battle of Kosovo to 1552, the date when all the Serbian territories came under Ottoman control; (b) from 1552 to 1699, the time of the Ottoman retreat in Danubian Europe after their maximal expansion in those lands; and (c) the slow but irreversible decline of Ottoman power in the Balkans up to 1804, the date of the first Serbian revolt.

(a) The period 1389-1552. The result of Kosovo was that Serbia became a vassal state of the Ottomans, forced to pay tribute and to furnish troops. With that said, the Serbian state did not disappear from existence after that date, but its centre of gravity moved much further north, where Serbian principalities were to subsist, for good or ill, for some 60 years. In the first place, there was that of the prince of Northern Serbia (the son of the Tsar Lazar, put to death by the Ottomans after the battle of Kosovo), the despot Stevan/Stephen Lazarević (r. 1389-1427), succeeded by his nephew George Branković (r. 1427-56), who in 1439 fixed his capital at Smederevo (at that time, on the Danube) [see SEMENDIRE, in Suppl.] and became involved in a double vassal status with the Ottomans and the kings of Hungary. Profiting from the Ottomans' difficulties in Anatolia and the situation of the Serbian people at this period. But we do know that many monasteries were devastated, such as e.g. that of Visoki Dečani, that the greater part of their immense estates were confiscated and that, in the towns, certain churches (usually the finest) were transformed into mosques. Other churches suffered destruction later in order to provide materials for building various structures such as mosques, caravanserais, etc. Nevertheless, the Church did not lose all its lands, and not all monasteries—far from it—were devastated and left abandoned. Thus e.g. the monastery of Ravanica secured certain privileges from the time of the first Ottoman period onwards (that of 1439-44), and during this time, sultan Murād II awarded privileges to certain other Serbian monasteries. Some of these last were even excused payment of taxes, or else they were given the status of small fīmāns [q.v.] with the obligation to furnish one or two ḍevēlis at the times of military campaigns (i.e. auxiliary troops, supplied and equipped by the beneficiaries of sources of revenue given by the state). But those mostly involved here were the monasteries in the frontier zones, or along the axes for provisioning the Ottoman army at times of campaigns (see A. Popovic, Les rapports entre l'Islam et l'orthodoxie en Yougoslavie, in Aspects de l'orthodoxie. Structures et spirituālité, Colloque de Strasbourg, septembre 1978, Paris 1981, 169-89).

As for the Serbian people, with the Ottoman conquest a more or less irreversible phenomenon is observable the definitive division of Serbian society into three groups. First, the group that, for various reasons, became converts to Islam and thus became separated (relatively quickly, and, even, very quickly) from the "common trunk", espousing not only a new belief and ideology but also cutting themselves off, in the long term, from anything in common with their past. Then
there was the group of those who fled the lands occupied by the Ottomans (for Hungary in the first place, then for Austria, and then, much later, for Russia), certain of whose descendants were to play a great role in Serbian political and cultural life when the state was rebuilt in the 19th century. And finally, by far the most numerous, there were those who stayed behind, where they were forced to live under the new status of "ghimis" [see GHIMIS and RAIYA], a way of life punctuated by long periods of submission and daily collaboration with the Ottoman authorities but also by insurrections against these authorities, providing backing for Hungarian and Austrian armies in turn, according to the different phases of the international situation, risings which were regularly bloodily suppressed. This schema repeated itself regularly throughout the four centuries of history dealt with in this article, a history that should nevertheless be considered not only by events and by political and diplomatic processes, but also by a very close examination of the extremely complex processes going on within the central Ottoman empire and within its society in general.

(b) The period 1552-1699. The period that followed was to be marked, for the Serbian population, by a certain number of new occurrences. The advance of Ottoman forces towards European Danubia, and the Ottoman troops' withdrawal had grave consequences both for the central Ottoman empire and within its society in general. The key dates during this century and a half are:

- 1557, reestablishment of the Patriarchate at Pec; 1593, Ottoman defeat before Sisak [see SISSA]; 1593-1606, the Ottoman defeat before Sisak; 1593-1666, Ottoman defeat before Sisak; 1606-1650, Ottoman defeat before Sisak; 1650-1656, Ottoman defeat before Sisak; 1656-1666, Ottoman defeat before Sisak; 1666-1676, Ottoman defeat before Sisak; 1676-1683, Ottoman defeat before Sisak; 1683-1690, Ottoman defeat before Sisak. This restored Patriarchate of Pec covered an enormous territory (part of Macedonia and Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, the Voivodina and Bosnia, plus certain parts of Croatia, Dalmatia and Hungary). But, contrary to what was envisaged, this period of collaboration between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Ottoman power was merely a flash in the pan.

The reasons for this deterioration in relations between the Serbian Church and the Porte probably resided from the start in the ambiguity of Serbian Orthodoxy’s attitude vis-à-vis the authorities, but the reasons must above all be found in the transformation of Ottoman society itself. The first task of the renewed Serbian Church was obviously to rally the Serbian people. It thus became not only a religious organisation but also a truly political one, becoming the focus for the feelings and aspirations of the people. The basis of such an ideology could only be a glorification of the work of St. Sava, an action that was logically based on the Nemanid tradition and, in particular, on the myth of Kosovo, and because of this, Serbian Orthodoxy was compelled sooner or later to emerge from this contradiction and to break with
the “Long War” between Austria and Turkey; 1594, Serbian revolts (in the Banat and elsewhere); 1595, the public destruction of the relics of St. Sava at Belgrade; 1606, the peace treaty of Zitvatvorek [q.v.]; 1614, the Patriarch Pajšije renews the policy of compromise with the Ottomans; 1618, the Ottoman check at Vienna; 1686, definitive loss of Buda; 1687, the Holy League against the Ottomans; 1688, Serbian rising and conquest of Belgrade; 1689, Austrian troops reach as far as “Old Serbia”; 1690, great Serbian emigration from Kosovo and return of the Ottomans; and 1699, the peace treaty of Carlowitz (Sremski Karlovci) [see KARLOVČA].

(c) The period 1699-1804. As during the preceding two periods, the 18th century was to bring the non-Muslim Serbian people a fresh lot of “vain hopes” and “bitter disillusionments”. All this had its basis in the slow decline of the Ottoman empire, which did not, however, lead to its disintegration, supported as it was at that time by France, Britain and the Netherlands, who looked with a jaundiced eye on the subsequent successes of the Austrian Hapsburgs and the Russian Tsars (thus confirming the foresights of Montesquieu). On quite a different plane, the social and religious divisions between the Muslim and non-Muslim populations of Rumelia were to crystallise, impelling the non-Muslim Serbians to participate actively in fighting against the “Turks” in the course of each new war launched by Austria into their territory. But the ephemeral victories and the long-lasting defeats of the 18th century (notably from that time when the Serbian population had to suffer a long occupation by the Austrians, in 1718-39, one whose methods were no different from those of the Ottomans) made the Serbian people conscious of the political implications of their fight.

Here follows a chronology of events: the renewed Austro-Turkish war (of 1716-18) ended in practice with the greatest success the Hapsburgs had ever enjoyed since these last took possession, under the Treaty of Passarowitz/POZAREVAC [see PASSAROFOVA], of the eastern part of Sirmia (Srem); the Banat (with Temesvar), Lesser Wallachia, all the northeastern part of Serbia, including Belgrade; and the northern zone of Bosnia (along the Sava), territories they retained for some 20 years. (On the desert aspect of Serbia in 1717, with the encroachment of virgin forests with strips of cultivation abandoned for many years, with miserable, scattered village populations, see Lady Mary Stuart Wortley Montagu, Turkish letters, London 1763, with many later editions.) The measure of disenchantment of the non-Muslim population during these years (faced with the Austrians’ attitudes, their arbitrary taxes and the missionary activities of the Roman Catholic Church) can be simply measured by the numerous cases of flight by the Serbian Orthodox people back to Ottoman territory.

Then, twenty years later, a fresh Austro-Turkish war broke out (1737-9) which, after great initial successes by the Austrians and the insurgent Serbs (conquest of southwestern Serbia, with Alleksinac, Kruševac, Novi Pazar, Prizhina and Nish), ended in a terrible defeat before Grocka (not far from Belgrade), and by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739) the Hapsburgs lost all the territory captured twenty years before. Naturally, there were more waves of emigration by Serbs into southern Hungary, one of which, under the Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Sakabenta, became known as “the second Serbian migration from Kosovo”.

The years that followed, generally called “the thirty years of peace”, were marked by the suppression in 1766 of the Patriarchate of Peć (whose increasingly frequent flirtations with the Russian Orthodox Church ended by seriously worrying the Porte, but which had already, for a fair amount of time, been in a lamentable state (see O. Zirojević, 152-5), and by attempts by Russia (from 1751-2 onwards) to attract Serbian emigrants from Kosovo to settle in the Ukraine. [These events are described in a magistral fashion by M. Crnjanski [1893-1977] in his novel Sobe [“Migrations”], Belgrade 1929, 21962, etc., Fr. tr. Paris 1986.]

Then a third Austro-Turkish war broke out in 1788 (as a prolongation of the Russo-Turkish war that had begun the previous year), in which a large part of the Serbian population took part, notably in the famous volunteer bands of Pagorić (< GER. Freikorps), led by their own officers. These troops, led by the famous Koća Andjelković (hence the name “Kočina Krajină”), succeeded in conquering western and northern Serbia (sc. Sumadija and the POZAREVAC region) and in 1789 (in collaboration with the Austrians), the city of Belgrade itself. However, two years later, in 1791, the peace treaty of Świețow [see zHARROWS] deprived the insurgents of their conquests and authorised the return of the Ottomans. Finally, at the end of the 18th century, the reforms undertaken by Selim III [q.v.] provoked plots and risings of the Janissaries in various parts of Rumelia. Among these, more specifically, was the rising in Serbia of 1804, provoked by the excesses and violence of the Janissaries; this was genuinely a rising with a national character, affecting the greater part of the Serbian people and conducted by one of their chiefs, George Petrović, called Kara (“black”) George (see R. Mantran, in idem [ed.], Histoire de l’Empire ottoman, 430-1). It was in these conditions that there broke out in 1804 the “First Serbian Revolt”, which allowed, by successive stages and three decades later, the definitive freeing of Serbia from the Ottoman empire and the beginnings of its independence.

The key dates, which spanned a century (1699-1804), are the following: 1716, a new Austro-Turkish war; 1717, the conquest of Belgrade by Prince Eugene of Savoy’s army; 1718, the peace treaty of POZAREVAC, with Belgrade becoming the capital of Northern Serbia under Austrian occupation; 1737-9, a new Austro-Turkish war; 1739, the peace treaty of Belgrade, by which the Ottomans re-occupied their former Serbian territories; 1739-74, the so-called “thirty years of peace”; 1766, suppression of the Patriarchate of Peć; 1768-74, Russo-Turkish war; 1774, the peace treaty of Kucišć Kaynardža [q.v.]; 1788, fresh Austro-Turkish war; 1789, conquest of Belgrade by Austrian troops and Serbian insurgents; 1791, peace treaty of Świețow stipulating the return of the Ottomans in Serbia; 1792, revolt of the Janissaries of Serbia against the Porte and Selim III’s reforms: 1794-7, conquest of the pagodol of Belgrade by the rebel pasha of Vidin [see VIDIN], Paswan-oghlu [q.v.]; 1801-3, reign of terror by the four rebel Janissary chiefs, installed in Belgrade; 1804, the First Serbian Revolt led by Kara George.

In the course of this rapid survey, several important questions have remained unexplored: economic topics (agriculture, stockrearing, exploitation of mines, large-scale colonisation by the Ottomans authorized through the intermediacy of installing pastoralist nomads and “Wallachs/Vlachs”—whose name, however, poses certain problems—etc.); the formation and growth of the towns, and the town-and-country relationships (taking into account the minimal representation of Serbs in the towns and of “Turks” in the
villages); the Serbian patriarchal society and the sys-
tem of zadruga (extended families living under the
same roof); the very numerous migrations and emig-
ratings (notably towards southern Hungary, south-
western Bosnia, Southern Russia and the Croatian
"Krajina"); the demographic evolution of the Serbian
population, with the growth of guerrilla bands against
the Ottoman authorities (the haskals and ustašas), the
result of the wars and the continual devas-
tions (shring of the economy from primitive agri-
cultural methods and exhaustion of the soil); famines
and epidemics (cholera and plague); the increasing
authority of the Serbian Church and the crystallisation
of Serbian national feeling; and cultural topics and
the rule played here by Jovan Rakić (1726-1801),
Zaharije Orfelin (1726-85), Dostoj Obradović (1739-
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**SIRB — SIRR** (A. Popović),
1. The first notion is that of secret, mystery, arcana,
in the sense of a teaching, a reality or even a doctrinal
point, hidden by nature or which is kept hidden from
people considered unworthy of knowing it. If there is
a secret, says al-Sarrāj al-Tust (d. 738/958), prob-
ably taking up the Shi‘i concept of two levels of real-
ity (Amir-Moezzi, 1997), it is because the object
of knowledge sought by the individual has an obvious,
exoteric (zahr) aspect and a hidden, esoteric (batin)
one. The Kur‘ān, the Hadith, knowledge, Islam, etc.,
all have these two distinct, complementary levels.
In order to attain the esoteric level, a person must
so dispose his body (lit. "his members", ḥālāt)
that only the initiates can discover and which they
must protect (al-Sarrāj, 43-4). The mass of people,
prisoners of their own ignorance and blindly attached
to the letter only of religion, can only become vio-
 lent if the secret is revealed to them, even if only
partially (Lāhajj, 100, 498; al-Šayrānī, 116; Abū
al-Nabi, ii, 167). Even the Kur‘ān, in two places,
authorises the faithful to dissimulate their beliefs in
cases of danger (II, 28-31), whence the adage,
"the breasts of free men are repositories (lit. 'tombs')
of secrets" (ṣudūr al-ahbār kubur al-asrār, see e.g. al-Tahānawī, 92).

According to the Shi‘i (for whom "everything
has a secret; the secret of Islam is Shi‘ism", al-Kulayn,
iI., 14), this—i.e. essentially the Imāms‘ teachings,
which has several esoteric levels, batin and batin al-batin,
contains secrets that must be protected at all costs
(al-Saffār, 28-9); the duty of keeping such secrets
(takhīya, kinān, khab) is thus a canonical obligation
for them (Kohlberg, 1975, 1995; Amir-Moezzi, 1992,
index, s.v. tajyō).

For the Shi‘is likewise, such notions as “protection
of the secret” (ḥifz al sour), around which expression,
above all, certain mystics combine the two senses
of sin, "concealing, changing the guise of something
to make it appear other than it is" (tahlīl), or further,
"hiding the real nature of the particular interior state"
(ikhtibā‘ al-ba‘ād), make up practices and disciplines
which are particularly important (al-Suhrawardī 1983,
72; Hujwīrī, 500-1; ‘Alīf, 89, 117; al-Shaybānī, 20f).
In the literature of mysticism, constant reference is made
to the trial of al-Hallajī (g.a.), who was executed in
309/922 for having divulged the Secret par excellence,
by putting forward the famous ʿshūr “I am the Real
(and ‘l-kabkab), ḥabak being a Name of God. The great-
lest Persian mystical poets, such as ʿAṯrār, ‘Irāqī and
Ḥāfiẓ, very often allude to the "crucified one of Bagdād"
(sc. al-Hallajī) and call the masters "the esoteric
masters "the people of the Secret" (Khurramshāhī,
s.v. ʿshūr rāz). This is why mystical authors, from
their oldest writings onwards, devised an "allusive
language" (izārā‘a), a coded form of discourse which was later
to assume very numerous forms (technical vocabularies,
symbolic lexica, fables, poetic images, etc.), reflecting esoteric realities and distinguishing themselves from “literary language” (tā‘āra) which is unsuitable for exoteric topics (al-Sarrāj, 414, concerning ẓam‘; al-Kalābādī, ch. 4, 30f; Hudūrī, 480f; and see Amr-Moezzi 2002, 10ff.).

2. The second notion is that of a “subtle organ”, one of the layers of the “heart”, making up the human spiritual anatomy, which may be translated by “secret, inner consciousness”. It seems that for the Khurasān school of mystics, the Malāmatiyā (q.v.) comprise the progression of levels of consciousness, “organs” of invocation (dhikr) and vision (maḥabbāh), going through the soul (nāfś), to the spirit (rahb), passing by the heart (daluḥ) and the inner consciousness (al-Tustārī, 16, 19, 34, 45, 78; al-Sulamī 1991, 16). It should be noted that al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 318/936) said to be the seat of vision, whilst the spirit is the seat of “secret, hidden”) (Kashanī, 82ff., 101 and the editor’s notes).

In this context that one should probably understand as amongst the most subtle and the noblest parts of the organs, (latifat, nafās, kalb, ruh, mushādha), and vision (mushādha), associated with the colour white. The organs, (latifat, nafās, kalb, ruh), are found from the time of the oldest compilations of printed texts, beginning with that of Flidelberg, Leipzig 1845; Kalābādī, K. al-Ta‘ṣ̄īr, ed. A.M.A. Surūr, Beirut 1400/1980; Kalābādī, Mīshāb al-ḥidāyā, ed. Dj. Humā‘ī, Tehran 1239/1954; Nadim al-Dīn Kūbrā, Fawdih al-ḥidāyā, ed. B. Ballanfat, Nimes 2001; Kalābādī, al-Rawdah min al-kūfī, ed. R. Mahālallī, Tehran 1389/1969; Lāhijādī, Muḥfīz al-ṣūfī, maḥfīz al-ṣūfī, fī sharh ʿasbāb al-ṣūfī, “may God sanctify his noble inner consciousness”.

Such great mystics as Uthmān (laḥiyya, Dhahābīyya and Khaksar), organised in his school (Confin 1951, 113, ii, 411f.), whilst others, like al-Kharrāẓī (d. 286/899) for example, develop a much more complex spiritual anatomy, comprising instincts (tab‘), soul, heart, will (irāda), spirit, inner consciousness and spiritual aspiration (himma) (Nwyia, 243-5, 272, 301).

After the attempt at a synthesis of the different systems by Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 467/1072) and the mystics of his school (Confin 1971; al-Isfahānī, 1986, introd., 60-2; Landolt, 287-8; Kūbrā 2001, index s.v. organs subīt), from Ibn al-ʿArabī’s followers such as Muʿāyyad al-Dīn Dāvūd al-Kaysārī (Gibbōlīt and Ballanfat, 189-90), up to the modern and even contemporary Sūfīs Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Suṣ̄alī of Algeria (d. 1276/1879) (q.v.) (105f) and the Kūrdu Muhammad Anīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 1244/1915-14) (549-50). In the different progressions of the “subtle organs”, “spirit” is almost always seen as the most associated with the colour white. The dhikr corresponding to it varies greatly according to authors or mystical orders. The most often found is: tab‘, nafs, kalb, ruh, sin, rirḥ (“what is hidden”) and akīfī (“what is most hidden”) (Kashānī, 82ff., 101 and the editor’s notes).

In Shi‘ī mysticism, allusions of varying precision to the subtle “layers” of the “heart” and vision by means of the heart, are found from the time of the oldest compilations of hadith onwards (Amr-Moezzi 1992, 112ff). However, the Shī‘ī Sūfīs (N-mutal-lāḥiyā, ʿAbdābīyā and ʿAlḥākkār), organised in his school (Dj. Humā‘ī, Tehran 1239/1954, 112ff.), went on to adopt one or another of the systems used by Sunnī orders like the Kādīriyya, Kūbrāwīyya or Naqshbandiyā (Gribouilh, ii, 207 n. 1073, 247-50; Amr-Moezzi 1992, 129ff; edid 2002, passim).
Apart from literacy in the Roman script, easy access to mechanised printing facilities was the main reason why the switch to the Roman script, while continuing to modernise their writing, meant holding on to their own Arabo-Islamic heritage. Members of this community were literate not in the Roman script; they could read languages based on Arabic orthography and could read the Qur'an for liturgical purposes. The largest collection of them was assembled in the Cape around the 1880s. He quickly mastered the local patois and began writing in Arabic-Afrikaans, producing smaller tracts directed at an adult audience. Texts were also produced for the local madrasa education system that students attended in the afternoon after their schooling in the secular educational system. The second person was Imam 'Abd al-Rahmān Kāsim Gamieldien (d. 1921), his creolised family name being possibly a corruption of Djamāl al-Dīn or Hāmid al-Dīn (Davids 1991, 147), who wrote several texts for the madrasa curriculum. The third person was the son of Abū Bakr Effendi, sc. Hāmid Nī'mat Allāh Effendi (d. ca. 1945), who published several Arabic-Afrikaans books in his desire to advance education among the local Muslims. According to an inventory made by Davids, some 74 Arabic-Afrikaans publications have been identified, with the possibility of more being discovered in private collections and libraries. Further investigation of these texts should shed light on how knowledge from the metropolises of the Islamic world was transferred to marginal and smaller communities, thereby increasing local knowledge and introducing new practices.


[ERASIM MOOSA]

AL-SUFYANI, a descendant of the Umayyad Abū Sūlāyah [g.v.] figuring in apocalyptic prophecies as the rival and opponent of the Mahdi [g.v.] and ultimately overcome by him.

The bulk of these prophecies dates from the 2nd/8th century. The largest collection of them was assembled by the Sunni traditionalist Nuṣaym b. Hammād (d. 227/842) in his Kitāb al-Fihrist. Different views have been expressed about the origins of this figure. The bulk of these prophecies dates from the 2nd/8th century. The largest collection of them was assembled by the Sunni traditionalist Nuṣaym b. Hammād (d. 227/842) in his Kitāb al-Fihrist. Different views have been expressed about the origins of this figure. The fact that it was later transformed by orthodox religious tendency into an Umayyad Antichrist. Following sug-
gestions by J. Wellhausen, H. Lammens questioned this view and connected the figure with the abortive anti-'Abbasid rising of 'Abd Muḥammad al-Sufyānī in Syria in 133/751. The Syrians denied his death and believed that he was hiding in the mountains of al-
Ta'if from where he would return in triumph. Shi'i and pro-'Abbasid traditionists then turned this "Syrian national hero" into a figure resembling the Dadjdjāl [q.v.]. Combining the two views, R. Hartmann argued that the Sufyānī was at first an anti-Marwānid messianic figure which, after the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty, was turned by Syrian advocates of an Umayyad restoration into an anti-'Abbasid messiah. The Syrians, Hartmann suggested, may at that time have longed for a return of the caliph Yazīd I. Only thereafter was the figure taken over by the 'Abbasids and their Shi'i backers and transformed into an opponent of the Mahdī.

The image of the opposition between the Mahdī and the Sufyānī goes back to a hadith (fully quoted in the art. AL-MAHDI at Vol. V, 1232a), which predicted the rise to power of a political refugee from Medina in Mecca and the subsequent rise in Syria of "a man whose maternal uncles are of Kalb", who would send an army of Kalb against the rebel in Mecca. This army, however, would be utterly defeated, and the rebel caliph in Mecca would justly rule Islam for seven or nine years. The first part of this hadith reflected, as pointed out by D.S. Attema, the career of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and the prediction dates from shortly after the death of the caliph Yazīd (64/683). In the later Umayyad age, this prediction was widely spread as a prophetic hadith by the highly regarded Başran traditionist Katāda b. D'ā'ama (d. 177/795). As its contents were now projected into the apocalyptic future, the rebel caliph in Mecca came to be identified with the Mahdī and his rival, whose maternal uncles were of Kalb, with a Sufyānī opponent.

As the Mahdī in the later Umayyad age was more and more identified with a descendant of Muhammad, the figure of his Sufyānī opponent was commonly appropriated from the originally pro-Zubayrid Katāda hadith and developed by Shi'i and pro-Alīd Kūfī circles. The appearance of the Sufyānī was thus closely connected with the advent of the Mahdī. A Kūfī traditionist Artat's predictions turned the Sufyānī into a thoroughly repulsive and monstrous figure resembling the Sufyānī (historically the caliph Yazīd), was now incorporated into the calendar of prophets foretold that the Sufyānī and the Mahdī would come forth like two racehorses. Each one would subdue the region next to him. The Shī'ī ima'm Muhammad al-Bakir was quoted as predicting that the Sufyānī would reign for the time of the pregnancy of a woman (haml mar'a). The prediction of a "swallowing up (khasf)" of a Syrian army by the desert between Mecca and Medina, which according to the Kitāba hadīth was to occur under the predecessor of the Sufyānī (historically the caliph Yazīd), was now integrated into the career of the Sufyānī. Shi'i referred to the Sufyānī also as the Son of the Liver-eating Woman (ibn akilat al-akbdd) after 'Abū Sufyānī's wife Hind b. Utba [q.v.], who was said to have bitten the liver of Muhammad's uncle Ḥamza after he was killed in the battle of Uhud. The Sufyānī, it was predicted, would first come forth in the Wadī al-Yāhıs near Damascus. In the later Imāmī Shī'ī standard doctrine, the appearance of the Sufyānī in the Wadī and the statements of that month of August (the way of an army sent by him in the desert) are counted among the indispensable signs for the advent of the Mahdī or Kā'im [see Kā'IM AL MUḤAMMAD].

There is no sound evidence for an early anti-Marwānid expectation of a restorer of Sufyānī rule. The apocalyptic Sufyānī figure came to Syria and Egypt together with that of the Fāṭimid Mahdī and represented a minority view there in the late Umayyad age. The great Berber rebellion in the Maghrib in 123/740-1 aroused fears of an invasion of Egypt and Syria, the fitna of the Maghrib inaugurating the end of time, and there were prophecies of a reappearance of the Sufyānī connected with it. In post-Umayyad Sufyānī prophecies, the coming of a rebel Berber army, often described as carrying yellow flags, became a standard element.

After the overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate by the 'Abbasids, the apocalyptic Sufyānī was in Syria given the role of a successful challenger of the eastern conquerors. Already during the anti-'Abbasid revolt of 'Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī in 153/771, word was spread by his supporters that he was "the Sufyānī who had been mentioned". The Sufyānī was now associated with a prediction that the Syrians would march against an eastern caliph in Kūfā, which would be razed to the ground "like a leather skin". Baghdad was soon added as a town to be destroyed by the Sufyānī, who would send his armies to the east, the Maghrib, Yemen and Iraq. Such anti-'Abbasid prophecies were first spread by pro-Alīd and pro-Kūfī narrators, who invariably portrayed the Sufyānī as a ruthless forerunner of the just Fāṭimid Mahdī to whom he would ultimately lose out. In some prophecies, the Sufyānī was described as "handing over the caliphate to the Mahdī (yadid al-khalīfat li 'l-Mahdī)". The themes of these Shī'ī prophecies were taken over and further developed by Sunni traditionists, especially in Hims. The largest contribution was made by Arṭāʾī b. al-Mundhir (d. 162-3/779-80), an ascetic worshipper highly regarded as a transmitter who produced lengthy predictions, either attributing them to Ka'b al-Abhār [q.v.] and his stepson Tabyū'ā b. 'Alīm al-Hīmarī or in his own name. Arṭāʾī's predictions turned the Sufyānī into a thoroughly repulsive and monstrous figure resembling the Dadjdjāl. Sometimes Arṭāʾī divided the Sufyānī into two figures. The first one, named 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd, would be al-Azhār or al-Zuhrī b. al-Kalbīyya, the deformed Sufyānī (al-Sufyānī al-muḥāqash). He would take the gīzā from the Muslims, enslave their children and split open the wombs of pregnant women. After he had died from a carbuncle, another Sufyānī would come forth in the Bidgāz. He, too, would be deformed, flat-headed, with scarred forearms and hollow eyes.

In Egypt, the apocalyptic Sufyānī figure was promoted and elaborated by 'Abd Allāh b. Lāhī'a (d. 174/790 [q.v.]), in numerous traditions spuriously ascribed to early authorities including Companions and the Prophet. Although one-eyed (aḥār) and the perpetrator of massacres of 'Abbasids and 'Alīds, Ibn Lāhī'a's Sufyānī could not compete with Arṭāʾī's repulsive ugliness and bestiality nor be described as a forerunner of the Dadjdjāl.

The Umayyad rebel Abu l-'Amayṭar, a grandson of Kūfī b. Yazīd b. Muṭawwiyah, who rose against the 'Abbasid caliphate in Damascus in 195/811, gained some support as the expected Sufyānī. Already before the eruption of the revolt, the Damascene traditionist al-Walīd b. Muslim spread the prediction that the Sufyānī would inevitably come forth even if only a single day remained of the year 195. Umayyad backers claimed that the signs for the Sufyānī mentioned in the prophecies were present in Abu l-'Amayṭar and that Kalb would be his supporter. A prophecy describing the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd and the succession of his son al-ʾĀmīn foretold the appearance of...
of the religious sciences.

He was born either in the village of Suhalı, modern Fuengirola, or in nearby Málaga, and studied Kur'án, hadith and philosophy there as well as in Cordova and Granada. His most famous teacher was Ibn al-'Arabi (qu.), under whom he studied for a while in Seville. Stated in Málaga, he led a quiet scholarly life. Since he had lost his sight at the age of seventeen, he relied for his reading and writing on, among others, Ibn Dibya (qu.), his best-known pupil. At the Almohad court in Marrákiš, where he stayed for some time, he achieved fame and wealth; he died during a visit to Morocco in 581/1185.

(W. Mädelung)

AL-SUYAYLI, 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. 'ABD ALLAH, Ibn 'l-Kásim (508-81/1114-85), Andalusi scholar of the religious sciences.

In this they were emulating the Prophet Muhammad who had designated an open space in Medina for a similar use. A distinctive method in the organisation of markets began to emerge in the new Islamic cities of Wáṣíf, Bagdád and Sámrarrá during the late Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods. Evidence from the 'Abbasid period suggests that there were often a series of markets (su'úk) adjacent to each other and separated only by roads and streets. Outside the central market in Bagdád and Sámrarrá, other markets were created for local residents and there were also a number of smaller markets known by the diminutive suwýq.

Markets, according to al-Shayzari (d. 589/1193), author of the earliest bida' manual, should be as spacious and wide as possible (like the Roman market), and every kind of craft or profession (jian) represented in it should be allocated its own market (su'úk). The reference to separate space for each product sold or manufactured probably implies a series of markets or a row of shops and workshops producing and selling similar goods. Thus al-Shayzari recommends that a market should allocate space to a concentration of shops selling the same product. The shops were arranged in a linear fashion along roads, streets and lanes. The author further recommends that traders who used similar preparation of their products, such as bakers (khábbáh), cooks (habákhan) and blacksmiths (haddúdín) should for safety reasons have their shops at some distance from others, for instance, perfumers (tu'átríwn) and cloth merchants (baázází). A similar market layout was endorsed by Ibn Bassám al-Mu表白taš and other principles applied to the organisation of shops in a market took into account non-topographical considerations. For instance, Ibn al-Djawzf (d. 597/1200), writing about the markets of Bagdád, noted that in the markets of al-Karak the perfumers did not associate with traders selling noisome goods nor with sellers of fancy or of secondhand goods. People of refined culture lived in special residential areas. No working-class people lived in the Saffron Road (darb al-sághara) in Karh', the only residents there were the cloth merchants and perfume traders (cf. Marákiš Bagdád, 28). The segregation of the traders in products that smelled nice (perfumes, sweets, jewellery, silk cloth, etc.) from those dealing in stenchy things, such as tanners, dyers, garbage collectors and bric-à-brac merchants, was a principle which seems to have been widely adopted in laying out these markets. Such social custom, according to Massignon, was responsible for the practice of housing the markets (su'úk) with those of the money-changers (su'úk al-sayyář) (AbdÁl Bagdád, 84). Another reason for grouping the shops of jewellers and money-changers together was probably the fact that these commercial enterprises were monopolised by Jews and Christians.

Al-Shayzari's views on the topographical organisation of markets, in which shops and workshops were grouped together for manufacturing or selling similar goods, reflect the broadly-accepted principles followed by Arab town-planners in the early Islamic period. Our knowledge of the early Irákí markets goes back to the 1st/7th century, when Bagr and Kifá were laid out using these principles, according to al-Tabári. Bagr was founded in 583/1187 on the site of the base camp established by Utba b. Ghazwán, whose first action was to select the site of the mosque. At the same time, Bilál b. Abi Burda marked out a makeshift market, which was gradually expanded, thus contributing to Bagr's success as a trading centre.
It seems that a site for the town's market was not originally allocated. The governor 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amīr later chose a particular site, which came to be known as sūk 'Abd Allāh. His successor Ziyād b. Abīhi encouraged the settlers to establish a permanent market. The sūk al-.tabbāhīn, which was located within the residential quarters, proved inadequate for a rising population (cf. Naji and Ali, 298-309), and the old market was transferred to the Bilāl canal (nahār Bilāl). Most of the early markets of Baṣra were designated open space, and permanent shops (hānād) were not built until the 3rd/9th century.

During the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries Baṣra's markets selling specialised wares were located in a single space or road; for instance, the leather market (sūk al-tabbahtūn lit. tanners' market), the camel market (sūk al-ahbl), market of the straw sellers (sūk al-tabbahtūn) and the locksmith's market (sūk al-kaffīfīn). The Mirbad [g.v.] market was situated at the caravan station on the edge of the desert, where town-dwellers and Bedouin gathered to sell camels and other animals and to listen to poets reciting poems and orators speaking on current affairs. By the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, the great market (sūk al-kadāhin) was located at the junction between the Maqḍīl Canal and the Ibn 'Umar Canal, where a variety of products, including glassware, bottles, combs, textiles, cooked food, flour, fish, fruits and vegetables were sold. Carpenters and tailors also had their shops there. The shore market (sūk al-kadāhin) lay in the residential area along the Fāy Canal. It also had a food market (sūk al-tālūm), which sold flour, rice, dates, meat, vinegar and second-hand goods. In addition, there was a money-changers' market, a goldsmiths' market and a slave market (sūk al-nakhtūn).

Baṣra's trade with foreign merchants was conducted through the ancient port of al-Ubulla [q.v.], which was linked to the garrison city through a canal dug by Ziyād b. Abīhi (Yāqūt, Buldān, Cairo 1906, i, 89-90). One traveller noted in 443/1051 that al-Ubulla was located to the south-west of Baṣra, and the Shat al-'Arab [q.v.] lay to the east of this port, which had thriving markets, caravanserais, mosques and luxury villas. The Ubulla canal was busy with boats carrying merchandise to and from Baṣra. Nāṣir-i Khusrāw visited the city in the mid-5th/11th century and found that Baṣra's markets opened for business at different times of the day. For instance, a morning market was held at sūk al-Khursān, a mid-day one at sūk 'Ulbūlā and a late-afternoon one at sūk al-kadāhin (the lintmakers' market) (Safār-nāma, 91-5).

Kūfa, which was founded shortly after Baṣra, was a better planned town. However, al-Tabarī does not specify the sites of its markets. Kūfa began with an open-air market. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, who moved his capital from Medina to Kūfa, is reported to have said "For the Muslims, the market is similar to the place of worship: he who arrives first can hold his seat all day until he leaves it" (al-Balāḏūrī, Futūḥ, tr. Hitti, 463-4). The same theory that a seller had a right to a space in the market was upheld by the governors al-Maghīra b. Shu'ba and Ziyād b. Abīhi, who held that a trader who sat in a specific space in a market place could claim the spot so long as he occupied it. This meant that no permanent shops were built in the market of Kūfa during the early Umayyad period and that these were only erected during the caliphate of Hī bah by Khalīl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kaṣrī. Endorsing al-Balāḏūrī's statement, al-Ya‘kābi affirms that Khalīl al-Kaṣrī built markets and constructed a room and an arch (tāb) for every trader (K. al-Buldān, 311). Yākūt, on the other hand, recorded that the Asad Market (sūk Asad) built at this time in Kūfa was the work of Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kaṣrī (Buldān, v. 175). Setting up a temporary stall/shop in a market incurred no tax during the 1st century of the Abbasid period. According to al-Muqaddamī, the market in Baṣra during the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, included the following craftsmen: the book and parchment dealers, carpenters, goldsmiths and smiths; the smiths, butchers and bakers, who worked in an open space near the central mosque. Al-Dāhūzī recorded that much of Kūfa was in ruins in his time (K. al-Buldān, 500). Most of the cost of living was higher in Kūfa than in Baṣra. For instance, building a house in Kūfa or Baghdād cost 100,000 dirhams, whereas a similar house in Baṣra cost half as much (ibid., 503-4). According to Massignon, the market in Kūfa during the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, included the following craftsmen: the book and parchment dealers, carpenters and paper-sellers were sited on the kūfa side of the city's major mosque; other crafts nearby included datesellers (tamārūṭ), the manufacturers and sellers of soap (ashāb al-sūbih) and grocers (bakkalān). There were also carpet-sellers (ashāb al-annāṣ) and cloth merchants; laundrmen (kaṣāṣrah) at Dār al-Wālid, butchers (gazzārīn) and wheat merchants (hamuṣīn); sellers of roast meat (sawwakān); other merchants who were neighbours of the tradesmen were money-changers (sayyāfūn) and goldsmiths (sayyāghūn) (Exposition du plan de Kūfa, in Opera minora, iii, 50-1). The markets of Kūfa flourished throughout the 'Abbāsīd period, and after, according to Ibn Ḫujayb and Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, but details of commercial activities are lacking in most of our sources. While visiting Kūfa, the Spanish traveller Benjamín of Tudela (ca. 1173) reported that the Jewish population of about 70,000 had an impressive synagogue (The world of Benjamin of Tudela, 226). These population figures were probably exaggerated; nevertheless, they remain significant. Jews in the medieval Middle East were well known for their commercial activities and their craftsmanship as jewellers, and were also famed as bankers and money-changers. Their presence in large numbers in the predominantly Shiʿi city of Kūfa (only 2,000 Jews lived in Sunni-dominated Baṣra) would tend to suggest that the former was still an important commercial centre in the late 'Abbāsīd period. But when Ibn Ǧubayr visited Kūfa, he found that it was merely a caravan station for pilgrims from Mawṣil and Baghdād travelling to Mecca; the commercial city had fallen into ruins as a result of attacks by Bedouin. However, he found the neighbouring Nadjaf a populous town with a thriving market, admiring the fine and clean sūk which he entered through the Bāb al-Ḥadra. He then offers details of the layout of the Nadjaf sūk, beginning with the food and vegetable shops, markets of the greengrocers, cooks and butchers, the fruit market, the tailors' market, followed by the covered market (kaṣāṣrah) and the perfumers' bazaar, which was close to the alleged tomb of the Imam 'Ali b. Abī Tālib. Al-ʿWaṣfī [q.v.] was founded by al-Hādjīdājī, and its markets, according to the local historian Buldānī (d. 292/905), were well planned. The layout of the market allotted to every trade a separate plot of land and segregated each craft or trade. Each group of tradesmen was given its own money-changer (ṭūlīkhi ʿWaṣfī, 44). ʿĪyāb b. Muṣṭwīya was appointed inspector of the Waṣfī market; a kind of toll or rent was collected from the tradesmen. The sūk was divided into two broad sections. On the right side of the market the shops of the food-sellers, cloth merchants, money-changers and perfumers were located; on the left side, the greengrocers, fruit vendors (ashāb al-fālāḥa) and sellers of second-hand goods (ashāb al-sukat).
established their shops or stalls. Day labourers (nuz'at-dariri) and craftsmen (sunnat) waited for work on a space stretching from the sandal-makers’ road (darb al-khatta) towards the Tigris river. The market was thus an elaborately laid-out affair. This main road was lined with the western side of the town.

In planning a circular-shaped double-walled citadel city of Baghdad, with four massive arcaded gates, the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Mansūr was also responsible for laying out the city’s markets in the arcaded space of the four city gates, following the practice of ancient cities such as Jerusalem. However, after ten years or so, Abū Dī‘afar is said to have been advised by a visiting envoy, the Patriarch, from Byzantium that sitting markets near his palace posed danger to a ruler from foreign spies visiting the markets in the guise of traders. Shortly before the removal of the markets from the arcades (measuring 15 x 200 cubits) of the four gates, there was a riot incited by a certain Yahyā b. ‘Abd Allāh, whom Abū Dī‘afar had appointed the city’s mayor, for which Yahyā was executed. Nevertheless, the emergence of the multi-tatis in Baghād heralded the rise of this urban institution which regulated the ethical behaviour of traders and craftsmen in the ‘Abbasid markets [see Hisba].

The markets of the Abbasids were described in the Travels (Khitat Baghdad, 40–3). In 1375/1957, the city’s markets were transferred to the district of al-Karkh [q.v.] where shops and workshops were laid out on the principle of selling homogenous products in adjacent shops/stalls systematically arranged in rows of roads (darb, pl. darabi) and streets (sikka, pl. tisak). The markets of the butchers, who carried sharp tools, were allotted a space at the far end of the market. Thus according to al-‘Ibād b. al-Mu‘aṣṣar, al-Mansūr instructed his officers Ibrāhīm b. Huwayhā al-Kufī and Khīrād b. al-Musayyab al-Yamanī to develop the central business district at al-Karkh on the west bank of the Tigris. Al-Mansūr’s successor al-Mahdī was later responsible for laying out the markets at the Bahā al-Tāk and Bahā al-Shā’r in the east bank of the Tigris, around the palace of Khuld beginning in 143/760 for the prince al-Mahdī, and this had its own markets: the fief of Badr al-Mu‘aṣṣar and the market of the hospital (suk al-khasṣab), the carpenters’ market (suk al-tāl), the wood-sellers’ market (suk al-ṣuwaysa6), the fruit market of Abdunn and the market housed in a splendid building. Next to Arabic, there were markets selling all kinds of goods; these included over a hundred shops selling paper and books and the shops of copyists (al-Ya‘kūbī, Baldūn, 245). These workshops spread from the Tāk al-Harrānī to the new bridge on the Sarāt Canal, occupying both sides of the road and on the bridge itself. Al-Ya‘kūbī, 246, states that, in his time, the market of al-Karkh occupied an area two farāsks in length from Kaṣr Waddād to the sūk al-thuldriri (Tuesday Market) and one farāsk from the Kaṣr al-Rabī’ towards the Tigris. Each trade was located in a well-known street and the shops and workshops were arranged in rows of shops. Craftsmen of one kind did not mix with another kind and were segregated from those of other markets, each market constituting a separate unit. The Harb b. ‘Abd Allāh Street was the largest street around which people from Bukhara, Marw, Bukhārā, Khuttal, Kabul and Khīratām settled (248). In the same locality was located the dār al-rakāk, where slaves were bought and sold under the supervision of al-Rabī’ b. Yūnūs. When the Andalusian traveller Ibn Dūbayr visited Baghād in the 6th/12th century, he found that the Harbiyya markets and residential areas had declined. He also noted that the market of the hospital (sūk al-muṣirīn) where physicians attended the sick every Monday and Thursday, was located at the old Bara Gate in west Baghād. The shops and workshops of leather workers (dabkabān) were situated at the ‘Irā Canal on the west bank of the Tigris away from the main market of al-Karkh, and not far from a rubbish dump (kunds) and an ancient graveyard (Travels, 2, 234–5, 244). In 449/1057, a fire caused extensive damage to the food market (sūk al-tāmām), the wood-sellers’ market (sūk al-khāshāb) the carpenters’ market (sūk al-nadigārin), the butchers’ market (sūk al-djazzārin), the dyers’ market (sūk al-sujjāb) and the market of the perfumers and chemists (sūk al-chemists) which were sited in adjacent buildings (Khitat Baghād, 41–43).

On the east bank, construction for the palace of al-Khulī began in 143/760 for the prince al-Mahdī, and this had its own markets: the fief of Bādī-
Wasif housed the ēsuk al-atash; in east Baghdad, there was a ēsuk Khudayr, from Central Asia and from the Far East as far as China, and al-Dīżāḥ in his K. al-Tabāsuṣr bi 't-tīgāra gives a list of exotic products available in īrāk’s markets.

When al-Muṭāṣim built the city of Sāmarrā’ (q.v.), he followed the established pattern for earlier markets in Islamic cities such as Baghdad. After laying out the palace and public buildings, he marked out the site of the chief mosque and built the markets around it; the rows of shops and workshops were made spacious and every kind of product was sold in adjacent shops. In the north of Sāmarrā’ some groups of Turkish soldiers were allotted land on which to build their houses, but the barracks of the Turks and the men of Farghāna were established far away from the markets so that these troops did not mix with local people and traders. Some folk were settled further north, in the area of al-Dūr, where small markets, some shops and butchers’ stalls were built for the muwalladun. The kafṣa or belfry of Hīzām on which the slave market was situated, was near the guard headquarters and prison. Shops and rooms for housing slaves were located there, and on this main thoroughfare there were houses for traders and markets where craft and product were sold separately. This was Sāmarrā’ second big market. Outside the old Sāmarrā’, al-Mutawakkil built a satellite town, where all the traders of demeaning status, such as the sellers of barley beer, harṣa soup and wine (aṣḥāb al-fakāk) were born and reborn were isolated from the rest of the market. Market taxes and rents (ghalā wa-mustaghfīlāt) collected in Sāmarrā’ amounted to ten million dirhams a year.

Mawsīl also had its markets, and its Wednesday (sūk al-arba’ād) and Sunday Markets (sūk al-āhad) were well known as early as the 2nd/8th century. The local historian al-Azdì mentions other markets, including the hay market (sūk al-baṣīgh) and market of sellers of saddles stuffed with straw (sūk al-katāqāt) and food market (363). Al-Maḵāḍdāsī noted that Mawsīl had fine markets, which extended to the tanners’ road and gypsum sellers’ road (dāra al-qaṣṣāṣīn). In the city’s square (marābāṭa), near the inns, was the Wednesday Market, where farm labourers (akbara) and harvesters (haqawṣ) came from the surrounding countryside to seek temporary or seasonal work in the city. From Mawsīl’s covered markets, provisions for Baghdad were transported by boats and caravans. Among other towns, al-Maḵāḍdāsī cites Kaṣr Ibn Hubayya, which had a large concentration of weavers and Jews in a thriving market economy. At the same time, Tīkīṭ was a sizeable town, where a monastery provided the focal point for local Christian pilgrimage and many woolen workers settled there in order to meet the demands of the pilgrims.


SUKARNO, Soekarno, the first President of the independent Republic of Indonesia (q.v.) from 1945 to 1967 (b. 6 June 1901, d. 21 June 1970).

His father, Raden Sukemi, came from lower Javanesen nobility and worked as a teacher and civil servant, while his mother originated from a Balinese brāhmaṇa family but was excluded after her marriage to her Muslim husband. Sukarno’s name in his childhood was Kusno. Later his father renamed him Tjokroaminoto. This expectation had first appeared in Java in the 17th century. Tjokroaminoto himself, however, is said to have stressed that the movement for independence did not involve establishing the rule of a Ratu Adil, but open compromise against evil and injustice but open to mercy and compromise in one’s own quarter, and much of his later political vocabulary was rooted in the symbols of zgung (shadow play) performances, where the stories of the Mahābhārata are displayed, than to squawg (shadow play) performances, where the stories of the Mahābhārata are displayed, than to
but of a *ratuning adil*, a realm of righteousness ruled by the people and their representatives.

During his five years in the Hogere Burger School (HBS) in Surabaya (1916-21) Sukarno became not only acquainted with the aims and targets of the Sarekat Islam (SI), but C. Hartog, teacher of the German language at the HBS and co-founder of the "Indische Sociaal Democraatse Vereeniging" in 1914, introduced Sukarno to socialism and Marxism, warning, however, against too radical action against Western capitalism and favouring an accelerated evolution of the indigenous society and its economy. Among the Indonesian leaders of that time, a controversy between more universal, international, socialist and radical options on the one hand and views dealing more with the "national" problems in the Dutch colony and favouring stepped-up co-operation with the government for achieving freedom on the other, led finally to a split in the Sarekat Islam. In 1921 the Communist Party (PKI) was established and communists were expelled from the SI, albeit against the will of Tjokroaminoto, who feared a decay of the Nationalist Movement, but thus urged by Haji Agus Salim, another SI leader. It is noteworthy that the communalism in the Indonesian version of Hindu terminology, particularly that of the modernist movements in both communities, Atatürk and Gandhi being among their favourites. After 1921, the SI became more receptive to the Islamic international movement (so-called Pan-Islamism (q.v.)).

After his successful graduation from the HBS and his marriage with a daughter of Tjokroaminoto, Sukarno moved to Bandung in 1921 and there enrolled as a student in the newly-established Technical High School, where he graduated in 1926 as a civil engineer. In Bandung, Sukarno met with more radical nationalists like Douwes Dekker and Tjipko Mangunkusumo, both co-founders of the Nationaal Indische Partij (NIP) whose leaders resided in Bandung. Deeply disappointed with the reviving colonial attitudes and measures after World War I, they refused to cooperate with the government and its institutions, including the Volksraad (consulting body). Sukarno adopted their position and thus estranged himself from Tjokroaminoto and even from his wife, whom he divorced. Thus he became what he remained: a convinced and fervent nationalist advocating religious and ethnic tolerance and equal rights for all Indonesians as internal goals, and fighting capitalism and co-operation with the unjust government as external measures. In contrast to nationalist students who had spent some time in the Netherlands and experienced there a democratic society and a well-functioning administration of the law, Sukarno, lacking such experience, viewed everything Western with deep suspicion and antipathy.

After his graduation, Sukarno dedicated his time and energies to efforts towards uniting the different anti-colonial parties and groups, all of which were pursuing quite different options. Nationalism was endangered from two sides: internationalism and regionalism. Therefore he urged the three strongest groups, namely, the Nationalists (NIP), the Islamic Nationalists (SI), and the Marxists (PKI), to find one voice in fighting against the "Kaurawas", the representatives of colonialism. All nationalists should be united in one goal: achieving *Indonesia merdeka* (an independent Indonesia). On this point Sukarno was not only an analytical thinker, but also—based on the world view of *wong*—a bit of a mystic: the notion of nationalism, national unity, resembles a revelation (teady) given by God, and to strive for it is like an act of liturgy or service (bakti), the work of a true *karmiya*. The space of nationalism was as "wide as the air", a perception already present in the early Sarekat Islam, where Marxists, Christians and others were active together.

After both the failure of the new ruler in Arabia (since 1924), 'Abd al-'Aziz of the Al Su'id, to call a conference of the Islamic world, and the founding of the Nahdlatul Ulama party in early 1926 in Java, with the aim of safeguarding traditionalist Islamic teaching in the Holy Places, the SI lost interest in pan-Islamic visions. Sukarno and Tjokroaminoto became reconciled, and Haji Agus Salim encouraged Sukarno to proceed with his plan to establish a Federation of the biggest nationalist organisations, including his own, the "Nationalist Union of Indonesia" (Perhimpunan Nasional Indonesia: PNI) founded in July 1927. Because of communist riots, the PNI had been outlawed in 1927, leaving the struggle for independence to the nationalists and the national Islamists.

Sukarno's self-confidence grew apace. Those who did not agree with his radical attitude but favoured a more consultative way to deal with the Dutch, while firmly striving also for independence, like the socialists, were not included in his front of the "Pendawas". But the colonial government's actions seemed to justify his suspicion and adversary attitude: even people ready for compromise like Tjipto Mangunkusumo, were attacked by the Dutch with false accusations and exiled.

In 1930 the outbreak of a Pacific war was expected, one which, it was hoped, would bring colonial rule in Asia to its end. In Indonesia, old prophecies related to Jayabaya, a Javanese king of the 12th century, who is said to be the source of the *Ratu Adil* expectations as well, foretold the victory of a "yellow people": Sukarno, and with him many other people from India to China, expected the Japanese to take the leading role in this forthcoming anti-colonial revolution, remembering their victory over Russia in 1905. Combining Jayabaya with Karl Marx's prediction of the final victory of the suppressed proletariat, Sukarno firmly believed in the imminent victory of the "brown" people, or Pendawas. Although imperialistic themselves, the Japanese would at least crush the power of the U.S. and England and other colonial powers from the West and thus pave the way for final liberation. But to prevent such expectations causing unrest, on 29 December 1929 the colonial government detained all leaders of Sukarno's PNI, including himself. Although it was impossible during the subsequent trials to prove that the PNI or Sukarno himself had any concrete plans for an insurrection, he was sentenced to four years imprisonment in December 1930, thereby becoming an innocent martyr for many Indonesians. After an act of clemency by the then departing Governor-General De Graef, Sukarno was released at the end of December 1931. But both organisations led by him, the PNI and the Federation, did not survive his detention and were dissolved by the remaining leaders. This was criticised by a leader of the Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI, "Indonesian Union") in the Netherlands, Moh. Hatta, who accused Sukarno of only provoking the government and not trying to educate the people at the same time. For Sukarno and his supporters, these events only showed how important he himself was for the independence movement. Thus the nationalists split into two groups: one gathered into the PNI Baru ("New")
around the socialist Sutan Sjahrir who, like Moh. Hatta, originated from West Sumatra, preferring incising analyses of the political and societal situation and the functional role of organisations, and the other gathered around Sukarno in the Partindo (Partai Indonesia), which emphasised more strongly a feeling of unity that took in specific dissent. Partindo now became the platform for Sukarno's new concept of "Marhaenism", which he also called "Socio-Nationalism"; Marhaen was a common name mainly among Sundanese farmers (cf. Dahm, 110). A feeling of social responsibility would unite all Indonesians— not only the proletariat—to establish social justice in the nation. No opposition or deviation would be tolerated. The leadership of a Marhaenist party would have the right to punish anyone who disturbed the consensus by exclusion. For this attitude, Sukarno was much criticised by Sutan Sjahri and Moh. Hatta, who urged the acceptance of democratic rules. On 1 August 1933, Sukarno was again detained and consequently exiled to the island of Flores. He terminated his membership in Partindo, which later (1936) dissolved itself. His isolation in Flores encouraged him to revive old acquaintances in the SI, which meanwhile had become Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII), trying to harmonise Islamic internationalism with Indonesian nationalism. Friendly contact with Catholic missionaries seems to have strengthened his religious awareness. In 1938 he was transferred to Bengkulu (Bencoolen), West-Sumatra, where he became a member of the reformist Muhammadiyah social organisation. There he joined those who pleaded for a radical new interpretation of Kur'an and Sunna, which one was sometimes too rationalist for other members like Moh. Natsir, who urged obedience to tradition in matters of faith first and then revision of social rules. To justify his more radical position, Sukarno pointed to the progress Atatürk and the Turkish Kurs came about in Turkey. He pleaded for a separation of state and religion, which led to another emotional controversy with Moh. Natsir in 1941.

When Japan started occupying Indonesia in 1941, Sukarno, who returned to Java in July 1942, was open for co-operation with the proviso that the Japanese should help the Indonesians to achieve their independence in accord with Javabaya's prophecy. The foundation of the "putera" (Pusat Tenaga Rakyat, centre for people's work; putera means literally "son"), intended as a basis of the people's support for Japan, became Sukarno's basis of action. The ambiguous policy of the Japanese—sometimes treating "the Southern Regions" as a colony, occasionally also promising self-government, and sometimes favouring the Islamist nationalists, while on other occasions preferring the religiously neutral nationalists—led to an estrangement between Sukarno and the Japanese government, which added to Sukarno's popularity. But after the announcement of Prime Minister Koiso on 7 September 1944 that all Indonesian peoples should be granted independence, and despite the people's continued distrust of and contempt for those who co-operated with the Japanese, Sukarno on the one hand urged support for the Japanese, who faced the advancing Allied forces, and on the other hand urged the Japanese to speed up their own thus losing in the end the still-occupied Indonesia and therefore re-establish colonial rule. His violent pro-Japanese agitation and loyalty to Japan, and his emotional anti-Western rhetoric, again earned him much criticism. But on 28 May 1945, the Investigating Board for Preparatory Work on Indonesian Independence (the BPUPKI), appointed by the Japanese, started its work. On 1 June, Sukarno presented his famous concept of the Pancasila ("Five Principles"), meant to become the weltanschauliche basis of the Indonesian Constitution to which all Indonesians could consent (Eng. tr. in: Mangullang, 1980;: Nationalism (one nation, kebangsaan), Internationalism or Humanity (perikemanusiaan), People's Rule (kekyataan, always striving for consent, nufakat, from Ar. muwafaka), Social Justice (keadilan sosial, originally social welfare, kesejahteraan social) and Divine Oneness (Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa). These could also be reduced to three: socio-nationalism, socio-democracy and Divine Oneness, or to one: gotong royong (the Javanese principle of mutual co-operation), as Sukarno stated. Complaints from the side of the Islamists led to a compromise on 22 June, stating the Ketuhanan as first principle with the addition that all Muslims are obliged to follow the quran; this compromise became known as the Jakarta Charter. Encouraged by the Japanese, who referred to "Asian traditions", and very much to the liking of Sukarno, it was also agreed that the independent state should resemble a presidential democracy with a parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat: DPR) only serving as a consultative body. A People's Consultative Assembly (Dewan Permusyawaratan Rakyat: MPK), consisting of the members of the DPR and other members nominated by the government or by people's organisations, meeting once every five years, was to elect the president and define the general political guidelines for the government. In the general anti-colonial mood, Sukarno and others favoured the inclusion into Indonesia Merdeka of peninsular Malay and territories on Borneo and Timor still claimed by the Dutch. This proposal was rejected by the Japanese, who wanted Indonesia restricted to the former Dutch possessions. Under pressure from external and internal events, Sukarno, assisted by Moh. Hatta, declared the independence of Indonesia in the early morning of 17 August 1945.

During the following days the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence, inaugurated by the Japanese on 7 August, met and passed the provisional constitution (Basic Law), with a modified Pancasila, included in the preamble: as second principle there now stands Internationalism, with Nationalism becoming the third principle. The provision of the Jakarta Charter for the Muslims was omitted because it implied a special relation with the Muslims which would endanger the neutrality of the state in religious matters. Sukarno was elected president and Moh. Hatta his vice-president. A Central National Indonesian Committee (Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat: KNIP) was to support the government until a parliament could be elected, and Sukarno favoured the formation of one political party only, a Partai Nasional Indonesia. In this, however, he was opposed by Sutan Sjahri, Moh. Hatta and some of the Islamist nationalists. To avoid an open domestic crisis, Sukarno agreed to the formation of different parties and he accepted also that ministers should be accountable to the parliament or the KNIP. Thus Sukarno's short-lived presidential government came to its end, and on 14 November 1945, a parliamentary government was elected with Sutan Sjahri as prime minister.

Sukarno's popularity increased again when he, Hatta, Sjahri and other leaders of the young republic were detained by the Dutch, who wanted to re-establish their rule and punish at the same time those
who had collaborated with the Japanese. After the end of the Dutch police actions and acknowledgement of Indonesia's independence in late 1949, Sukarno was accepted as president, an office still to his own dislike, however, as it was hampered by the liberal constitutions that were drafted in 1945 and 1950. He met other challenges from the militant Islamists, who staged insurrections in West Java and Sulawesi, and from regionalists, who opposed the strong political and economic centralisation in Java. His international reputation increased in 1955 when, inspired by the second principle of Pancasila, he succeeded in hosting in Bandung the first conference of independent "Third World" leaders (his opening speech is in Feith and Castles, 454 ff.). During the political campaigns preceding the 1955 elections to the first parliament, and, some months later, to a Constitutional Assembly (Konstituante) to design a final constitution, Sukarno made it clear that he wanted a presidential republic based on the Pancasila, against the option of an Islamic state, and also a unitary state, against demands for more autonomy in the areas outside of Java. In opposition to Sukarno's agitation, Moh. Hatta resigned as vice-president in 1956. Anticipating a great majority of votes for Sukarno and liberal parties, Sukarno dissolved the Konstituante on 5 July 1959 dissolving the Konstituante and declaring the Basic Law of 1945 as the final constitution. Guided Democracy (demokrasi terpimpin) was the name of the new system, himself being the Great Leader (of the Revolution), as he explained in his independence speech on 17 August 1959, which later became known as his "Political Manifesto" (Mampol), elaborated later by "USDEK", the Basic Law of 1945, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy and Indonesian Identity. In 1960, Sukarno also dissolved the parliament and later in the same year he banned the modernist Islamic party Masyumi, chaired by Moh. Feith and Castles, 1970; Feith and L. Castles (eds.), Indonesian political thinking 1945-1965, Ithaca and London 1970; D.H. Legge, Sukarno. A political bibliography, London 1972; A. Katoppo (ed.), 80 Tahun Bung Karno, Jakarta 1980, 1990; M. Bonneff et al., Pontissia. Trente ans de debats politiques en Indonesie, Paris 1980; Eka Darmaputera, Pancasila and the search for identity and modernity in Indonesian society, Leiden 1988; Ahmad C. Manuillang, Die Staatssoziologie der Pancasila. Würzburg 1988; Adnan Buyung Nasution, The aspiration for constitutional government in Indonesia. A sociological study of the Indonesian Konstituante 1956-1959, Jakarta 1982; Marsilim Simanjuntak, Pandangan negara negalis, Jakarta 1944; Pamek Rusindo and Islah Gusman (eds.), Bung Karno dan pancasila. Menjau resolusi nasional, Yogyakarta 2002.


SULAYMÂN b. AL-ḤAKAM b. Sulaymân al-MASTĀʾĪN, Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus, proclaimed at Cordova in 400/1009, died in 407/1016. The two phases of his reign are located in the period of the Andalusī fitna following the "Revolution of Cordova", at the time of the serious political crisis which was to lead to the demise of the Umayyad caliphate in 422/1031.

When the Cordovans put an end to the 'Amirid regime in Qumādā II-Radjab 399/February-March 1009, and replaced the incompetent caliph Hishām II with one of his cousins, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the latter, on account of his political blunders, speedily aroused opposition, in particular that of the Maghribī Berber contingents of the Umayyad army, whose families had been the object of harassment on the part of the Cordovans. These soldiers, numbering several hundreds, rallied around Sulaymān b. al-Hakam, who was a great-grandson of the first caliph of Cordova, 'Abd al-Rahmān III, and whom they put forward as a claimant to the caliphate. With him, they made their way to the frontier zone of Medina in search of support. Confronted by the former slave governor
of this region, Wadih, they obtained the aid of the Count of Castile, Sancho Garcia, in exchange for a promise to cede frontier fortresses to him. Having defeated the forces of Wadih in Dhu 'l-Hijja 400/1010, they returned to Andalusia to march on Cordova, where they entered after overpowering the quite significant, but disparate and ineffective troops of al-Mahdi. The latter was forced to take refuge in the capital where Sulayman was proclaimed caliph on 17 Rabii' 1/9 November, with the takab of al-Mustać'a

Having placed himself under the protection of Wadih, who henceforward became his "strong man", al-Mahdi rallied supporters in the north and, crucially, obtained the support of Count Raymond Borrell III of Barcelona and of his brother Armengol (Armenqand) of Urgel, in order to march in his turn against Cordova with some 40,000 men, including 9,000 Franks. The defeat of El Vacar (akabat al-bakar, in Shawwāl 400/21 June 1010, 20 km/12 miles to the north of the capital, forced al-Mustać'a to flee and enabled al-Mahdi and Wadih to enter Cordova and restore the caliphate of the former. But this success could not be consolidated, and on b Dhu 'l-Ka'da 400/21 June 1010 Sulayman's Berbers inflicted a heavy defeat near Roneda on the forces of al-Mahdi and their Frankish allies. Henceforth, it was Sulayman al-Mustać'a and his Berbers who found themselves again in a position to lay siege to the capital, which resisted until its surrender on 26 Shawwāl 403/9 May 1013. The Cordovans were killed, including probably the caliph Bay'a

Sulayman al-Mustašän was to last until the arrival of the Almoravids. 

Like all Ghazalys, the Sulayman Khel are notable for their Prankish allies. Henceforth, it was Sulayman al-Mustać'a and his Berbers who found themselves again in a position to lay siege to the capital, which resisted until its surrender on 26 Shawwāl 403/9 May 1013. The town was sacked by the Berbers and numerous Cordovans were killed, including probably the caliph al-Mahdi, although a rumour was later put about claiming that he had escaped.

It is known about the second reign of the caliph al-Mustać'a, which lasted three years until the insurrection against him by the Maghribi chieftain of Idrisid origin 'Abī b. Hammūd, whom he appointed governor of Ceuta. The latter took the capital, killed al-Mustać'a and obtained the bay'a of the Cordovans, who recognised him under the name of al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (22 Muharram 407/1 July 1016). Sulayman al-Mustašän seems to have been ended with more qualities than his rival al-Mahdi, reasonably cultivated but of irresolute character and very much dependent on the Berbers who had put him in power. A large portion of the territory of al-Andalus eluded his authority. He consolidated the local power of certain chieftains who were in process of becoming "party kings" [see mulek al-tawā'if], such as the Tugibid al-Mundhir b Yahya, who had lent him his support in Saragossa. In particular, he appointed his Berber supporters to command regional "fiefs" which were in fact virtually amirates, the most important being that of the Sanhadjī Zīrīs of Granada which was to last until the arrival of the Almoravids.


SULTAN 'ALİ ÜĞLİ

[see GASPRÁLI (GASPRINSKÍ) ISMA'İL], as well as some secular subjects such as arithmetic and the rudiments of geography and modern history. His knowledge of Russian, which he learned from his father, enabled him to study at the Tatar High School (Tatarşakı şəhidlik şəhəri) of Kazan, the only state-sponsored secondary school available to the Muslims of the Empire. From the mid-1890s onwards, a group of pupils formed a secret revolutionary society there, led by the writer Muhammed 'Ayyād Islahi (1878-1954) and influenced by Russian populism; it was to make a profound and lasting impression on the young Soltangaliev. After 1905, as an employee of the Municipal Library of Ufa, he was to participate in the Islahi movement of the young Tatar intelligentsia, of which 'Ayyād Islahi was the most prominent figure. Soltangaliev contributed, under various pseudonyms, to the leading journals of the Urais, most notably Turağalı ("Life"), a reformist Tatar review in which he published translations of the later works of Tolstoy. From 1911 onward he published stories and articles in the Musul'manskaya gazeta ("Muslim Journal") of Moscow, showing the influence of his Tatar and Russian literary models; his themes (reform of education, the status of women, the parasitism of the musul'man rural bureaucracy [in the public good], borrowed from Russian populism, had been promulgated from Kazan since the beginning of the century by authors sympathetic to the Islahi movement such as 'Ayyād Islahi or the novelist and poet 'Abd Allah Tuḵay (1886-1913). During the First World War, Soltangaliev took up a teaching appointment in Baku; from there he contributed to various Russian Muslim periodicals.

December 1917-March 1919. Revolution as an instrument of constitutional change.

In April 1917, Soltangaliev was summoned to Moscow to direct the executive committee of the "Muslim Congress", before making his way to Kazan where he joined the "Muslim Socialistic Committee". Created the 7 [19] April on the basis of Muslim workers' committees, the MSC was led by Mullā Nār Wāḥīdov (Vahitov) (1885-1918) whose project was to unite the revolutionary forces of the Tatar lands into a militarised group. The political ideas of Wāḥīdov—who was to be killed in the early stages of the Civil War—constituted the basis of what would later be called "Soltangalievism"; they centred on the struggle against traditionalism, the liberation of Muslims from Russian domination and the extension of Socialism to all of Islam. However the Bolshevik coup d'état of 26 October [8 November] 1917, imposed Russian power in the Volga-Ural region, since Russians dominated the urban and provincial soviet of Kazan. The party of Lenin was nevertheless seen as constituting a superb school of political theory; Muslim nationalist leaders like Wāḥīdov understood that by imitating them they could, perhaps, neutralise him. After all, Lenin's "April Decrees" [1917] were perceived as allowing the minorities of the former Empire to hope for a right of secession. The leadership of the MSC (Wāḥīdov, and his lieutenant Soltangaliev) sought to exploit the anarchy into which Russia had been plunged to exact concessions from the Bolshevik leaders, who needed all the support they could get. At the end of 1917, Stalin, Commissar of the People for the Nationalities, called on Soltangaliev to direct the Muslim section of his ministry. On 19 January 1918, Stalin created the "Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs of the Russian Interior and Siberia" (Muskom), headed by Wāḥīdov; Soltangaliev was recruited in June to take charge of propaganda in Muslim circles. Until the offensive mounted by the White Armies on the Volga in July 1918, the regions populated by Muslims in European Russia were covered by a network of regional and local commissariats dominated by nationalist populists, independent of the local soviets which were dominated by Communist organisations. By the Muskom, these commissariats were to form the nucleus of the great "Tatar and Bashkir Republic" promised by Stalin to the Communist Muslim leaders. In a parallel development, Wāḥīdov and Soltangaliev created in Moscow, on 8 March, the Muslim Socialist-Communist Party (replaced in June by the "Party of Communist (Bolshevik) Muslims of Russia")

Autonomous in its relations with the Russian CP, the new party severed links with the "bourgeois" Muslim organisations which were henceforward isolated (an example of this being the dismal episode of the short-lived "Republic of Transbulakia" in Kazan), but sought to gather Muslim revolutionaries into a united front. Wāḥīdov and Soltangaliev concentrated their efforts on the training of political cadres (with the projected Muslim University of Kazan, a long-standing demand of the Islahi movement), and on the mobilisation throughout the Volga-Ural region of the Muslim revolutionary committees (now autonomous). From 1918 onward, however, these regimes were incorporated into Russian units, after the fall of Kazan into the hands of the Whites, who executed Wāḥīdov. In November 1918, at the "First Congress of Communist Muslims", Soltangaliev and Isma'il Firdawsi (1888-1937) a Tatar from the Crime, sought confirmation of the autonomy of the Muslim Communist Party. But Stalin, intent on retaining control of the "colonial revolution", rejected this demand; the crucial moment when the Tatars could argue with the Russians over the direction of the revolutionary movement seemed to have passed. In fact, from the spring of 1919 onward, the Civil War turned on the eastern front in favour of the Bolshevists, and in the Muslim territories reconquered by the Red Army, the civil and military apparatus installed by Wāḥīdov was dismantled.

March 1919-April 1923. Russian monopolism against Muslim polycentrism.

From March 1919, the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (in Moscow, 18-23 March) proposed the suppression of all national communist organisations. The "Bureau of Muslim Organisations"—which had replaced the Muslim Communist Party—was replaced in its turn by a "Central Bureau of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the Orient". It was the principle of the distinctness and unity of the Muslim world, dear to the former leaders of the Islahi movement, which was thus negated. The "oriental" revolution was making rapid progress, in Persia especially, where the Djamali revolution [g.v.] was supported militarily by the Bolshevists. But the policy of the Komintern in the Middle East was also to be marked by a fundamental divergence between Russians, supporters of monolothism, and Muslims, supporters of decentralisation. At the "Congress of Oriental Peoples" in Baku, September 1920, the ideas of Soltangaliev regarding the liberation of colonial peoples were in collision with those of the Komintern, which was only interested in the East as a source of temporary assistance to the western industrial proletariat, through the weakening of colonial powers. Soltangaliev sought to bypass the obstacle of the RCP by approaching the "Organisation of Communist Youth" (Komsonol); between 12 and 18 September
1920 he convened in Moscow the “First Pan-Russian Conference of Communist Organizations of the Lands of the Orient” where he evoked for the first time, it seems, the notion of a “colonial Communist International”, independent of the Kominintern. Cast in a minority, he succeeded nevertheless in transforming the komsomols of the Muslim republics of Russia into power-bases of his movement.

In the autumn of 1920, after the victories of the Red Army on all fronts, the civil war came to an end. As the Muslim communist party no longer existed and the dream of a great Tatar and Başqır Muslim State had been frustrated (Stalin had opted for the creation of two small and distinct republics, Tatar and Bashkirs), the Muslim nationalist communists turned their efforts towards the new national republics. At the same time, they promoted their ideas externally: Soltangaliev won over an international audience at the Communist University of Workers from the East, founded in Moscow in 1921. Refusing to reject outright the Tatar heritage and the religion of Islam, he also maintained contact with the principal reformist ‘ulama’, among whom ‘Alimdjan Bärıtd (mufti of Russia between 1917 and 1921) and Rüdä al-Dîn Fâhîr al-Dîn (mufti from 1922 till his death in 1936), and sought to maintain their role as cultural intermediaries between the Soviet authorities and the Muslims, essentially rural, masses. Islam was presented as an oppressed religion, whose historical evolution, cherishing among its adherents a strong sense of solidarity, had to some extent resisted the anti-religious campaigns of the early Soviet period. Stalin was soon to see, in these efforts, an aspiration to found an “Islamic Communism” opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

April 1923-November 1928. East versus West?

In the spring of 1921, the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party pushed the nationalist Communist Muslims towards clandestine opposition, by denouncing “nationalist deviants”. The notion of a non-Russian socialist party, mooted in the spring of 1919, was revived in November of the same year: a number of leaders, assembled in Moscow by Soltangaliev, decided to create an independent socialist Muslim party, which came into being the following year under the name of İttihat ve Terakki (Unity and Progress). In parallel, from the start of the year 1921, the Tatar Republic underwent a period of intense nationalist agitation, which continued throughout the following two years. At a regional conference of the Russian CP in Kazan, March 1923, the Tatar majority went as far as to pass a motion demanding the expulsion of Russian colonists as well as a radical “nativisation” of the administrative apparatus of the republic; the Tatar communists refused, furthermore, to purge their organisation of its non-proletarian elements.

Shortly after this, in the wake of the 12th Congress of the CP, which witnessed, in April, the denunciation of “local nationalisms”, Soltangaliev was arrested in Moscow on a personal order from Stalin, countersigned by the principal Bolshevists leaders. Excluded from the Russian CP, Soltangaliev, like many former İslâhi activists (such as Culpâın in Central Asia), seems to have been preoccupied by awareness of an insoluble conflict between East and West, and to have been convinced that the Bolshevik revolution was the most dangerous, because the most devastating attempt by the West to perpetuate its domination. Soltangaliev was soon at the heart of a secret organisation led by Communist Tatars and linked with various clandestine groups in European Russia, the Caucasus and Central Asia (İşlâm Ordu in Kazakistan, Millî Firka in the Crimea, the former Himmet in Azerbaycan and Millî İstîhab in Uzbekistan). The political thought of Soltangaliev, from 1923 onward, is known only from the criticisms voiced by his opponents, and the “confessions” extracted in the course of his successive trials. His political programme hinged on the creation of a great Turkish national state in Russia, the “Republic of Turan”, governed by a single party, but based on state capitalism and with economic independence assured by orientation towards the lands of the Far and the Middle East.

An attack on the part of the commissars of the people of the Tatar Republic led to the second arrest of Soltangaliev in November 1928, the prelude to a series of large-scale and bloody purges which were to be inflicted periodically on all the republican communist parties until 1939, not sparing the national intelligencias. Sentenced in 1929 to ten years of hard labour as an agent of imperialism, Soltangaliev was deported to the camp of the Solovki islands on the White Sea. He took advantage of early release in 1934, only to be arrested again in 1937 and tortured, then executed 28 January 1940. On the eve of the Second World War, Soltangalievism seems to have been eradicated in Russia. In Central Asia and in the Caucasus, as the Muslim axioms had made good the lack of cultural development which in the early 20th century had separated them from the Tatars, the latter had lost their status as models to be copied. Born in a land of secular confrontation between Muslims and Christians, Tatar nationalism, initially supposed to be spread beyond the zone of the Middle Volga, was ultimately to withdraw, confined to its place of origin. Soltangaliev, mythologised outside the USSR as the father of non-European, even anti-European revolution, enjoyed in Russia itself only a belated rehabilitation—today virtually limited to the territory of Tatarstan, of which he was not a native. His memory has helped the Turkish-speaking peoples of the former USSR to consider themselves protagonists in their own modern history. But the rediscovery of this history tends to relativise the role played by communist nationalists, giving more credit to the great figures of Muslim reformism. The former and the latter shared, between 1929 and the Second World War, the same conviction of a cataclysmic confrontation between Tatars and Russians, Muslims and Christians, East and West, rural and industrial worlds—a parallelism given insufficient emphasis in studies of Soltangalievism, and in studies of the Muslim reformisms, of which the İslâhi movement was a component.

Bibliography: In the absence of complete works, the most important collection of texts of Soltangaliev is the very selective anthology published by I.G. Giziatullin and D.R. Sharafutdinov: Mirsaet Sultan Galiev. Le père de la révolution tiers-mondiste, Paris 1986, with a very thorough critical bibl., a work which, in spite of its title, establishes the most subtle distinction that has yet been drawn...

**AL-SUNAMI**

*Umar b. Muhammad b. ‘Iwad, Hanafi scholar of mediaeval Muslim India whose importance comes from his work on hisba [*q.v.*], the *niṣāb al-ḥisab, which refers to the author’s own role in this office. Judging by the number of surviving ms., some sixty, the work was highly popular in the eastern Islamic lands. Previous scholars have been uncertain about the author’s origins and life (c.f. e.g. Brockelman, S II, 427). It now seems clear from internal evidence in his book that he stemmed from numerous other sovereigns of al-Mansur, only dirhams of poor quality were minted with the more “caliphal”-sounding one of al-Mu’izz bi-fadl Allah. He did not differ in this respect from numerous other sovereigns of al-Mamun, who refused to adopt a *lakab* not adopting a *lakab* not adopting a *lakab* not adopting a *lakab* not adopting a *lakab* not adopting a *lakab* not adopting a *lakab* not adopting a *lakab*

Like other courts of the taifas, that of the Banu Sumadih was a literary centre, which seems to have maintained a certain ideal of Arabism: it was in response to a poet at the court of al-Mu’taṣım who had insisted on the Arab origins of the dynasty, that Ibn Garcia, secretary and court poet to Muḥammad b. Tughluk (r. 725-52/1325-51 [*q.v.*]); and that he died at the newly-founded town of Almeria. He died in the summer of 484/1091, just as Almoravid troops, having taken possession of Granada, were moving against Almeria; his son resisted for only a few weeks in the *kasaba* before leaving the city by sea to spend the rest of his life in Bougie [*see nāqṣa*]; then governed by the Hammādids. In Ramadan 484/ October-November 1091, the Almoravids absorbed Almeria and the taifa into their empire.

In 443/1052, Abū Yahya Muhammad b. Ma’n succeeded his father, initially under the tutelage of his uncle Abū ‘Utbah on account of his youth. It was during his reign that the power of the Banū Sumadiḥ took on the “royal” forms current under the taifas: he replaced the “amiral” title of Mu‘izz al-Dawla which he bore at the time of his accession to power, with the more “caliphal”-sounding one of al-Mu’taṣım b. ‘Ilāhah and al-Walīḥah bi-‘aṣal Allah. He did not differ in this respect from numerous other sovereigns of taifas in the second half of the 5th/11th century. Coins on which these *lakabs* appeared were minted at Almeria. But it seems that under his reign and in his name, only dirhams of poor quality were minted at Almeria, and in limited quantities, judging by the standard and the rarity of the examples preserved in numismatic collections.

The contemporary geographer and historian al-‘Uḍhrī, a native of the region of Almeria and probably a visitor to the court of the Banū Sumadih, gives in his *Tarāṣ* al-‘alākim a rapturous description of the splendid palace maintained by al-Mu’taṣım in the *kasaba* which dominates the town of Almeria. Furthermore, it is known that there existed a sub-
Deccan capital of the Tughlukids, Dawlatabād [q.v.], the ancient Deogiri, around or after 743/1333-4.

The value of the Niṣāb lies in the fact that it is the first known Ḥanafi text on ḥidā, with its practical and theoretical approaches reflecting al-Sunāmī’s dual functions as a lawyer and a muḥtāsib. The author tackles the common problems facing the muḥtāsib in accordance with the Ḥanafi madhhab, and his insights show the importance of local Indian customs and the practices of daily life, often denounced by him as ḥidā, within the formal framework of Islamic law.


(MAWL. Y. IZZI DIEN)

SÜRGÜN (tr., lit. “expulsion”), a term of Ḥanafi administrative and social policy.

It encompasses a wide range of practices employed by the Ottomans, not just to remove dissident elements from politically troubled provinces, but also more constructively to achieve vital state-defined economic and military objectives. The term is better translated as population transfer or strategic resettlement, and its purpose was fundamentally different from the purely punitive sentence of internal exile or banishment (ṣef) temporarily imposed on individual members of the ruling elite who had incurred the sultan’s disfavour. The use of surgiin forcibly to remove fractious elements such as uncooperative tribes or rebellious city populations from persistently troublesome areas is documented as part of the Ottomans’ attempts to impose control over Anatolia, especially during the closing decades of the 6th/14th and the first part of the 9th/15th century. However, its use as a weapon for political suppression without concomitant social or economic benefits was frowned on in Muslim popular opinion (see Ibn Kêmâl’s remarks on the mass deportations from Lürende to Istanbul in 872/1467-8, as cited in Bilî, . . . , ed., Lürendeyé bir ışık etti ki üzerine dağiman-i bed-kâh dâhî ışe, hâle etmezdi). In principle, surgiin was designed not to punish the source area which contributed a part of its labour force as emigrants but to provide some advantage to the target area to which they were being dispatched as immigrants. It had the real potential for providing the double benefit of relieving population and land pressure in the source territory while at the same time acting as a stimulus to the growth and development of the target territory. It also facilitated the transfer of groups with essential skills to the areas where they were most needed. The underlying purpose, whether it was the repopulating of Istanbul after its capture in 856/1453 by the transfer of population groups with specific commercial and artisan skills to provincial cities in Anatolia and (after 880/1475) the Crimea, or the settling of rural populations as agriculturalists in newly-conquered territories in Rumelia, was essentially the same: the settlement and development (isktân ʿe ṭanîr) of key strategic areas identified as either economically fragile or militarily insecure. This logic applied with particular force to the period of Ottoman territorial expansion in the Balkans lasting until the end of the 10th/16th century, but strategic resettlement of tribes and displaced peasants also formed an important dimension of Ottoman rural development initiatives in subsequent periods of territorial contraction. The creation of new settlements on the Upper Euphrates in the 1100s/1690s using tribes transferred from contiguous regions of Anatolia is just one example of the continuing use of surgiin in later centuries (see the study by Orhonlu cited in Bilî, and, for developments in the 19th century following territorial losses in the Balkans and Russian expansion in Crimea and the Caucasus, see mutâlîqr. 2.)

Bibliography: 1. Sources. O.L. Barkan (ed.), Kanunlar, İstanbul 1943, 272-7 (Kanunname-i liva-i Sâlîste, 274, § 8, on the tax and residence obligations of surgiin populations from Anatolia); idem (ed.), text and analysis of the surgiin hikmât sent in 960/1552 to districts of southern Anatolia to promote population transfers to Cyprus after its conquest in the previous year, İstisâat Fâkilîsî Mecmua, xi (1952), 559-60 (text transcription), 562-4 (facs. of múhtümûm document); Ibn Kêmâl, Tavarîh-i Al-i Osman. VII, defter, facs. ed. S. Turan, Ankara 1954, see esp. 290 ff. 6-8.


AL-SUWAYN›, SA’D B. ‘ALÌ BÀ MAHMUD (d. 857/1453), ‘Alawi sayyid of Hadramawt. He was the student of ‘Abd al-Rahmân B. ‘Ali as-Madhâ, the patron saint of Aden (see ‘ALAVI, d. 914/1508; see ‘AYDARIS). It was this last who was to compose the ma’likh of al-Suwaynî.

Indo-Persian term zamindar, which included also feudal rights for the zamindar [q.v.] who was in charge of it, while the ta'allukdar, originally considered as a tax farmer, was only in charge of collecting the revenue of his ta'alluk, except for a small part of it on which he had zamindari rights. For this reason, ta'allukdar ranked lower than zamindars.

From the 18th to the 20th centuries, under the late Mughals, the successor states and colonial rule, the words ta'alluk and ta'allukdar came to mean different things according to place and time. In Northern India, the ta'allukdars were men of substance who acquired hereditary and transferable rights on their ta'alluk and were barely distinguishable from the zamindars in Bengal before the British conquest, working as the subordinates of powerful zamindars, they brought large tracts of land under cultivation; in Awadh [q.v.], they collected taxes over large estates and constituted a rich feudal class of landlords whose fortunes lasted up to the end of the British period. Elsewhere, the word ta'alluk meant only a fiscal jurisdiction of varying size, equivalent to a district in the state of Haydarabad [q.v.] and only to a fraction of a village in Nepal; the office of ta'allukdar as that of tax collector died out during the British period, except for a small part of it, while the ta'allukdar bi 'l-nasab (madj_hul al-nasab), which included also feu-

Adoption as practised before the revelation of Kur'an, XXXIII, 5, 37, was plenary, entailing the same legal consequences as natural filiation (the right to inherit, etc.), and more significantly, the same prohibitions applied to marriage; the verses abrogate adoptive filiation and, explicitly, the prohibitions applying to marriage which would result from it. This is a good example, according to the Hanafi-Dhâsa, of abrogation of the aynun by the Kur'an (a theoretical remark directed against al-Shafii [q.v.], who did not agree that the Kur'an could abrogate the aynun). Muhammad intended to marry Zaynab bt. Dhâshq [q.v.], the repudiated wife of Zayd b. Hârîthah, who, if plenary adoption had remained valid, would have been absolutely forbidden to him. The marriage of Muhammad with Zaynab bt. Dhâshq would not have been legally permissible without the abrogation of plenary adoption (see al-Mawardi, al-Nakht wa l-fu'âna, Tafsir al-Mawardi, 6 vols. Beirut 1412/1992, iv, 370ff. and 405ff.).

Numerous students of Islamic Studies have seen this episode from the marital life of Muhammad as a sign of the moral weakness of the Prophet of Islam. It is true that certain 'ismam of the classical epoch had difficulty hiding their embarrassment, and it is certainly no accident that Faakhir al-Din al-Razi [q.v.] undertook to show that the marital life of the Prophet was in no way governed by his carnal appetites, with the following commentary on Kur'an, XXXIII, 37: "Here is evidence that the marital life of the Prophet (al-taqad min al-nabî) did not have the purpose of satisfying the carnal appetite of the Prophet (ka'dî shakwat al-nabî)" and on the contrary, its purpose was to render the Law explicit though hisagency.

In other words, there was nothing here other than one example among others of "clarification of the Law through the agency of the Prophet" (bayda al-Shari'a bi-fih), see al-Razi, Tafsir al-kabîr wa mafdi'uh al-ghayb, 7 vol., Beirut, n.d. (xxvi, 1981, 36). The prohibition of adoption under the terms of the revealed Law (Shari'a) is no doubt more easily understood if it is remembered that Islam regards the "natural" family, rather than the tribe, as the basis of the community (umma). From this perspective, which is that of Abrahamic monotheism in general, adoption appears as a disruptive element, confusing "incages" (nasab, pl. nasab), or the lines of "natural" filiation which reflect the familial order as willed by the Divine Legislator (see Ps., al-Shafii, Abkâm al-Kur'ân, ed. Kâthârî, 2 vols., Damasusc n.d., ii, 164).

If reference is made to the "occasion" of the Kur'anic prohibition of adoption—or the case of Zayd—"it can well be understood why, in classical doctrines, a de facto distinction is imposed between, on the one hand, the child whose genealogy is known (marjî al-nasab) and on the other, the child whose genealogy is unknown (mâshhî al-nasab), the lâfî [q.v.] ("founding"), who is the object of a specific chapter in treatises of fikh. In the second case, a recognition of paternity, with transference of the nasab (istilhâk or ikhri bi l-nasab) by the finder of the child proves possible, under certain circumstances, and even facilitated, since Muslim jurists show themselves very flexible on this point, demanding only indications of "probability" in such recognitions and not formal proof.
TABANNIN -- TABĪYYAT

(see M.S. Sujimon, *The treatment of the foundling according to the Hanafis*, in *ILS*, ix/3 [2002], 358-85). As for the possibility of passing from one known genealogy to another, it is unequivocally barred according to all legal schools. In the Muslim legal order, the creation of a genealogy *ex nihilo* thus proves easier than a change of našāb.

At the present time, only one Arab Muslim country, Tunisia, has had the audacity to contravene openly the Qur'anic prohibition of plenary adoption. In 1958, the Tunisian legislature, more aware of new social realities than others, established adoptive filiation in the full sense. It seems nevertheless that in the tribunals interpretation of statutes of adoption is often restrictive and sometimes expressly infringes the terms of the legislation in force (see L. Pruvost, *Intégration familiale...*, in *Recueil d’articles offerts à Maurice Bormans par ses collègues et amis*, Rome 1996, 155-80).

Modern and contemporary ethnology has shown that despite its theoretical prohibition, adoption used to be practised in numerous Muslim societies. Adoption in Islam probably constitutes one of those instances where custom, in the event more favourable to this institution, has been only very superficially Islamised. *Bibliography*: 1. Surveys of the classical doctrine. References given in the article: the corpus of comments on *Kurān*, XXXIII, 5, 37; and for an unusual point of view, cautiously favourable to adoption, Zamākhshārī, al-Kāshīf ‘an ḥabīl al-Ŷurūn, Beirut n.d. [1947] on *Kurān*, XXXIII, 5. Treatises of ṬabīYYaT barely mention the question of the prohibition of adoption.


In their discussion of infinity, Islamic philosophers adopted Aristotle’s definition, but they used a way to prove that infinite quantities cannot actually exist, which was first propounded by Philoponus. His proof was based on the (mistaken) idea that a part of an infinite collection cannot be infinite, for if something is smaller than infinite, it must be finite. Al-Kindi and al-Ghazālī [q.v.] used this method also to prove, against Aristotle, that time cannot be infinite, but must have a beginning. Objections against this again were raised by Ibn Sinā and Ibn Rushd. It is worth mentioning that Ṭabīb b. Kūra [q.v.] recognised that infinite collections may have parts that are also infinite; this in fact invalidates the proofs of Philoponus and his Islamic followers.

In opposition to the Aristotelian explanation of motion, that “every body that moves is moved by another body”, Islamic philosophers adopted the concept of impressed force such as conceived by Philoponus; this was further developed by Ibn Sinā and his school, and became known as *muṣ*y (‘inclination’).

Aristotle’s “law of motion”, stating that the velocity of a body moving through a medium is inversely proportional to the density of that medium, was criticised by Philoponus and subsequently Ibn Bāḏjī. Aristotle’s law implies that motion through a void (if void existed) would occur with infinite velocity, that is, any distance would be covered in no time, and this absurd consequence was an argument for Aristotle to assert the impossibility of the void. However, Philoponous and Ibn Bāḏjī stated that covering a distance always needs a finite time, even in void, if it existed, and that the effect of the presence of a medium will be that more time is needed to cover that distance.

Atomism was discussed by Ibn Sinā in a way not found in Greek philosophy, for he wrote in opposition to the atomism of the *mahāyana*, who defended atomism with their own arguments.

The discussions of meteorological phenomena [see AL-AThAR AL-ULWIYYA] are mostly based on Aristotle’s assumption that they are caused by the two exhaling, the dry one from the earth and the moist one from the water. However, in their explanation of some

“Actions and passions”, each of these sections corresponds to a work from the Aristotelian school; in fact, the section “Actions and passions” together with the next section “Meteorological phenomena” discusses the subjects from Aristotle’s *Meteorologica*.

Furthermore, Islamic philosophers such as Ibn Bāḏjī and Ibn Rushd [q.v.] wrote individual commentaries on several of Aristotle’s physical works.

It should be mentioned that the Islamic theologians (mutakallimin) also discussed subjects that fall under ṬabīYYaT, such as the structure of matter and the nature of change.

The Islamic philosophers writing on subjects of natural science remained within the framework of Aristotelian natural philosophy; they used concepts such as potentiality/actuality, matter/form, natural place and natural motion vs. non-natural place and forced motion; they adopted Aristotle’s definition of motion; and they denied the existence of the void and conceived matter as continuous, not atomic.

However, it appears that the work of Philoponous [see YAHYA AL-NAMHĪ], who opposed Aristotle in several respects, was also well studied, and that often Islamic philosophers took sides with him against Aristotle. Moreover, they often had a different way of discussing things and brought forward new arguments. A few examples follow.

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phenomena, such as precipitation, wind, earthquakes, thunder, rainbow and the climates, al-Kindî and Ibn Sînâ do not always follow Aristotle. They show an independent way of thinking and criticize Aristotle on the basis of personal observation of these phenomena.

Most of the discussions of the above-mentioned subjects remained speculative or philosophical. The discipline that is nowadays called physics also had its scholars in the period of the flourishing of Islamic science. Statics was the subject of the Kitâb al-Karâstun by Thâbit b. Kurra and Kitâb Mìzân al-ikbâna by al-Khâzînî [q.v.]. Hydrostatics and the determination of specific weights were discussed in the same book of al-Khâzînî and by al-Bîrûnî in his Maqâla fi nasb. These scholars were able to execute very precise measurements of very specific weights with their diverse instruments.

Although the work of Ibn al-Haytham [q.v.] on optics also contains much speculation, it stands out as one of the first examples of a systematic experimental investigation of the behaviour of light. This work was continued by Kamâl al-Dîn al-Fârisî as one of the first examples of a systematic experiment and in apparitions in dreams of the Prophet himself to privileged or pious persons and mystics. The second is seen in the immense oneirocritical literature in Islam (see idem, La divination arabe, 247-367). To these types of knowledge of the future a third may be added, incubation, in which a revealing angel is prompted to get in contact with the supernatural world and bring back knowledge of the future, a procedure already known from the Gilgamesh epic (J. Bottero, Les songes et leurs interpretations, Paris 1959).

From oneirocramy, said by the Prophet to be one part of prophecy, following the Talmudic tradition (Berakhot, 57b, with comm. of Maimonides, Le guide des égarés, ii, 136), to oneirocriticism, the transition was made by two simultaneous impulses from the ancient Babylonian and Hellenistic traditions. In fact, by its symbolism and its formulation, oneirocriticism showed the constant symbolism. The oneirocritic should consider all aspects of the phenomenon and give a clear, measured response. The oneirocritic should consider all aspects of the phenomenon and give a clear, measured response.

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The oneirocritic should consider all aspects of the phenomenon and give a clear, measured response.
Note must be taken of the status, age, etc. of the person involved, the conditions in which the dream has been experienced, etc. Faced with a difficulty, the oneirocritic must go back to basic principles, but if after all that, he can find no answer, he must confess this, and no-one will reproach him, since this has happened to the prophets themselves. The dreams of all classes of men must be interpreted, after a rigorous enquiry into the status, etc. of the questioner. If no progress can, however, be made, recourse must be had to one's own personal opinion. Above all, discretion is vital (al-Dtnwarf, fols. 41-3).

All the authors stress the need to have a vast knowledge of all the sciences; all branches of knowledge are useful, including mathematics, law, etymology, onomastic, literature, proverbs, the practices of the Islamic cult, etc. Nothing has changed in the ancient principles of oneirocriticism; the only differences revealed in the course of time come from the conditions of men and their preoccupations, morals and whether they prefer immediate, present gains at the expense of the Afterlife, whereas previously, religious affairs formed the main activities of men. When the Prophet's Companions dreamed of dates, they saw there the sweetness of their religion; for them, honey symbolized the delights gained for them from reading the Kur'an, whereas previously, religious affairs were useful, including mathematics, law, etymology, onomastics, literature, proverbs, the practices of the Islamic cult, etc. Nothing has changed in the ancient principles of oneirocriticism; the only differences revealed in the course of time come from the conditions of men and their preoccupations, morals and whether they prefer immediate, present gains at the expense of the Afterlife, whereas previously, religious affairs formed the main activities of men.

One should say in conclusion that, despite the efforts of the oneirocritics to furnish their art with principles and techniques, they were forced to recognize that "the interpretation of dreams remains based on analogy, relationship, comparison and probability. One cannot base a course of action, nor refer to its findings, before their accomplishment in the waking state and even before proof for it is put forward" (ibid., i, 4). In fact, wrote E. Dourett, "Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord, Algiers 1909, 407, "la pluralite des methodes, l'arbitraire avec lequel on les emploie, l'abus de symbolisme font de l'interprétation une pure fantasy et il n'est pas un songe qui ne puisse, au gre du devin, être interprete d'une facon favorable ou defavorable aux interets de son client".

Nevertheless, the severe judgements of both ancients and moderns do not reduce the considerable value of oneirocritical literature for the light it throws on psychology, sociology and mysticism. Beneath dreams, simple or incoherent, there are ambitions and ambitions and ambitions and rivalries. Whether spontaneous or fabricated, they are the vehicles for conceptions and ideas issuing from the popular milieu, one not widely revealed in other literary genres. Since the dream forms part of the life of rich and poor alike, it forms something like a screen between the dead past and the present, which can be used to reconstruct, with great precision and realism, the social life and aspirations of any given class at any fixed time.


TABRIZI, DJALAL AL-DIN, Abu i-Kasim, a saint of the Suhrawardyya [q.v.] order (date of death perhaps 642/1244; Ghulâm Svar-i Lāhawī, Khasīnāt al-asfīfī). Together with Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyāʾ [q.v.], Djālāl al-Dīn is to be counted as the founder of the order in India (Saʿīd Aṭhār Aḥḥabā Rizvī, A History of Sufism in India, New Delhi 1978, i, 130). It was his great-grandfather, Aḥḥabāb al-Dīn Tabrīzī, Djalāl al-Dīn went to Baghdād to join Abū Hāṣem Ṣumār al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [q.v.]). In accordance with the eponym of the order, as a disciple, when al-Suhrawardī was already old, Djalāl al-Dīn stayed with al-Suhrawardī for nearly a decade and he accompanied him on his annual pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina. In the company of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyāʾ who was to found a šāhīnākhī Ṣufr in Multān, Djalāl al-Dīn set out to travel to India (Djami, Naṣafi, 504). However, they separated on the way, a fact explained by legend as follows: Djalāl al-Dīn met the mystical poet Āʿtār (d. 618/1221 [q.v.]) in Nīshāpūr and was asked by him, who in Baghdād was to be included among the mystics. Impressed by the poet's spiritual presence Djalāl al-Dīn is said not to have uttered the name of al-Suhrawardī (Ciṣhtf, Mīrīāt al-asrār, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin SPK, Ms. orient. Quart. 1903, 284b). At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, during the reign of Ilhūnūs (607-33/1210-36 [q.v.]), Djalāl al-Dīn arrived in India where he was warmly welcomed by the Sultan. The Šaghpāshī-ned Ḳhādramūt Nāḏm al-Dīn, however, resented this and tried to influence the Sultan against the Śufī (Ciṣhtī, loc. cit.). An accusation was concocted and in 1228 the Sultan organised an investigation, which was presided over by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyāʾ. Though the charge was soon found to be false, Djalāl al-Dīn left Dihīl for Bādīl. There again Djalāl al-Dīn became friendly with the ruling classes, viz. the local administrator Khwādji Kāmāl al-Dīn, who enrolled his son as Djalāl al-Dīn's disciple.

Finally, Djalāl al-Dīn reached Bengal where he settled down. In recruiting followers, Djalāl al-Dīn converted many Hindus and Buddhists to Islam (Rizvī, ii, 398; Trimminger, 232). In accordance with the policy of the Suhrawardī order of supporting enforced conversion, Djalāl al-Dīn demolished, at Devatālla in northern Bengal, a large temple that a Āṭīf (Hindu or Buddhist) had erected and constructed a monastery there. In the Rīhla of Ibn Bāṭṭūṭā [q.v.], Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī is confused with Shāh Djalāl of Sylhet, one of the Bengāli warrior saints (Rizvī, i, 314). In the Kāmīrāb hills of Assam Djalāl al-Dīn was said to have been met by the Moroccan traveller (Rīhla, iv,
Two forms of tabshir are distinguished. The direct the Islamic world. Within the work of missionaries (mubashshirun), of the Bible for Grk. evangellon origin, corresponding to its usage in Arabic translations Christian missions. It seems to be a term of Christian way, al-mubashshir wa 'l-ajamil and that it is the epi-

Tehran 1978, 63). Reliable information of Muhit in the general sense of i, 208, simply has mubashshir

Curiously, and in which he is followed bi 'l-yundniyya.

Finally, the term “the West” embraces not only Europe, but also North America, especially the United States, even though colonisation activities in predominantly Muslim lands have never been directly launched, so these authors state, from the USA.

Alongside this direct, avowed missionary work, numerous authors devote—some more, perhaps, than others—an important place to the indirect form of tabghir, one that is “hidden” or “stealthy”, which, with concealed means (verbal use), reached the non-Bernardian (cultural and political) to achieve its aims indirectly. The authors who denounce this indirect missionary work connect it to two main trends, which they allege, are its main inspirers, viz. colonisation (isti'mdr) and orientalism (isti'dar).

The titles of certain works on this theme, placing tabghir in direct connection with colonisation, are revelatory enough of this fact. One may cite e.g. Muṣṭafā Khalīfī and Umar Farrūkī, whose work is often cited as a reference work on the topic, al-Tabghīr wa 'l-isti'mdr wa l-isti'ārīyāt maṣdar or verbal noun of Form II from the collec-

Christian-Roman, 1831) and the Roman Catholic (Beirut 1898) translations, where in Mark, xvi, 16, we have, however, dīnā al-bishdra without, however, the form tabghir. Tabghir does not appear in such classical dictionaries as LA and TA, and bishdra is found for the first time in Freytag's Arabic-Latin dictionary (Halle 1830-7, 1, 124) in the sense of evangellon, uncapitalised and without any connotation of the Gospel itself. Lane, Lexicon, i, 208, simply has mubashshir in the general sense of “one who announces good news”. Butrus al-Bustanī in his Maḥāla (Beirut 1867, i, 95) is the first person to give a reasoned definition, citing the expression bishdra al-inglejlī, where the origin of this neologism is explained: idfā hayyina bi-anna al-Ingilī mānuhā al-bishdra bi l-yānnīnīyya. Curiously, and in which he is followed by the author of the dictionary Abūrab al-mawṣūrāt (1889), he mentions (96) that al-tabghir means, in a general way, al-mubashshir wa l-yānnīl and that it is the epithet given to St. Luke by the Christians, tabghir Misūr al-Najārūn. Words from this root b-sh-r occur several times in the Kurān (‘Abd al-Bākī, Muqadmat al-mufāhara, Cairo 1378/[1945], 119-21), especially in the verbal forms bishdra and abshara, whose ambivalent sense can announce some good news but also, in menacing tones, the coming of bad news; mubashshir is attested in speaking, inter alios, of the Prophet, but not tabghir in regard to him. It is impossible to discuss here the innumerable books and articles devoted directly or indirectly to tabghir, in Arabic. For representatives of the Arabic of the mediaeval period will be given. The enquiry ought, however, to be extended beyond the Arab to the wider Islamic world, notably to India and Indonesia.

Reading these works, one notes that, at different levels, the authors treat various aspects of the subject. Two forms of tabghir are distinguished. The direct one is an effort by churches and missionaries in the strict sense, mubashshirān, to announce to Muslims the Christian “good news”. It involves, then, an individual or collective enterprise of the Christians, openly pro-

claimed. Distinguished from it is a more radical notion, sometimes confused with the first, envisaging directly “conversion” or more precisely, Christianisation, tāṣir, a masdar or verbal noun of Form II from the collec-

tive designation of Christians, al-Naḥḍa [q.v.], traditional among the Muslims.

The tabghir in these works can denote proselytisation aimed directly at Muslims but equally, and frequently, aimed at whole populations, as in Black Africa or amongst certain ethnic minorities not connected with Judaism or Islam, as in the Sudan, in Chad or elsewhere. These Christian missionary activities, openly declared, have for the most part their origins in Western, traditionally Christian—Catholic or Protestant—countries, but do not stem, above all in the Near East, from the churches or members of the Eastern Christian churches, present in that region for two millennia. However, according to authorities consulted, certain members of these local churches may have been involved in the missionary activities, tabghirāyā, of missionaries of Western origin. Finally, the term “the West” embraces not only Europe, but also North America, especially the United States, even though colonisation activities in predominantly Muslim lands have never been directly launched, so these authors state, from the USA.

Alongside this direct, avowed missionary work, numerous authors devote—some more, perhaps, than others—an important place to the indirect form of tabghir, one that is “hidden” or “stealthy”, which, with concealed means (verbal use), reached the non-Bernardian (cultural and political) to achieve its aims indirectly. The authors who denounce this indirect missionary work connect it to two main trends, which they allege, are its main inspirers, viz. colonisation (isti'mdr) and orientalism (isti'dar).
the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, admittedly without recourse to the term tabshir, e.g. in the commentary of the Manār [see al-Manār] on sura V, 82. Also attacked are the endeavours of these establishments to promote or to favour various forms of bilingualism or trilingualism to the detriment of the two religions.

Certain authors go even further and argue that these missionary enterprises find agents ('umāda) to aid them within the heart of the Arabic and Islamic worlds themselves, and they cite in particular passages from the famous work of Tāhā Haṣyan [q.v.], Mustakhbal al-ṭabakṭa fi Miṣr, or that of Kaṣim Amin [q.v.], al-Ma'ār al-dgadla (see 'Abd al-'Azzīn al-Murtada, al-Tabshir al-ṭabīmadd al-Īlām, al-ḍabāhūna, wasul-ṭāhūna, tarukūhū, muwādghāhū, Miṣr al-Djadida 1992, 37 ff.).

Orientalism, istishrāk, is often mentioned and denounced as one of the indirect means of tabshir. Without always avoiding a facile juxtaposition, but with some persons recognising the positive aspects of istishrāk, this link between the two notions brought together in this fashion often goes on to an analysis of the "religious and missionary impulse" of the orientalist's activities, al-dāljī al-dānī al-ṭabakṭī (see Sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Sultān, Min wawer al-ghzawet al-fikryt 1 'Īlām al-ṭabīmadd al-istishrāk al-inšāyiyya, Cairo 1990, 166).

One may conclude this summary sketch with some reflections. The first is that this idea of tabshir and the positions taken up by those involved with it, should be placed in a much wider and more ancient context, often far from eirenic, of Islamo-Christian relations in general, and, since the end of the 19th century, of relations between Islam and the West, regarded as an emanation of and as being representative of Christianity. On the more particular level of the basic choices of the two religions regarding tabshir, one may refer to the opinions of 'Abd al-Ḥaḍīr al-Shuwayrī, Aftāh al-istishrāk: was-ṣayf muwādghāhū, in Dhrāhār al-Īlām, vi /1 (Tunis 1973).

One may conclude this summary sketch with some reflections. The first is that this idea of tabshir and the positions taken up by those involved with it, should be placed in a much wider and more ancient context, often far from eirenic, of Islamo-Christian relations in general, and, since the end of the 19th century, of relations between Islam and the West, regarded as an emanation of and as being representative of Christianity. On the more particular level of the basic choices of the two religions regarding tabshir, one may add that these two religions see themselves equally, although employing differing means, as faiths dealing with universal final ends, bearers of a message meant to aid umuld of the two religions. For men of all places and ages, a message which can be placed in a much wider and more ancient context.

Information about his family and education is limited. Reşdfī-zade Ekrem [q.v.] reports that Tāhir Beg's mother looked after his older son. It is known that when he was working as a reporter at Therwet, the newspaper published in Turkish by Dimitraki Nikolaidi [q.v.] and caused to be suppressed for 40 days and its owner and editor, Redja'T-zade Ekrem [q.v.], was awarded various medals and decorations by the Sultan. In 1901, together with Dr. M. Pasha, he produce spurious decorations and sold them, especially to foreigners. In addition, he printed publications close to him, and he published those names in his printing-house, from the fact that he introduced Ahmed Rasim lākab (Baba Tdhir] is given as an example for such situations.


TĀHIR BEG. MERMED, late Orientalist, publisher, and owner of journals, newspapers, and a printing-house in Istanbul (1864-1912). He was one of the journalists and publishers who were supported by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II, being awarded various medals and decorations by the Sultan.
When his offences were revealed, he was arrested, tried and in 1903 sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. But, only after five years, benefiting from the amnesty declared after the Meşrutiyet in 1908, he returned to Istanbul. He was then kept under surveillance by the police authorities and not permitted to publish his magazines. Having been involved in the incident of 31 March 1325/13 April 1909, he was exiled to Tripoli, but after a while escaped from there to Naples and then to Paris. In both places he established businesses, but these failed. From the fact that A.I. Tokgoz's article on his death is dated 16 February 1912, it appears that he died at the beginning of that month in Paris.

He published five journals and newspapers: Bahir (1299/1398, 19 issues, fortnightly), Theter (1314-18/1898-1903, 2088 issues, daily), Ikir (1315-19/1899-1904, 251 issues, weekly), Mevlumdat (1311-18/1895-1903, journal-newspaper, 2443 issues, weekly-daily) and Musawwar Fenn ve Edebi (1315-19/1899-1903, 222 issues, weekly). Initially 48 issues of the Mevlumdat were published by the Artin Asadoryan Press weekly (1309-11/1894-5). Mevlumdat, with its writers and contents, filled an important gap during the period when it was published. Since it attracted attention through photographs and illustrations, it was also known as the Musawwar Mevlumdat. The journal was distributed throughout the Ottoman lands, Persia and Russia. It was also printed locally in Filibe (Çeşme) under the title Aفكر ل شکریه پدلی' Edu'd Edén Mevlumdat (1314/1896). Readers' letters sent from places like Cyprus, the Mediterranean shores, the Aegean Islands, Algeria and Egypt, show the extent of the domain where it was being read. Some of its issues were in Arabic and Persian, and it had supplements on diverse themes (Matbuat al-muğaffal Mevlumdat, İhlas-ı Mevlumdat, etc.). The journals Mevlumdat and Theter-i Fımn were always in a state of rivalry, but while Theter-i Fımn was the journal supporting modern literature, Mevlumdat was the journal of supporters of a more moderate line (mutawahfid) in literature.

Apart from these, Tahir Beg also published books at his printing-house. According to Seyfettin Özege's catalogue, 95 books were printed at the Matbuat-i Tahir Beg between the years 1311-19/1895-1903. Among these, books were printed in three languages: in Turkish-Arabic-French or in Persian-Turkish-French. Moreover, it is known that some French books were also printed by him. Some of the books have the name of the series Mevlumdat Kütüphanesi or Tahir Beg Kütüphanesi and the publisher's name as Mevlumdat ve Theter gazeteleri şehib-i imtiyaz es-Seyyid Mehmed Tahir. In the books, the name of the printing-house is given as Mevlumdat-i Tahir Beg, Tahir Beg Matbuat-i, Tahir Beg, in Turkish-Arabic, in Persian-Turkish and in French. The relation with Tahir Beg's printing-house of the 20 books that appeared in Seyfettin Özege's catalogue as having been printed at the Mevlumdat Matbuat-i between 1311-17/1894-1901, is a matter which still needs to be examined. Tahir Beg had received the privilege of printing official documents at his printing-house during the period when the Matbuat-i 'Amire was closed.


**TAKALİD** (a.), pl. of the masdar or verbal noun takalîd, the Form II verb takala'd having the meaning, inter alia, "to mimic, imitate" (for takalîd in its legal and theological context, see the art. s.v.), is used in Arabic today for the ensemble of inherited folk traditions and practices, popular customs and manners, and folklore in general, although the loanword from English takalîd is often used, especially for the discipline and its study at large. In recent years also, the term al-turâdîd al-sâhîd "folk inheritance" is being used to denote the common Arabic heritage of popular culture.

According to the common definition of the term "folklore," it denotes the cultural popular traditions which are passed on from generation to generation and their study. Folklore may be divided into five main categories: (1) Oral traditions: folktales, legends, myths, fables, riddles, jokes; popular poems, common expressions, expletives and oaths; (2) Written materials: proverbs, amulets and talismans; (3) Traditional practices: food and drinks, clothes, embroidery, cosmetics, jewellery, household tools and furniture; popular medicine, witchcraft; customs and manners; (4) Beliefs and superstitions; and (5) Popular art: popular theatre, songs, dances, musical instruments, paintings, drawings and sculpting.

1. In the Arab world.

Although descriptions of popular traditions and customs among Arabs, mainly the Bedouin, appear already in early Arabic literature, and, in particular, within travel literature, serious discussion of Arab folklore only started in the 19th century with the appearance of works such as E.W. Lane's (1801-76) *A Thousand and One Nights*. As account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians (1836). However, research of this field was not very common until the second half of the 20th century. This omission is clearly illustrated by Ahmad Amîn (1878-1954) in the introduction to his *Kûnûs al-‘âdâd wa l-takálid wa l-turâdîd al-mas’ala* (Cairo 1953) in which he says: "I sincerely believe that historians have deliberately neglected popular aspects in their books of history, showing off their aristocracy, although popular literature, in many respects, is not of less importance than the literary Arabic language and literature. . . . It is quite possible that some aristocratic scholars will look askance and be bewildered as to how an academic professor degrades himself by recording manners and popular expressions which concern the populace" (pp. II-III).

This attitude among Arab scholars towards their popular heritage in the past resembles their attitude towards the study of Arabic dialects, which also won recognition as a discipline with investigating only during the second half of the 20th century after the appearance of works by non-Arab scholars who valued both Arab heritage and Arabic dialects and consequently published extensively on both subjects.

Oral traditions have been known for genera-
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The genre of folk tales is represented by Kādīla wa-Dīmna [q.v.] attributed to the Indian philosopher Bidpai (4th century B.C.) and rendered into Arabic by Ibn al-Muṣaffā (721-57 [q.v.]). Another genre is that of amusing anecdotes [naqdīri, mulāḥ], e.g. the funny stories of Ǧūdā [q.v.]. (Turkish: Nāṣīr al-Dīn Khodja [q.v.]), about whose real existence or non-existence scholars are divided. It is mainly the Bedouin and the inhabitants of rural areas around the Middle East who still continue with the long tradition of story-telling which, together with riddles [ḥazzūrāt wa-haydīr], and jokes [nukhār], are the most common and basic forms of entertainment. Several collections have been published and new editions continue to appear, sometimes offering the reader different versions of the same story or anecdote.

Another important genre which has been very popular from old times are poems composed by professional or amateur poets to commemorate a special occasion or event, such as parties in honour of a person, weddings, eulogies or obituary speeches. Although these poems usually take the form of the Arabic ǧāṣīda [q.v.], which is composed in literary Arabic, some are recited in colloquial or something resembling Middle Arabic, similar to common songs which are performed on such occasions.

So far as common expressions, expletives and oaths concerned, they are usually associated with special situations and circumstances or etiquette, such as weddings, the birth of a child, bereavement, etc., which are often connected with local customs. These are usually recorded in the various dialect dictionaries. What most of them, however, have in common is the fact that many of them contain the word Allāh, including the commonest expression used for encouragement and urging: yālla [in the name of God], and the word ʿaddīla (by God), used customarily to express astonishment or as an oath. Other common words used as oaths are wa-ḥṣāb rahnū (by God), wa ʿl-nabi (by the Prophet), wa-ḥṣālbīt wa-ḥṣālbītak (by my/your life), wa-ḥṣālbīt niṣātīr-sīrat (by my/your head), wa-ḥṣālbīt wa-ladi (by my children), wa-ḥṣālbīt ruha (by my life). The word ṣūr (by my father/mother), ṣūr wa-ḥṣālbīt (by my honour) and ṣūrbīt bi ʿl-talak (I swear I will divorce my wife). Common expressions often used are: e.g. when a person sneezes, people say to him rahimuka allāh (may God have mercy upon you), or simply ṣūr (may you live long), and when a person leaves, others wish him Allāh maʿāk (may God be with you). The word mahbrak is the commonest wish to congratulate people on such occasions, and is usually expressed as an open hand called iḥār (in Arabic, similar to common songs which are performed on such occasions).

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As one of the earliest and most common-positions in prose, even though some of them are based on Arabic poetry. The thousands of proverbs found in Arabic demonstrate the important role they play in writing and in daily discourse. Moreover, as many proverbs depict a situation or give advice or warning, it is customary among Arabic speakers or writers to use them in order to illustrate their speech/written work to draw conclusions of a comparable situation. Old collections of Arabic proverbs, such as that of al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124 [q.v.]), are constantly being reprinted while new collections of proverbs, arranged by countries, continue to appear.

Amulets and talismans (tammāt, rukāyāt, ṭaḍīd, talīsām, ṣahten, ḍūnūb) are very popular, especially in rural areas [see RUKYA; TAMIMA]. Many of these are meant to protect the bearer against the evil eye [see ʿAYN], bring blessing and prosperity, speed the recovery from an illness or bring good luck in general. The most popular amulet is the one in the shape of an open hand called ʾkhamsa, i.e. "five," referring to the five fingers of the hand, which are meant "to stop" bad luck or envy. The amulet may be a copy of the Kurʾān, a few verses from it or brief statements such as: ʾyn al-hāsād bi tāʿūl (May the eye of the one who envies never prevail) or ʾyn al-hāsād fihd ʾrūd (The eye of the one who envies will have a piece of wood in it), but may also be simple blue beads, a piece of blue cloth (since the eyes of the devil are believed to be blue), leaves or flowers of certain plants and even a pinch of salt. It is customary to give such amulets to children or hang them at home, in the car, at work and even on animals. There are also talismans which are written in a code or contain numerals and other symbols which are only known to the writer. Moreover, although the traditional rosary, commonly used by men [mīshūjā], is more associated with a ritual based on the custom of mentioning on every occasion God's Most Beautiful Names (al-asmāʾ al-husnāt [q.v.]), it may also be regarded as a kind of talisman.

Traditional practices vary from region to region and from one society to another. That is to say, daily practices of the urban society may differ from those of the rural one in the same way that they may be different between one Arab country and another and between sedentary and nomad society. Hence, what, for example, is generally known in the West as Oriental cuisine may have different recipes, names of ingredients and occasions for their consumption. Thus harīsā is the term for a dish of meat and bulgur, but in Egypt it refers to a sweet pastry made of flour, melted butter and sugar (see Wehr, under harīsā). Bread is called in Syro-Palestine ḍābūz, whereas in Egypt it is called ṣūr (which has the same meaning as "life"). Fresh of lamb (ḥāfar) is usually consumed in festivals such as Ramāḍān and the two ʿĪds, as well as sweets (halaqāt) such as karfā, bakkāla, ḍhawiqba and muḥānāt. Sweets, mainly for children, as such ʿgāzī al-banāt ("girls' spinning") are also popular on special occasions. Incidentally, the ingredients used for these dishes or the method of their preparation may differ from one region to another. Traditional food served in family celebrations such as weddings, birth of a child or bereavement may also vary in accordance with the local customs, except for bereavements when sweet dishes are normally avoided.

Coffee (kowās [q.v.]) and tea (ḥālī) [see ČAY] are the most popular drinks all around the Middle East. Black coffee, usually with cardamon (ḥīl), may be served with sugar (madbūṭ) or without (ṣūda) in small cups, after being boiled a few times, first without
sugar and then with. Tea is always strong and very sweet and is usually served with mint leaves (nālūd). The popularity of coffee has, over the years, given rise to a whole ethos: it is offered to guests, and in addition, to mark reaching an agreement concerning engagement, transactions or settlement of feud. It is also customary to offer bitter coffee in the house of a bereaved family to people who have come to express their condolences. Several customs are current in various areas which are associated with coffee drinking, such as, shaking the cup to indicate that no more coffee is wanted or using the word dāymān or al-kahwe dāyme ("always"), i.e. may coffee always be in this house) to thank the host after finishing drinking, or the word tūmir (lit. fully inhabited, i.e. may this house never again suffer the loss of any of its members), when finishing drinking coffee in a house of a bereaved family. The third cup of coffee, when offered to a guest, may symbolise, in some areas, a start of enmity or it may politely hint that the meeting is over and that the guest is expected to leave. Telling the fate or it may politely hint that the meeting is over and that the guest is expected to leave. Telling the fate.Telling the fate.

Finally, drinking coffee in cafés while smoking a hookah (āfīlā, nāfīlā or dājhī, and reading or chatting with friends is another daily popular custom for one’s leisure.

Traditional Arab clothes vary: upper and middle class urban citizens are increasingly wearing western clothes, while the lower class males among the fellahin and the Bedouin usually wear the gullahīyya, gūlāb, kasfān, kūmbāz (or kūmbāz), 'ābā' (or 'ābīya), ḍūḥa, ḍūḥahā: smūd (or gurūd) and cover their heads with the kūffā and 'ākdāl, tāfīya (cap) or lājfe (lap kerchief). Few men wear today the lāhābā (or fīx) or nūrīyya, while the European bānīla is hardly seen. Often a combination of the ordinary European bāndālun (trousers), hāmīs (shirt) and ḍūkhā (jacket) are worn, while the head is covered with a kūffā and 'ākdāl. Religious leaders, orthodox people or teachers at rural schools, however, still cover their heads with a lajfe or 'īmāma (Turban). Most women who belong to the upper and middle classes normally wear European dresses (fusīnā) or suits (tājdīm), while those who belong to the lower class usually wear the traditional mitāla and cover their head with a ṣīfīla. In strict Muslim society, only married women cover their faces with a veil (bānīla, līqām, tārha or yāshmak). It is worth mentioning that both sexes of the upper and middle classes often wear traditional clothes at home and on special occasions. The traditional clothes, in general, are embroidered and often made in deep colours [see further, lūkās].

Traditional jewellery is still worn by women, and is mainly made of gold or silver. Diamonds may be worn by women of means, while the middle and lower classes wear various precious and cheap stones. It is often customary for a woman to wear several necklaces, bracelets, earrings and rings, and Bedouin women wear in addition nose rings and anklets. Many of these are made of coloured beads or old coins that are no longer in circulation. The names of women’s jewellery differ from area to area. Men adorn themselves mainly with rings, gold watch and ornamented daggers, whereas some women and men, especially Bedouin, have in addition various tattoos [see wāṣmiq]. The most popular make-up, which is also associated with good luck and used against the evil eye, is henna [see ṭarnāq], used mainly by women though many men also use it. Henna constitutes part of the wedding ceremony preparations all around the Middle East.

Traditional household tools, furniture, fixtures and fittings are still in use especially in rural regions and by the lower class. They vary from one area to another and have different names. Thus one rural may find in the kitchen the traditional hādūn or ḍāmūn (mortar) used for grinding coffee and spices; bālābāq or dāla'a (coffee pot), ḍūfīn (coffee cup) and many more articles. The same applies to traditional furniture which often has names of non-Arabic origin, e.g. māwīyya (furniture), ḍūkkā (sofa-like bench), tāwāa (table), bargā (curtain), lamba (lamp).

Popular medicine is still practised in rural areas and by some Bedouin tribes, and even the urban and the higher classes often resort to traditional methods for curing less complicated illnesses. Various herbs, fruit, oil and special liquids may be used as medications. Thus onion drops are still used in Egypt against trachoma and watermelon seeds are prescribed for high blood pressure. Smallpox may be treated by burning dung near the sick child. Fig juice is used against corns or calluses, while burning or cauterising the skin against pain, fear and paralysis is believed to alleviate suffering.

Witchcraft and magic are used for three main purposes: to avert the evil eye, to cure illnesses and to regain the affections of the husband. The first involves various customs such as writing on a piece of paper the name of the person who is believed to have put the evil eye on one, then setting it on fire while pouring salt on it and reciting some formulae that basically wish the person total destruction or blindness. The second witchcraft practice mainly involves the use of talismans or "blessed" objects or plants prepared usually by older people known for their piety [see ṭūsāg], and the third, which is called ḍaḥāgha, denotes a ritual mostly current in Egypt in which a woman casts a spell by beating her genitals with a slipper while pronouncing a magic formula to jinx an inattentive husband or a female rival. (See Hinds-Badawi, under ḍub-ḥub-b.)

Customs and manners. Since the Arabs themselves often describe their society as devout, emotional and fatalist, it is not surprising that scores of customs and manners are current within the Arab world, making the discussion of even a fraction of them an impossible task within the present article. Moreover, the diversity and heterogeneity of Arab society with its long history and contacts with other cultures (e.g. Persian and Turkish) prevent any attempt at formulating a monolithic ethos.

Among the characteristics typical of the Arabs is hospitality, generosity and strong commitment to the family and tribe. Hence most of the customs and manners current among Arab society revolve around those. Moreover, the general attitude towards life and death is of resignation to fate. Hence it is customary to accept happiness and tragedy with the same dictum, expressing praise to God (ḥamdāla) and bearing in mind that, in the case of death, the deceased will eventually reach a better world.

Many customs are mentioned in the Ḥadīth literature as practices attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, hence are sunn which should obviously be adhered to by all Muslims. For example, customs concerning hygiene, such as bathing or the need to clean the teeth (sawādāl) with a toothpick (sawādāl or sawāl [see miswāk]), or food. Eating "procedures" include washing the hands before and after the meal; saying the basmālā before starting; encouraging the guest to eat more. Satiety is indicated by leaving some food on
the plate (in some communities, satiety is indicated by burping), and wishing the host that his table will always be full (al-sufrā dāyūm), or wishing the lady of the house that her hands will be protected by God (tislam/yislamu or yesائل التّ altura).

Many customs recorded by classical Arabic literature, not only suggest that the Arabs paid considerable attention to good manners but that some of these older customs are still current in the society. For example, the custom of holding food with the right hand and with three fingers is mentioned by Djalal al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505), who explains that using one finger in order to hold the food is abominated, and that using the plate (in some communities, satiety is indicated by gorging 182).

Most of them concern family life, e.g. a husband and wife may address each other in front of other people as (the father abu . . .). One finger in order to hold the food is abominated, and using the plate (in some communities, satiety is indicated by gorging 182).

Another custom aiming at the propagation of pleasure (nīdh al-mutatt), which contained a talisman, is still widespread in the region. It also appears in a number of folk-tales which aim at warning recalcitrant children.

Beliefs and superstitions and some customs associated with them are very common in Arab society. The most popular are a strong belief in the devil (al-Shayṭān see SHAYTAN), who has several names and epithets in the Kurʾān and other Muslim literature, such as (al-Shayṭān), (the respected), (the name of Allah on him) when speaking of or looking at a child.

A strong belief in luck and fortune is also common. Hence the family who has suffered a disaster may resort to using amulets, pray and give money to charity and even go to live elsewhere. In some areas, the days of the week are either good or bad. Hence they may influence actions. Thus Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are regarded as "good" days while the other days are usually "bad". This division may differ from area to area. The eclipse of the sun and the moon (see xustar) indicate bad luck. Hence it is customary that when an eclipse occurs, people pray to God to save the world. Some believe that in the case of the eclipse of the moon, it has in fact been swallowed up by a big whale or leviathan (ḥūb) and therefore people should pray to God calling on him to "let it go". Strong belief in the good luck brought by the first customer (istifādā), makes a shopkeeper do anything to persuade the first customer to buy something, even at a loss. Moreover, it is customary for a shopkeeper to open his business in the morning, reciting a short dictum consisting of four of the Most Beautiful Names of God (see above): yā fattāh yā ’alīm yā razzāk yā kamīn in which he invokes God that the day will be profitable.

Many beliefs are well known from the time of the Ḥāshilaya [q.v.], some of which are still current, e.g. the belief associated with the flight of birds, called (exorcism) is particularly popular in Egypt. Examples are: dreaming of a snake symbolises a long life, probably because a snake is an old symbol for cure, and also the word "snake" (ḥāpy) shares the same root as that of for "living", life (ḥāpy/hāyā); dreaming of water or oil portends imminent disaster, whereas dreaming of a donkey bodes the receipt of a present.

Customs associated with the belief in saints (awliyā’ see WALI) are also current in the Middle East. The waḍi is usually the patron of the area whose grave is visited mainly on special dates (maṣaʿalā) or in certain seasons. This usually involves rituals around the tomb in which people pray and place their requests, e.g. for a cure for an illness, for becoming pregnant, for finding a husband, etc. Among the famous saints are al-Sayyid al-Badawi and al-Sayyida Zaynab in Egypt.
and al-Nabi Shu'ayb in Israel. Many other tombs of famous pious personalities which are visited regularly (ziyāra [q.v.]) are the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina, the tombs of the Patriarchs in Hebron and some of the prophets who are mentioned in the Qurʾān, as well as other local saints (some of whom were famous Sufis or muṣārātīs, traditional clowns or mu'allṣātāt, or even famous belly-dancing performed usually by one woman (called in the past ghāzīyya, but today usually called rakākāt) in nightclubs or at weddings is still very popular. Traditional musical instruments used in all these performances include string instruments such as the rabāb (one/two-string violin), taq (lute), hāmn (psaltery) and kamaqma (violin). Wind instruments include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the mizmūr, mizmūr turki, arqūl, andy(e), shabdaḫa and include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the famous oriental belly-dancing performed usually by one woman (called in the past ghāzīyya, but today usually called rakākāt) in nightclubs or at weddings is still very popular. Traditional musical instruments used in all these performances include string instruments such as the rabāb (one/two-string violin), taq (lute), hāmn (psaltery) and kamaqma (violin). Wind instruments include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the mizmūr, mizmūr turki, arqūl, andy(e), shabdaḫa and include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the famous oriental belly-dancing performed usually by one woman (called in the past ghāzīyya, but today usually called rakākāt) in nightclubs or at weddings is still very popular. Traditional musical instruments used in all these performances include string instruments such as the rabāb (one/two-string violin), taq (lute), hāmn (psaltery) and kamaqma (violin). Wind instruments include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the mizmūr, mizmūr turki, arqūl, andy(e), shabdaḫa and include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the famous oriental belly-dancing performed usually by one woman (called in the past ghāzīyya, but today usually called rakākāt) in nightclubs or at weddings is still very popular. Traditional musical instruments used in all these performances include string instruments such as the rabāb (one/two-string violin), taq (lute), hāmn (psaltery) and kamaqma (violin). Wind instruments include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the mizmūr, mizmūr turki, arqūl, andy(e), shabdaḫa and include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the famous oriental belly-dancing performed usually by one woman (called in the past ghāzīyya, but today usually called rakākāt) in nightclubs or at weddings is still very popular. Traditional musical instruments used in all these performances include string instruments such as the rabāb (one/two-string violin), taq (lute), hāmn (psaltery) and kamaqma (violin). Wind instruments include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the mizmūr, mizmūr turki, arqūl, andy(e), shabdaḫa and include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the famous oriental belly-dancing performed usually by one woman (called in the past ghāzīyya, but today usually called rakākāt) in nightclubs or at weddings is still very popular.

2. In Persia.

The term “folklore”, which has been accepted in Persian as well as in a number of other Middle Eastern languages, was first proposed by William John Thorns (1803-85). In a letter to the Athenaeum 22 August 1846, Thorns, writing under the pseudonym Ambrose Mer-ton, proposed that the term “folklore” be adopted in place of the more cumbersome “Popular Antiquities”, or “Popular Literature”, to describe “the Lore of the People, . . . their manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, etc. of the olden time” (A. SHIVTIEL). Their suggestion gained acceptance within a year of its proposal, and the term refers not only to rural but also to urban “lore” these days. However, the debate concerning the exact definition of the term “folklore” rages on. The general atmosphere of ambiguity that surrounds this word may be deduced from the decision of the editors of the standard Dictionary of folklore, mythology, and legend (1949) to include no less than twenty-one definitions of it (s.v. Folklore). Driven by the kind of nationalist zeal that propels many Muslim scholars to coin and use native words in place of foreign vocabulary, indigenous Persian scholars have proposed a bewildering variety of terms to denote “folklore”. Some of these are: farhang-i mar- dam literally “people’s culture”, farhang-i ‘amma, farhang-i tâd “culture of the masses”, ab-khod, mîr, bidwârdâ’iyyâ-yi ‘amma (or ‘awwârn or ‘awwârnî-yâna or mar-dam or tâd), “beliefs, customs, notions of the general public (or common folk, masses)”. Whereas the words ‘amma and folk are clearly used in contradistinction to khânr “the elite”, and are more innocuous, the form tâd “masses” (cf. bi-h-i tâd “the Communist Party”) has ideological associations of a leftist nature because many of the intellectuals who began the systematic study of Persian folklore were inspired by socialist or communist ideologies. Be that as it may, of these, the term farhang-i mar-dam, a literal
Persian translation of the English "folklore", is probably the most widely accepted. However, the loan word "folklore", spelled folklore in Persian, continues to be used side-by-side with it and there may even be a movement toward its adoption in specialized publications. This is signalled not only by the early uses of it, its Persian plural folkloreh and its adjectival form folklori (Kāfrāt 1357/1978, 93, 135, 138) but also by the fact that the word folklore is used interchangeably with farhang-i mardam in the first two issues of the Iranian Folklore Quarterly in Spring 2002 (i, 7-8, 9-16; ii, 43, 132).

Scholarship on Persian folklore, which is concentrated chiefly on verbal lore, may be divided into two groups. The second, conducted by Iranians, and that which is undertaken by Westerners. Although the Persian study of folklore is typically traced to the Aḥa Ḍamārī Khānsārī’s (d. ca. 1121-5/1709-13) satirical treatise on superstitions of the Isfahanī women, which was entitled Kūltūm-nāma (for an edition see Kāfrāt 1349/1970), this appearance attributes unreasonable. Khānsārī intended to ridicule these women’s beliefs as a way of combating superstition; he was neither trying to collect folklore nor present an accurate account of his time. By the same token, attributing folklore collection activity to Persian novelists (e.g., Sādik Čubak, or even Ğamālāzada), who happen to use a significant number of “folksy” expressions in their writing as a matter of style, would be stretching the point.

Although brief collections of Persian folk expressions, beliefs and especially proverbs are scattered throughout Persian and Arabic literatures, none may be called systematic until the appearance of Dīkhūda’s (1297-1375/1879-1955) four-volume Anthology of Persian Proverbs and Dicta (i, 1308-11/1929-32). Dīkhūda’s collection is, however, no more than an alphabetical list of literary and folk proverbs, which rarely provides contextual information. The systematic collection of Persian folklore had to await the attentions of Sādik Hīdayat (1281-1330 š./1902-51), who, inspired by Arnold van Gennep’s (1873-1957) classificatory system, published several tales, folk songs and collections of Persian folklore between the years 1310/1931 and 1324/1945 (e.g., Dīkhūda 1312-5 and 1344/1965, 447-83). Of these, the two volumes, šārūm “faitytales”, and nīrangīstān (a title adopted from a Middle Persian treatise on counter-magical incantations), published respectively in 1310/1931 and 1312/1933, are the most extensive. Hīdayat later published two articles on folklore and the method of its collection, the methodological aspects of which were inspired by Pierre Saintyve’s (1870-1935) Manuel de folklore (1936). These essays later inspired the work of the most important Persian collector of folklore, Aḥa Ḥ-Kāṣim Indjawi (d. 1993), who in the spring of 1340/1961 began a radio programme that aimed to collect folklore data by direct appeal to its listeners, who were also provided with training as well as with supplies (e.g., paper, forms, pencils). Indjawi’s appeals generated an enormous public response. Soon a flood of data from his listeners began to come in, and he was thus able to amass a vast archive of Persian folklore data, some of which he published in a series called Gāndjina-yi farhang-i mardam (“the treasury of folklore”; see Indjawi 1352 š./1973, 1352-5 š./1973-7). This massive archive, that represented some two decades of systematic collection, contained some 120,000 folklore texts, hundreds of objects, 3,000 documents of cultural history, thousands of phonograph recordings, cassettes, films, videos and over 2000 photos (Dâlwand, 1377/1998, 3-4). This material was preserved in the Markaz-i farhang-i mardam (Folklore Centre).

Since the 1970s, folklore had enjoyed significant backing from the royal family and other wealthy organisations. During this period, folklore research was promoted and even an international congress on folklore was held in Isfahān in the summer of 1977 (for an excellent summary, see Marzolph, art. Folklore studies, in EIr). Folklore studies fared poorly after the Islamic Revolution of 1979-9. Folklore was viewed as promoting superstitions and even pagan beliefs, and most funding for it came to a halt. In spite of this, the Folklore Centre continued an anaemic existence until the early 1980s when Indjawi’s radio programme was discontinued. The discontinuation of the programme not only brought the process of collection to a virtual halt but also signalled the final fall of folklore from grace. Much of the holdings of the Persian folklore archives, especially its audio-visual collection, was unceremoniously dispersed among other centres or was sent to storage. Only some written documents, especially texts that were submitted by the public, were allowed to remain at the archives of the Folklore Centre. Most of these texts were placed under the control of the Islamic Republic’s broadcasting agency (şadd u simā-yi ġumār-hā-yi islāmī).

This unfortunate situation continued until 1374/ 1995, when following a speech by the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran in which dangers of assimilation to Western culture were pointed out and Iranians were called back to their native cultural values, folklore studies were revived. This new interest in folklore has led to attempts that seek to impose some order on the chaotic mass of the existing folklore data in Iran. R.S. Boggs’ art. “Types and classifications” in the Dictionary of folklore, mythology and legend has been used as a guide in an experimental effort to classify this material (Dâlwand 1377/1998). Folklore publication and research continues, and a number of important Western studies on folklore have been translated (e.g. Propp 1368 š./1989, 1371 š./1992).

The earliest European interest in Persian folklore came about as a result of the British and Russian political interests in the Persian-speaking world. Alexander Chodzko (1804-91), Valentin Zhukovski (1858-1918), D.C. Philot (1860-1930), D.L.R. Lorimer (1876-1962), B. Nikitin (1883-1960), L.P. Ewell-Sutton (1912-84) and above all the French Persianist Henri Massé (1886-1969), made significant contributions to Persian folklore studies (see Chodzko 1842; Christensen 1875-1945 and the French Persianist Henri Massé (1886-1969), made significant contributions to Persian folklore studies (see Chodzko 1842; Christensen 1875-1945, 1938; Lorimer 1919; Massé 1938; Nikitin 1922; Philot 1905-7; Zhukovski 1902; cf. also Radhnyapterian 1973-4, and Marzolph, art. “Folklore” in TAKALĪD, Massé drew on the resources of his Iranian connections to collect and publish the most extensive body of Persian folklore of his time. He worried about the disappearance of the rural Iranian folklore as a result of rapid modernisation (Massé 1938, i, 13). Therefore, early in the 1920s, he embarked on a research trip to Persia in order to collect Persian rural folklore. Interestingly enough, his data came almost exclusively from city dwellers. Religious and ethnic minorities such as Zoroastrians, Armenians and Jews were intentionally excluded (i, 16). In spite of his concern for the endangered rural tradition he accordingly finished his work in 1925 and returned to France where he died in 1938.
folklore; the best study in depth on the history of Persian folklore is Ulrich Marzolph, who of the subject in EIr.

...
according to His will". As a religious concept in Islam, takwā, as will be seen below, has definite extra-Islamic resonances.

William Law's two principles of "fear of God" and "abstinence" from all ungodly affairs are found, in fact, in the earliest work in Persian on Sufism: the Sharḥ-i Ta'arruf by Abū Ibrāhīm Mustamīl Bukhārāʾī (d. 1042/1632), where takwā is described as having "two principles: fear and abstention. Thus the devotee's attitude of takwā towards God has two senses: either fear of chastisement (šābāb) or fear of separation (fiṭrāt)." The attitude of fear generates observance of the commandments of God, while "fear of separation" means that "the devotee is content with nothing less than God, and does not find ease in anything beside Him" (from the anonymous Miftah-i Sharḥ-i Ta'arruf, ed. A. Rājdī, Tehran 1349 A.H./1970, 294, an 8th/14th-century summary of this work). In an almost identical definition by the great Kubrawi master Muḥammad Lāhīdji (d. 912/1507) in the Majāfīl al-ṣīlah fi ẓāriḥ-i Ghulām-i nāz, ed. Muḥammad Rūḍa Barzgar Khālīkī and 'Iffat Karbāsī, Tehran 1371 A.H./1992, 250 takwā is described as the "fear of God regarding the final consequences of one's affairs, or the fear of separation". "Takwā" (i.e. the attitude of fear) "will play the brigadier, casting one into the perdition of separation and being veiled from God". After over half a millennium of theosophical speculation—from Bukhārāʾī to Lāhīdji—the two foundations of takwā: fear and abstention, remain completely intact.

2. Takwā in the Kurʾān and Hadīth.

In general Kurʾānic usage, the moral virtue of takwā denotes piety, abstention and God-fearing obedience, suggesting the idea of a faith animated by works, and works quickened by a genuine experience of faith; in brief, such takwā is the substance of all godliness. Takwā is one of the most frequently mentioned religious concepts in the Kurʾān, having entered into the world of Islam upon the very first appearance of the angel Gabriel to the Prophet. "Have you seen him who tries to prevent a servant when he would pray? Have you considered if such a one has any divine guidance or enjoins [others] to piety (takwā)?" (Gabriel asks Muhammad in the very early sūra, XXVI, 9-12, revealed in the cave on M. Ḥira'ī near Mecca, witness: Ibn Iṣḥāq). An allusion to takwā reappears in the second verse of the first sūra revealed in Medina (II), where the Kurʾān is described as "a guidance for all endowed with piety (hadīth li l-muttaḥāthin)." In XXL, 10, the believers are described as "naught but brothers" and, in a kind of communal participation in their "pious vigilant awareness of God" (takwā Allāh), are enjoined to establish fraternal peace amongst themselves. Another verse (IX, 123), devoted to the theme of being harsh on the enemies of Islam, assures believers that "God is with the godfearing pious devotees (muḥāna l-muttaḥāthin)." This latter verse may be compared with the hadīth which situates takwā as the "aggregate of all good things" alongside ḥārām which is described as "the monasticism of the Muslims" (al-Kušāyri, al-Risāla, ed. Maʿṣūm Zarfī and 'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Bāltandji, Beirut 1990, 105).

Ultimately, salvation in both this world and the next is attained through takwā; with it the saints gain "their deserts and are untouched by evil and they have no grief" (XXIX, 61; an idea also repeated in X, 62-3); while those with takwā "are driven into Paradise" (XXIX, 73). The true mosque must also be "built upon takwā" (IX, 108-9) if it is to be consecrated (an echo of Luke, vi. 47-9). This connotation of takwā is echoed in an early Kurʾān commentary—by Mukātī b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 [q.v.])—where takwā is "considered as synonymous with šābāb, pure sincerity, [and] šābāb is translated as tarāka in the sense of 'to abstain' from what is evil, such as disobedience (muḥāya) or associationism (dābīq')" (P. Nywia, Exégèse coranique et langage mystique, Beirut 1990, 20).

While takwā is, in particular, the universal measurement and the final criterion of the sincere religious life of the faithful Muslim who is enjoined to "avoid suspicion" and instead to "fear God" (takwā Allāh, XLII, 12; cf. II, 41), in a more general sense takwā appears as the common ecumenical characteristic of the universal man of faith, regardless of sectarian divisions and political differences based on nationality and ethnic origin in the verse: "We have created you male and female, and made you nations and tribes to know one another. Indeed, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the most God-fearing (takwamān ʿind Allāh atkātām)" (XLII, 13). In al-Sulamī's recension of the text of the Kurʾānic Tafsīr ascribed to Dījaʿār al-Sādīk (d. 148/765 [q.v.]) (ed. Nywia, in MUSJ, XII/4 [1967, 181-230]), the ʾImām explains the verse as follows (221): "the generous person (al-kaʾim) is one who is, in truth, piously God-fearing (al-muttaḥāth) and one who is piously God-fearing (al-muttaḥāth) while learning all his ties to created things for God's sake.

The idea of takwā as specifically the Islamic species of piety appears in the Prophet's saying: "Faith is naked and takwā its dress" (al-ʾimān ʿurūn wa-liḥāzahu al-takwā) (cited by 'Ayn al-Kuḍāt Hamadānī, Tābīdāt, ed. A. 'Usayrī, Tehran 1962, 325). Another hadīth recounts that someone asked the Prophet, "Who are the Family of Muḥammad?" He replied: "Every pious God-fearing person (kaull takwā)" (al-Kušāyri, al-Risāla, 105). From such traditions, it is evident that takwā, as a religious concept, was seen to represent the robes of the Islamic faith, as well as to personify the very garments which cloaked the Sacred appearing within diverse cultures and religions.

3. Takwā and ʾimān.

Takwā was regarded as an essential element of the interior dimension of the act of faith, of ʾimān "enlightened faith" (see L. Gardner, ʾImān, vol. III, 1173). The Prophet said: "Submission is public and faith is in the heart." Then he pointed to his breast three times, repeating: "Fear of God (takwā) is here, fear of God is here." (Ibn Ḥanbal, and Ahmad b. Māḍja, cited by C. Ernst, Words of ecstasy in Sufism, Albany 1985, 56).

As an element of Faith, takwā thus embodies the purely internal and contemplative attitude of heart rather than merely external ritual practice; the same interiorisation of ʾimān which is, in fact, reflected in XXII, 57, which, regarding such purely physical practices as the sacrifice of animals to feed the poor, affirms that "it is not their flesh nor their blood that reaches God: it is your piety (takwā) that reaches Him". Commenting on this verse in his Iḥyāʾ, al-Ghazālī notes that "What is meant here by 'devotion' (taqwā) is a quality that gains control of the heart, disposing it to comply with the commands it is required to obey" (cited in Al-Ghazālī, Inner dimensions of Islamic worship, tr. Muḥārīl Holland, repr. London 1992, 35). Indeed, interpreting the Kurʾānic reference to "piety" (takwā al-aḥād) in the same sūra (XXII, 32), Ibn al-Arābī (d. 1268/1240) was to point out that just as the human heart is in constant fluctuation in every breath, so genuine takwā must by understood as a kind of "pious-wariness-awareness" of God with every breath, which is the ultimate end of what God desires.

Takwâ was sometimes considered the supreme proof of the certitude of faith (yaqîn). Abû Bakr al-Warrak (d. 294/906-7), an early Khurshâbîan mystic, observed that "certitude (yaqîn) is a light by means of which the devotee's spiritual condition is illuminated. After he experiences such enlightenment, he is enabled to realise the rank of the pious (muttakîm)" (Aţâr, Tadhkîrât al-mu'âljâ, ed. M. Is'tîlâmî, Tehran 1372 A.H./1993, 538). Underlining the esoteric nature of piety in the spiritual life, al-Kalâbîdî'î (d. 380/990), author of one of the earliest mystical Kur'ân commentaries, that "piety is to contemplate and understand the esoteric meaning of the Prophet's saying: Faith is naked and takwâ its dress" (ed. N.M. Hoca, Istanbul 1973, 30).

This interiorised concept of takwâ of the heart or more disappeared but did not altogether die out from the vocabulary of Sufism after the 5th/11th century. Thus Rûzîzâhîn Bâjî (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]) wrote in his Majârâb al-arârâdîth that "The root of God-fearing piety is detachment of one's inmost consciousness (sirr) from everything but God, whether from the material or spiritual realms, during contemplation of the proofs of the divine Attributes and flashes of the divine Essence. In this manner, one's inmost consciousness melts away before the onslaught of the majesty of the Creator. This is the esoteric meaning of the Prophet's saying: Faith is naked and takwâ its dress" (ed. T. Izutsu, The concept of belief in Islamic theology, repr. Salem, N.H. 1988, 72-4).

4. The mystical theology of Takwâ

(a) Takwâ-as-abstinence

In Muslim mystical theology, the general notion of takwâ is that of holy fearfulness, pious vigilance over and abstemious fear of following one's passions; in a word, the heart's awe of God who is ever-present in the contemplative life of the soul (cf. al-Shârîf al-Durjânî, K. al-Ta'rifâtî, ed. I. al-Abşârî, Beirut 1985, 90). Saâlî al-Tustârî's maxîm "There is no helper besides God; no guide besides the Prophet. There is no spiritual sustenance besides takwâ, nor any other work than patience (sabr)" quoted by al-Khuşhayrî, Risâlât, 101) declares takwâ to be the mainstay, if not the very sustenance, of Sufi spiritual practice. In its perfect form, takwâ involves abstinence from everything but God, for, as Ibn Khašîî (d. 371/981), holds that the believers (mu'âmînûn) are equivalent to the God-fearing (mu'tâkîmûn), who, in turn, are identical to the upright (âshârî) (T. Izutsu, The concept of belief in Islamic theology, ed. N.M. Hoca, Istanbul 1973, 30).

(b) Takwâ-as-heart-abstinence

The contemplative interiority of takwâ, with the connotation of "takwâ-as-the heart's-abstinence" from all but God, is summed up in one of the earliest definitions of the term given by Da'i-fâr al-Sâdîqî that "for those who traverse the spiritual path (âhî al-su'ûlî, piety (takwâ) is that you do not find within your heart anything but Him (al-Ta'âhânawî, Khašîî fi'ilûtâlîhî al-fânîm. A dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Muslims, Calcutta 1862, ii, 152). Abû Sa'id al-Khašîî (d. 277/890 or 286/899), an important Sûfî of the school of Baghdâd, in his K. al-Hašâ'îî devoted to the vocabulary of Sufi mystical experience on the two-fold levels of rational expression (šâhîn) and mystical allusion (sâhîra), combined this interiorised vision of takwâ with the more traditional Kur'ânic understanding of the term in his statement that takwâ is "to have a heart vigilant not to let itself pursue passion, and a soul which guards itself against occasions of sin and error" (cited by Nywia, Études coranique et langue mystique, 209). Another leading member of the third school of Sufism, Abu 1-Husayn al-Nûrî (d. 295/907), in the first chapter of his Makmîîât al-kulâh discovered and edited by Nywia, Textes mystiques inédits, in MUSJ, xlv/9 [1968], 132), in a section devoted to "the qualities of the house of the faithful believer", mentions takwâ as the Light of Piety, the soul of Sufi ethics, for the contemplative "Light of Piety" illuminates both faith and works.

This interiorised concept of takwâ of the heart or more disappered but did not altogether die out from the vocabulary of Sufism after the 5th/11th century. Thus Rûzîzâhîn Bâjî (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]) wrote in his Majârâb al-arârâdîth that "The root of God-fearing piety is detachment of one's inmost consciousness (sirr) from everything but God, whether from the material or spiritual realms, during contemplation of the proofs of the divine Attributes and flashes of the divine Essence. In this manner, one's inmost consciousness melts away before the onslaught of the majesty of the Creator. This is the esoteric meaning of the Prophet's saying: Faith is naked and takwâ its dress" (ed. T. Izutsu, The concept of belief in Islamic theology, repr. Salem, N.H. 1988, 72-4).

From the early 3rd/9th to the 5th/11th centuries, takwâ was regularly featured in classifications devoted to the spiritual transactions (mu'âmîlatâ) or moral virtues (âhkâhî) of the Sufis' spiritual journey, being closely aligned to the analogous concepts of fear (khañfî), asceticism (zuhdî), and abstinence (wardî). Al-Hârîmî al-Muhsâsîî (d. 243/857) propounded in his K. al-Risâlât that all piety stems from fear and dread of God Almighty. According to him, "Obedience [to God's commands and prohibitions] is the road to salvation, and knowledge is the guide to the road, and the foundation of obedience is abstinence (wardî), and the foundation of abstinence is godfearing piety (takwâ), and the foundation of that is self-examination (mu'hâzâhî), and self-examination is based on fear (khawfî) and hope (ru'ûdî)" (Margaret Smith, Al-Muhsâsîî, an early mystic of Baghdad, Cambridge 1935, 89, 112). If takwâ appears in this description as an essential "foundation" of ascetic theology, the emphasis on piety is even more accentuated later on in the same book: "O brother, let godliness (takwâ) be your chief concern, for it is your capital stock, and works of supererogation beyond that represent your profit" (ibid., 129), cf. also Massi-gnon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane, Paris 1928, 149.

Al-Muhsâsîî's emphasis on piety-as-godliness in early Islamic mysticism was formally integrated into the Sûfî methodological approach to the spiritual stations (makmîîâtî) in his K. al-Risâlât (91-140), where takwâ is placed fourth among the first ten spiritual stations, in the following sequence: [1] repentance (sâzûh) → spiritual struggle (mu'âhîdîhî) → spiritual retreat, withdrawal (khañasî, 'açîl) → God-fearing piety (takwâ) → abstinence (wardî) → asceticism (zuhdî) → silence (samî) → fear (khawfî) → hope (ru'ûdî) → grief (hûşî). Despite al-Khuşhayrî's traditional classification of takwâ among the rudimentary spiritual stations of the Path, the term often seemed to fall out of usage among some of the later classical authors who wrote on the makmîîâtî. Thus, there is no mention of takwâ (whether as a station or a technical term) in Nicholson's index.
TAKWA

of technical terms to his critical edition of al-Sarradj's (d. 378/988) K. al-Lumac, nor in the Kut al-kulub ... feet, so we can cast aside this blue [Sufi] cloak/Throw to the winds of antinominianism this idolatry which bears

As in the Rule of St. Benedict, for the Persian mystics of the Kubrawi order, God-fearing piety had come to be viewed as an essential virtue in the practical ethics of the master-disciple relationship, so that religious devotion is indistinguishable from unhesitating obedience to the order's superior.

6. TAKWA's apophasis in mediaeval Sufism.

Wherever the term turns up in later works it is usually considered as a necessary corollary of wa'ra or zuhd. For instance, in Sa'd al-Din al-Farghani's (d. 699/1393) Mas'ar ar-Rahbani, Shahr-i 'Ishq-i Firdawsi (ed. Djalal al-Din Ashtiya'i, Tehran 1979, 150-1), takwa is placed among the stations belonging to the first three ascending degrees of "annihilation" (fan'a). The first degree of fan'a involves annihilation by means of "faring through and realisation of the spiritual stations, stages and mystical states such as repentence (taubah), self-examination (muhabbah), contemplative vigilance (muwakkalah), spiritual struggle (mu'dhahhah), sincerity (ikhlas), God-fearing piety (takwa), abstinence (wa'ra), asceticism (zuhd) and similar related degrees. . . ." As in al-Khusrawi's schema, al-Farghani's classification places God-fearing piety among those virtues which the mystic must struggle to realise by his own will; for aspirants still bound in the bonds of egocentric personality, takwa is a knife to cut through the cords of Selfhood. In the writings of the Persian mystics of the Kubrawi school, the virtue of takwa featured quite prominently. In his monumental conspectus of Sufi doctrine, the Misrul al-bad' (ed. M.A. Rizvi, Tehran 1354 A.S.H./1973, 257-60), Nadim al-Din Razi (d. 654/1256) cites some twenty qualities (sifat) with which the disciple must be characterised in a chapter devoted to "the conditions, manners and qualities of a disciple", and here takwa is the fifth of his sifat; and a similar conception of the place of takwa in Sufi ethics appears in the third book of the Kdajl al-bakht-i' (ed. Ahmad Daghani, Tehran 1359/1980, 131-2) — "an exposition of the conditions for wayfaring (suluk) the mystical path"—by Raz'i's fellow Kubrawi Shaykh 'Aziz Nasa'i (d. between 1281-1300).

As the Rule of St. Benedict, for the Persian mystics of the Kubrawi order, God-fearing piety had come to be viewed as an essential virtue in the practical ethics of the master-disciple relationship, so that religious devotion is indistinguishable from unhesitating obedience to the order's superior.

This redirection of Islamic piety towards cultivation of, and concentration on, the elect "Perfect Man" [see AL-insan al-kamil] with the consequent devaluation of the devotee's own private ascetic vigilance, is visible in the thought of most Sufi poets of the Mongol period. One such poet, Mahmud Shabstari [q.v.], in his Golshani-i niz, thus describes the Perfect Man as "endowed with praiseworthy qualities, celebrated for knowledge ('ilm), asceticism (zuhd) and piety (takwa)" (Maghfiri's Absh-i Shabstari, ed. Samad Muwahhij, Tehran 1365 A.S.H./1986, v. 351), relegating takwa, as did the classical masters of the School of Baghdad, to being a rudimentary but not insignificant principle of the Sufi ethical system. However, a discernible difference in accentuation has occurred, so that the Perfect Man is the source of piety rather than piety being the animus of individual spirituality. Ultimately, the Perfect Man may decide to dispense with all pious fear as well, since he is "free of the ties of master and disciple, beyond all asceticism (zuhd) and all the fictions of piety (takwa)" (ibid., v. 862).

In the works of Sa'di and Hafiz, the two greatest Persian Sufi lyricists, another kind of de-accentuation on individual piety is evident, with takwa often demigrated as a kind of spiritual attitude characteristic of cold-hearted ascetics (zuhd) and formalist preachers. "Wherever the Sultan of Love appears, no power is left in the arm of takwa," asserts Sa'di in the Gulistan (Kh. Khattib-Rahbar, Tehran 1348/1969, 337), and in his Ghazals he cries out: "Stand on your feet, so we can cast aside this blue [Sufi] cloak/Throw to the winds of antinomianism this idolatry which bears
often engendered in less sincere adepts, takwā wished to criticise the element of self-consciousness probably knew of al-Kushayrī’s notion that “the root of takwā is fear of all idolatrous associationism (al-
shirk)" (Rūdā, 105), and in this verse no doubt merely of takwā is fear of all idolatrous associationism (understanding the affirmation of faith and piety as a subtle form of delimitation, an idolatry of a mundane doctrine instead of adoration of the Transcendent), is best expressed in the poetry of Hāfiz, in the following verse:

Best in the way of the Şāfi‘ it’s total infidelity to put your trust in knowledge and piety; Although a pilgrim boast a hundred arts Just the same, he must have trust.


Elsewhere he asks: “What relation does libertinism (nard) have to purity and piety (takwā)? How wide the gap between the priest’s homily and the rebeck’s reification—in the wish to transcend the dichotomy of piety/impiety, godliness/ungodliness (understanding the affirmation of faith and piety as a subtle form of delimitation, an idolatry of a mundane doctrine instead of adoration of the Transcendent), is best expressed in the poetry of Hāfiz, in the following verse:

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In the way of the Şāfi‘ it’s total infidelity to put your trust in knowledge and piety; Although a pilgrim boast a hundred arts Just the same, he must have trust.
al-Hadrami was recognised as his successor by the Ibādi of both Hadramawt and Baṣra.


(ERSILIA FRANCESCA)

**TALĪBĀN.** Pers. plural of Arabic talīb "student", a term coming into use in the last years of the 20th century for a radical Islamist group in Afghanistan.

These "religious students" became the face of radical Islam during the late 1990s, when they controlled all but the last and most vehement of Afghanistan's Islamist leaders. The Taliban were thus able to provide the Taliban with specialized military skills in the north of Afghanistan and finish off the remnants of the Taliban forces there, while a Taliban force that went up from the north of Afghanistan captured most of the ex-Communists were purged). The Taliban also were an international force, with a number of foreign fighters who provided the Taliban with specialized military skills in the north that might have been successful had the events of 11 September 2001 not brought the United States into the Taliban and drove them out of range of Kabul in the spring of 1995, so the Taliban turned their attention to western Afghanistan, capturing Harat in September 1995. In September 1996 the Taliban flanked Kabul to the east and captured Baladahāb, then drove up the main road through steep gorges toward Kabul, which fell without a fight later that month. Having taken control of the capital and most of Afghanistan after only two years, in 1997 the Taliban sought to conquer the north of Afghanistan and finish off the remnants of the Būrāhmmūnī and Rābbānī government.

Divisions within the Northern Alliance made possible the Taliban capture of Mazar-i-Sharif in May 1997, but after four days local militias rebelled and destroyed the Taliban forces there, while a Taliban force that went up from the north of Afghanistan captured Harat in September 1998. The Taliban turned their attention to the north once again, this time capturing Mazar-i-Sharif in August and Bamiyan in September. In September 1998 the Taliban pushed resolutely into the north once again, this time taking Tadjikistan. Following the fall of both cities, the Taliban killed or forcibly relocated thousands of the residents. After the campaigns of 1998, the Taliban controlled all but 10-15% of the country, primarily the rugged north-eastern mountains where Ahmad Shah Mas'ūd's well-organized Tadjik army held on. Combat ebbed and flowed in and out of this area over the next three years, with Mas'ūd having great success in August 1999, but his assassination on 9 September 2001 by al-Kā'īda (al-Qaeda) operatives coincided with the beginning of a final Taliban push into that salience that might have been successful had the events of 11 September 2001 not brought the United States into Afghanistan with the goal of destroying the Taliban. Afghanistan's long war destroyed or discredited most of its Afghan government and led to a deep Islamisation of its society, providing the mikey in which the Taliban could arise. The Taliban were the last and most vehement of Afghanistan's Islamist leaders, but they were simultaneously a Pashtun ethnic movement and a militia for Pakistan. Thus, their rise to power harnessed ethnic divisions in Afghanistan and heightened the regional competition between Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Russia for control within the country. The multiple sources of Taliban identity gave the movement a plasticity that enhanced its fluidity over time. The Taliban leadership was comprised of Kandahar-area Pashtuns of different tribal and sub-tribal lineages, but most of the Inner Shīrā council knew each other from shared combat experiences during the Afghan-Soviet War and/or shared time in Pakistani madrasas. As the movement expanded its territorial control, its ranks grew to include eastern and northern Ghilzai Pashtuns, some ethnic minority militias, and former Afghan Communist soldiers from the Khall/Khayat faction introduced by the Pakistanis to provide the Taliban with specialized military skills in which they were lacking; following the conquests of 1998 most of the ex-Communists were purged.

The Taliban also were an international force, with
from organisations such as the Ministry for the
Umar, or to destroy a Western model of government there, but
and deeper Islamist trends in that society, produc-
ing an effect referred to within that country as the
All the attacks by al-Ka\'ida on the U.S. on
11 September 2001 brought about the destruction of
the cliff Buddhas of Bamiyan in March 2001 and
the death of Muhammad Rabbani in April 2001.
Ultimately, the attacks by al-Ka\'ida on the U.S. on
11 September 2001 brought about the destruction of
the Taliban and al-Ka\'ida rule and the implementation
of an interim government in December 2001 headed by
Hamid Karzai, a Durrani Pushtun tribal leader.
The Taliban were a tribal militia, a Pakistani proxy
army, and a movement for social change in Afghan-
istan. Their early success on the battlefield was due to
the shared ethnicity and war-weariness of the popu-
lations in the areas that they conquered during 1994-6.
They also presented themselves as simple men moti-
vated by piety and a desire to Islamise Afghan society,
holding themselves in contrast to the formerly
title of the Pushtuns, such as execu-
tion for adultery and amputation of hands for
forcing men to attend mosque services and grow beards
as signs of piety; bans on all forms of secular enter-
tainment, such as sports, music and television; and
ultimately the destruction of images in Afghanistan,
including the world-famous Bamiyan Buddhas.
The Taliban were a by-product of Afghanistan's
long and highly destructive war and capped a decades-
long movement to Islamise Afghan society, itself a
reaction to an even longer attempt by Afghan urban
elites to modernize the country. The collapse of the
Afghan state, the Islamisation of the Afghan resistance
movement and refugee population, and the regional
gopolitical struggle following the Cold War combined
to create the unique conditions that gave rise to the
Taliban. U.S.-led military operations beginning in late
2001 have now almost destroyed the Taliban move-
ment, but the underlying ideology of Islamising the
state and society remains and continues to influence
Afghanistan.

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415-26. (L.P. Goodson)
Typically, Arab translators dealt with differences of forms of linguistic and cultural import. This new cultural phenomenon was related to a massive translation of Western literature became an integral part of their experience of translation. Prominent early contributors to Arabic literary translation were the writers and poets Ḥāḍir Ibrāhīm, Muṣṭafā al-Manfalahī [q.v.], the first school of modern Egyptian writing, madrasat al-diwan (the Diwan school); Nadjīb al-Haddād, Salīm al-Nakkāsh and Nikūlā Haddād in Lebanon; Ḥālij Bāylās, Aṭīn Bahlān, and Nadjaṭī Siḍīk in Pālēstīn; Muḥammad Kurḍ ‘Alī and Ṭanṣūṣ Ābdūh in Syria; Salīm Bāṭṭī and Muḥāmmad ‘Aḥmad al-Sayyīd in Trāk; and the leading figures of madrasat al-maḥājīr (the literary school of Arab immigrants in the United States). Naṣīr ‘Arīḍa, ‘Abd al-Muṣṭafā Haddād and Muḥīṭ al-Naṣīyān [q.v.].

The involvement of writers and poets broadened the scale of literary translation. While the majority of translated texts represented short stories, novellas and poetry. In addition to French classical plays by Corneille, Rostand and Molière, Shakespeare’s works—especially Romeo and Juliet—inspired several early Arabic adaptations. Tāḥā Ḥuṣayn [q.v.] translated and published an anthology of Greek dramatic poetry (1920), Racine’s Andromaque (1935) and a selection of Western drama (1959). Poems by Vīctor Hūgo, Lamartīn and Shelly were amongst the first rendered into Arabic. Typically, Arab translators dealt with differences of prosody by way of human and intellectual experience. Not all Western source texts selected for translation, nor all of their Arabic versions, were of high literary and cultural value. A great deal of translators’ production catered to the needs of a growing popular market for romantic stories, mysteries and adventures. Translation techniques involving rewritings (tārajama muḥākhkhas), adaptations (tārajama bi-l-tasarruf), additions (iḍdfāt), abridgements (tārajama muḥallakhkhas), and various changes of the genre, set, plot and characters of the original, did not always yield good quality in the target language. Yet the substantial body of Arab fictional texts that those early translations built contributed, by its sheer mass, to familiarising Arabic readers with new genres of fiction. At their best, the pioneers of Arabic literary translation created works, which, like original writings, expressed and affirmed their own cultural identity and traditions through the forms of Western literature. The appreciation of their audiences accounts for the longevity of such creative translations. They continued to flourish well into the 1940s, long after the genres of Western fiction had been adopted in Arabic writing, replacing traditional forms of literary discourse. A similar symbiosis between translation and creation of literature is observed in many national cultures at the formative stage, when writers commonly use translation as a creative device and for addressing what they perceive as the pressing issues and actual cultural needs of their societies and time. Since the 1920s, modern Arabic literary theory and criticism have contributed to the emergence of new perceptions of translation, which have determined its subsequent evolution as a creative activity with specific social and cultural functions.

Extensive transmission of Western scientific knowledge and intellectual thought continued. Translated contemporary works of history, philosophy and literary theory were an integral part of the critical debates of the day (e.g. the translation of Thomas Carlyle’s On heroes, hero-worship, and the heroic in history [1911] by the Diwan school). Translations of Herbert Spencer’s On situation (1908) and Lebon’s work on pedagogy (by Tāḥā Ḥuṣayn, 1921) reflected the edifying priorities of Arab intellectuals. ‘Aḥmad Lūfī al-Sayyīd’s [q.v.] renditions of Aristotle from the original (1924-35) introduced the classical tradition of Western intellectual thought. At that time, major influences on modern Arabic literary theory and criticism (Freud’s psychoanalysis, the ideas of the Russian formalists,
etc.) were also exercised through the intermediary of Western languages different from the original.

In the second half of the century, the translation entered a new phase of development under the aegis of the independent Arab nation states. The cultural policy of "Arabisation" (e.g. in Algeria) adopted by Arab states placed special emphasis on translation as a means of interaction with other cultures meant to serve what they deemed the interest of Arab societies and their comprehensive advancement.

Efforts have been made to support the study of translation and develop translators' professional skills. Translation is a commonly taught subject within foreign language acquisition programmes at the high school level. Arab translators receive modern professional training in independent academic institutions (e.g. al-Mustansiriyya School in 'Iriq; King Fahd School for Translation in Morocco), or through academic programmes in translation offered in a number of universities (e.g. the King Su'ud University in Saudi Arabia; Yarmük University in Jordan; Alexandria University in Egypt, etc.). The academic institutions develop translation studies as well (e.g. the Translation Center at the King Su'ud University worked in the last decade on a major project designed to catalogue 20th-century Arabic translations). Pan-Arab conferences provide forums for discussion of policies and issues of translation (e.g. al-Tunis, 1979, on developing common criteria for selecting texts for translation, reassessing the status and training of Arab translators, etc.; Jordan, 1992, on translation studies; Egypt, 1995, on scientific translation; etc.).

At the national level, the ministries of culture and education oversee translation activities. In many countries, translators are syndicated in professional organisations and unions, and some are individual members of the International Translators' Union (Geneva).

At the regional level, two organisations formulate pan-Arab strategies of translation. The objective of the Arabisation Coordination Bureau (1961, Rabat) is to create and update a unified system of modern Arabic terminology. The Arab Center for Arabisation, Translation, Authorship and Publication (1989, Damascus) supports translation into Arabic of materials for higher and university education in all areas of academic and technical specialisation, and of distinguished works in the fields of the sciences, literature and arts. Both organisations are affiliated with ALECSO. Recent contributions of Arab translators to ALECSO's cultural programmes include publications of Basic Arabic dictionary (1988) and Trilingual thesaurus: Arabic, English, French (1995); and the ongoing projects Translations of distinguished books on science and technology, and Arabic unified dictionaries. The Islamic Organisation for Culture and Science also retains translation programmes.

Over the last five decades, translation production has increased everywhere in the Arab world. Egypt and Syria hold leading positions, with more than 100 publishers of translations in each country (here and further below, statistics by UNESCO, Index translationum). Recently, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have emerged as major translation centres.

English, French and Spanish remain the important sources of Arabic translation, used also as intermediaries for transmission of texts written in other original languages. Since the 1930s, and especially with the influx of American culture in the post-World War II period, English became the main source language of translation into Arabic. In the course of the most recent decades, the source languages diversified, reflecting new cultural priorities on the part of Arab authors, audiences and institutions related to the acquisition of modern technologies and know-how; to the interest in literatures and cultures traditionally not represented, or under-represented by Arabic translation, etc. The pool of languages through which translations are currently undertaken includes Japanese, Chinese, and other less common foreign languages. The leading languages from which books were translated into Arabic in the last 20 years are: English (3188 translations), Russian (1388), French (929), German (263), Spanish (149), Persian (77), Italian (58) and Turkish (49).

The majority of texts translated in the second half of the century represent fiction of European origin: Shakespeare is the most translated foreign author, with a total of 49 Arabic translations, closely followed by Agatha Christie with 47. Emerging since the interwar period new concepts of the nature of translation and its cultural functions manifested themselves in a more attentive approach to the selection and transmission of original texts. Translators' creativity was employed to best express the ideas of the original using the tools of the modern Arabic language. The resulting more accurate renditions of classics by Bolz, Turgenev, Dickens, Baudelaire, Guy de Maupassant, Sartre, Gorky, Thomas Mann, Camus, James Joyce, T.S. Eliot, Virginia Woolf and Apollinaire exposed readers to a variety of writing styles, and encouraged since the 1950s new trends in Arabic prose (realism, modernism, stream-of-consciousness), and poetry (the free-verse movement). In drama, Chekhov, Henrik Ibsen and Harold Pinter elicited many translations (the latter's works compiled in a three-volume edition appeared in Cairo in 1987). Since 1983, Kuwait's Ministry of Information has published a series of modern translations from classical Greek of Euripides' tragedies.

Among the significant American writers translated in that period (e.g. Faulkner, Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Henry Miller), Edgar Allan Poe was better known for his mystery stories than as a poet, but Mark Twain remained most popular, his early Arabic renditions revisited by later translators. Lately, Arabic versions of Walt Disney's books have grown popular among children's literature in translation, including classic tales by Leo Tolstoy, Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen, and modern Western authors.

In the 1960s to early 1980s, publishers in Moscow, Leipzig and other cultural centres of the then Communist countries produced a large number of Arabic translations introducing classics of their national literatures. The collaboration between Arab and European translators and publishing houses continues to broaden the perspective of Arab readers on European literary traditions (e.g. Arab and Swedish translators at present render from the original poems by Tomas Tranströmer, one of Sweden's most important contemporary poets, whose forthcoming Arabic anthology will be published by al-Mu'assasa al-Arabiyya li 'l-Dirasat wa 'l-Nashr in 2003).

Numerous translations of works by Milan Kundera (Czech Republic), Wole Soyinka (Nigeria), Gabriel Garcia Marquez (Colombia) and Aziz Nesin (Turkey) in the course of the last decade testify to lasting aspirations by leading Arab translators and publishers to bring the best of modern world literature to their audiences.

In literary translation, transmission through intermediary languages remains a problem (e.g. Kundera and Marquez were first translated from French; Italo
Calvino and Ibsen from English; etc.). Duplications (e.g., four recent renderings of George Orwell's 1984) could be avoided through better professional communication (al-'Asawī, 11-12).

Translations of non-fictional literature range from the modern sciences, business, social theories, philosophy (e.g., Toecau, psychoanalysis, etc.) to general history, history of religions and religious writings, psychology and social behaviour (e.g., Edward De Bono), to popular science adaptations, textbooks at all educational levels, etc. Randomly selected and outdated source texts are by no means an exception.

Works which represent Western points of view on the history and culture of the region, have always aroused interest among Arab translators and readers (e.g., the latest accomplishment of the Egyptian National Translation Project, the 2002 translation of Marilyn Booth's study on Bayram al-Tunisī). The recent translations of studies on modern Palestinian and Egyptian history by the German scholar Alexander Schölch; on Libyan history by the Italian scholar Francesco Coro; etc.

A growing transmission of modern scientific knowledge has emphasised the need for an even closer cooperation between professionals in specific fields and in the translation of studies on modern Palestinian and Egyptian levels. While the part of al-fushā increases in original fictional writings, and the performing arts of Arabic theatre and cinema, it remains limited in fictional translation. The colloquial versions of Arabic are entirely absent from non-fictional translation. As a target language, al-fushā has shown flexibility, adjusting its structures to fit new forms of discourse brought by translation. In the process of giving shape to new ideas and meanings, translation has constantly perfected its linguistic vehicle. By modernising the vocabulary, amplifying the semantics, and modifying and simplifying the sentence structure of the language, translation contributes to building a modern, informative and to-the-point style of expression (al-‘Asawī, 15).

During the entire modern period, translations have been made primarily in al-fushā. While the part of al-‘imāmya increases in original fictional writings, and the performing arts of Arabic theatre and cinema, it remains limited in fictional translation. The colloquial versions of Arabic are entirely absent from non-fictional translation. As a target language, al-fushā has shown flexibility, adjusting its structures to fit new forms of discourse brought by translation. In the process of giving shape to new ideas and meanings, translation has constantly perfected its linguistic vehicle.

Given that the Arabic language is commonly identified as a vital, if not the most important, aspect of Arab nationalist ideologies—whether they are pan-Arab, regional, or state-specific—Arabicisation has played a significant role in modern Arab politics. In the early 19th century, before Arab nationalist discourse began to emerge, Muhammad ‘Ali (q.v.) of Egypt laid the foundations for the use of Arabic as an instrument of state-building. As part of his efforts to modernise education in Egypt, particularly military, medical and scientific education, Muhammad ‘Ali authorised the establishment of a School of Languages (Madrasat al-alōm) in 1835. The school was closed in 1850 during the reign of ‘Abbās Hilmi I (q.v.) but reopened in 1863 on orders of Ismā‘īl. Under the leadership of Rifā‘a al-Tahāwī (1801-73 [q.v.]) during both of its phases, the school undertook an ambitious program of not only training translators, but also of translating and publishing European texts in Arabic.

Thus, the School of Languages pioneered the ideology and the methodology of ta‘rib. The European works chosen for translation reflected the interests of the State as determined mainly by al-Tahāwī, who remained loyal to the house of Muhammad ‘Ali throughout his life. These works included texts in geography, history, medicine, military sciences and politics. In translating modern European works into Arabic, the School of Languages devised not only the principles for rendering foreign languages into a clear, modern Arabic idiom, but also coined Arabic vocabulary to express novel technical terms. In many ways, therefore, the school provided the intellectual resources for the Arab nationalist movement that gained ground in the latter half of the 19th century and provided Arab nationalists with grounds for asserting the continuing vitality and centrality of Arabic in their nationalist programs.

The work of European and American missionaries, primarily in the Levant, provided a second catalyst for the revitalisation of Arabic during the 19th century. American and British Protestant missions, eager to distinguish themselves from the French Catholics, who insisted upon and actively promoted the use of French, encouraged the translation of the Bible and liturgical readings into Arabic. The schools established by Protestant missionaries also promoted the study of Arabic in their curricula.

Arabicisation in Arab nationalist discourse

The unifying factor of language in Arab nationalism is a theme developed at length by a number of intellectuals during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawkābī (ca. 1849-1902 [q.v.]) viewed Arab political unity and cultural revival as a necessary precursor to pan-Islamic unity and revival. In Umm al-‘arbī, as part of his argument for Arab leadership of the Islamic world, he claims that the language of the Arabs is the language common to all Muslims. Yet he also prepares the foundation for later...
secular Arab nationalists by acknowledging that Arabic is the native language of both Muslims and non-Muslims. The Lebanese Maronite scholar Ibrāhīm al-Yāzīdī (1847-1906 [see al-Yāzīdī. 2.]) equated it with colloquial dialects and associated it with clandestine religion and culture. For this reason, al-Yāzīdī championed the revival and dissemination of the standard literary language (al-būgha al-fishli), based on classical Kurʿānic Arabic, in opposition to various suggestions for replacing it with colloquial dialects (al-būgha al-dammī). He participated in efforts to modernize and simplify Arabic pedagogy, arguing that the proper use and teaching of a language is necessary to political, economic, and cultural modernization efforts. The standard Arabic also demarcates, for al-Yāzīdī, the boundaries between the Arab nation and other peoples. To maintain their cultural distinctiveness and by implication their eventual political autonomy, the Arabs had to preserve their language from foreign corruption, including the use of loan words and especially the adoption of the Latin script in place of the Arabic, as suggested by some reformers of the time. Instead, he proposed rules for Arabicization of foreign words and names that would either assimilate them into Arabic phonology and morphology or distinguish them clearly as foreign proper nouns.

The most powerful stimulus for the rise of an Arab nationalist discourse came from the Turkification policy pursued by the Young Turks after they seized power in Istanbul in 1908. The Ottoman constitution of 1876 had established Turkish as the official language of the empire but had provided no details for the practical enforcement of this provision. The political program adopted by the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIHAD WE TERAKKI DJEM C.Society 1966, 161] conducted provisions for enacting this policy (see Kayah 1997, 90-4). All civil servants and government officials, including members of parliament, were instructed to conduct business in Turkish. The teaching of Turkish was made compulsory in elementary schools and Turkish was imposed as the medium of instruction in all secondary and higher education. As a result of this policy, Arabic was taught in the state secondary schools of the Arab provinces as a foreign language, with instruction in Arabic grammar provided in Turkish by Arab teachers who were often not conversant in Turkish or by Turkish teachers who were frequently not expert in the intricacies of Arabic grammar. Arab students caught speaking Arabic outside the classroom were subject to punishment. The imposition of Turkish was coupled with a campaign conducted through the Turkish newspapers to paint Arabic as a stagnant language and its speakers as an obstacle to the progressive reforms launched by the Young Turks.

Arab responses to the Turkification policy came from a number of political, literary and educational societies, some based in Arab cities, others in Europe. The Arab Congress of 1913, a gathering of Arab intellectuals and political activists in Paris, adopted a resolution demanding in part: “La langue arabe doit être reconnue au Parlement ottoman et considérée comme officielle dans les pays syriens et arabes.” (Zeine 1966, 161). Another group, the Arab Revolutionary Society (al-dā'irah al-dā'irah al-arabiyah), called in the same year for a more drastic measure: complete Arab independence from the Ottoman Empire. The society’s “Proclamation (balāqh) to the Arabs, the Sons of Kahfān” expounded the superiority of Arabic over Turkish and denounced Turkish attempts to substitute the “sacred” language of Islam with Turkish translations of such things as the call to prayer and the ritual prayer itself. The proclamation also appeals to Christians and Jews to recognize that their common language unites them with Muslims in a single Arab nation: “Let the Muslims, the Christians, and the Jews be as one in working for the interest of the nation (umma) and of the country (bilād). You all dwell in one land, you speak one language, so be also one nation and one hand.” The fanaticism that divides the religious communities is deliberately cultivated by the Turkish authorities, the proclamation avers. Religious hostilities will subside when “our affairs, our learning, and the verdicts of our courts will be conducted in our own language” (ibid., 174-7; Haim 1976, 83-8).

Opposition to the Turkification policy also figures prominently in the works of individual intellectuals. In his newspaper al-Mufid, ‘Abd al-Ghanf al-Urays (1891-1916) wrote incessantly on the need for Arabs to resist attempts to undermine their language. He demanded that Arabic be recognized in the Ottoman constitution as the primary official language in the Arab provinces of the empire, and that it be enforced as such in the schools and civil administration. He urged Arabs to insist that all foreign schools teach Arabic as the national language of the students they were educating, alongside Turkish, the official language of the empire, and a foreign language, such as English or French. Al-Urays also campaigned for the use of a simple, pure Arabic idiom in private communications, one that avoided flowery expressions that he blamed on Turkish influences or words and phrases borrowed from French, the language popular among many educated Arabs, especially his fellow Lebanese. Al-Urays’s growing influence among Arab nationalists led to his execution by Turkish authorities in Beirut in 1916.

Arab nationalist writing in the period after World War I continued to emphasize the role of the Arabic language, but with the imposition of English and French mandates in much of the former Ottoman Empire, the perceived threat to Arabic came from English and French, not Turkish. ‘Abd Allāh al-Alāyīlī (b. 1914) Dustūr al-arab al-kaumi, published in 1941, is a not so veiled attack on the dissemination of French in his native Lebanon: “The duty of nationalists who are imbued with a burning and true belief is to persuade society by all possible means to free itself from all languages except the one which it is desirable to impose, attachment to which must be fanatic... In such a fanaticism we must mingle hate and contempt for anyone who does not speak that national language, which we hold sacred and venerate as a high ideal” (Haim 1976, 121-2). In his 1952 article al-Isām wa l-‘umma al-‘arabiyah ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Buzzāk (1913-73) declared the Arabic language to be the “soul of our Arab nation and the primary aspect of its national life” (ibid., 181). Zāki al-Arsūzī (1900-68) argued that the true Arab genius lies in the Arabic language, which had flowered well before the advent of Islam. Thus, for al-Arsūzī, the origins of the Arab nation lie in its pre-Islamic antiquity, and the Prophet Muhammad becomes simply one among many who forged an Arab national consciousness. The challenge of all modern Arabs, Christians and Muslims, according to al-Arsūzī, is to reinvigorate this national identity by reviving the language, for which
he suggested a number of radical reform measures (see Suleiman 2003, 146-57).

The period between the two World Wars saw increasing opposition to French rule in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia as well. French colonialism in all three countries had meant the imposition of a policy of francophanie that made French the sole official language. The independence movements in the Maghrib would consequently stress Arabic along with Islam as the unifying and authentic markers of national-terminology in their definitions of Arab nationalism, al-Husri limited his idea to a shared language and a shared history. The priority he attaches to the two is clearly articulated in the following passage from Muhādārat fi nushū al-ḥikma al-kawmiyya: "Language constitutes the life of a nation. History constitutes its feeling. A nation which forgets its history loses its feeling and consciousness. A nation which forgets its language loses its life and [very] being" (Suleiman 2003, 132).

Al-Husri was keenly aware, however, that linguistic unity was largely a fiction, that the common standard Arabic was shared by only a small fraction of Arabs, namely, the literate classes, whereas the vast majority of Arabic speakers were divided by widely divergent colloquial dialects. In order to realise his vision of a language-based Arab identity, al-Husri devoted much of his career to promoting the modernisation and simplification of classical Arabic grammar, with the intention of reconciling standard Arabic with the dialects, and then disseminating this modern standard Arabic in the new educational system of Arab countries. At the same time, he waged a fierce intellectual battle against advocates of regional vernaculars as the basis for an Egyptian, Syrian or 'Iraki national language. Sati al-Naṣr, whose Arabicization project, where sometimes different regional vernaculars exist within a single state. Finally, Arabisation has been bolstered by the rise of Islamist groups that accentuate the connection between Arabic and the Islamic identity of the vast majority of the populations of Arab states. Arabic is today designated as an official language in the constitutions of nearly all 22 members of the Arab League, and it is the sole official language in some 16 states.

Egypt was among the first Arab states to react to the dissemination of English and French as a deliberate policy of imperialism. In 1888, the British colonial administration in Egypt announced that the language of instruction in all Egyptian schools should be either English or French. This policy was coupled with the promotion of the Egyptian colloquial over the literary Arabic as the "authentic" language of Egypt. Various Egyptian intellectuals, such as Mustafa al-Husur, adopted the proposal. "Arabic as the basis for an Egyptian, Syrian or 'Iraki national language was a major reason for its backwardness and that the key to Egypt's progress lay in making the spoken language Egypt's written language as well. The British language policies were not met with immediate resistance, but to the contrary the policies found champions among many influential Egyptian reformers. Calls for a restoration of standard Arabic in the national life of Egypt became pronounced when the independence movement gained ground in the early 20th century. Sa'd Zaghlul [g.e.], in his capacity of Minister of Education (1906-10), worked on the Pedagogy Committee of the University of Cairo (est. 1908), headed by the then Prince Fu'ād, recommended that the official language of instruction at the university be Arabic, but, given the poverty of instructional material in that language, French and English would serve by necessity and temporal translation as the medium of instruction in many faculties. Despite these early efforts, as late as the 1940s Arabic was rarely the medium of instruction in Egypt's educational system, except for the religious schools supervised by al-Azhar. The foreign-language schools, where most of Egypt's elite were educated, continued to exclude Arabic altogether, leading Tāhā Husayn in Mustuokableh fi Musti (1930) to warn of the cultural and political consequences for the nation. Tāhā Husayn's demand that Arabic be taught in all foreign schools (though the medium of instruction remained English or French) became government policy in the early 1940s.

Syria and then 'Irāq launched Arabisation policies under the direction of Sā'id al-Husur, who served as an advisor and education minister to Fāsyl b. Husayn [see Fāsyl 1]. The short-lived Arab national government in Damascus (October 1918-July 1920) undertook several measures to build Arab national consciousness in the country, including the implementation of an Arabic curriculum at all grade levels, requiring the rapid translation into Arabic of textbooks and the training of qualified instructors. Al-Husur continued the aborted Arabisation program in Syria when he relocated to 'Irāq with Fāsyl. The teaching of foreign languages was eliminated in state
primary schools, and the foreign-sponsored schools were forced to adopt much of the nationalist-oriented curriculum developed for the state schools.

The ascendancy of pan-Arab politics during the 1950s raised the language issue to new levels of political saliency. Both of the dominant ideologies of pan-Arabism and Arab nationalism emphasized the alleged unity of language as a key constituent of the single Arab nation. The result was the further curtailment, if not outright elimination, of the influence of foreign languages in Egypt, Syria and 'Irāk. In Egypt, standard Arabic was promoted as the language of instruction in all subjects, including technical and scientific subjects generally taught in universities in English. The debates on the place of colloquial Egyptian in national life faded, but did not die entirely, as evinced by the controversy engendered by the publication of Luwīs 'Awad’s (1915-90) *Mukaddima fi ṣīḥ al-bughā al-'arabīyya* in 1980. This work, which attempts to sever the link between Arabic and Egyptian nationhood, was published, perhaps not by coincidence, following Egypt’s expulsion from the Arab League because of its peace treaty with Israel.

Lebanon was the Arab state most torn by the advent of pan-Arab ideologies, and language figured prominently in its political disputes. In 1962, Père Selim Abou, a young Lebanese Jesuit teaching at the University of St. Joseph in Beirut, published *Bilinguisme arabe-français au Liban*, in which he argued that Lebanon’s bilingual character is unique among Arab countries and not the result of foreign domination. Much of the Christian population and many of the Muslim elites as well used French well before the French Mandate, he pointed out. French has been voluntarily adopted, Père Abou suggests, by a segment of the Lebanese population, especially the Maronites, "to express their deepest spiritual needs" (Savigny 1965, 121). Such views were strongly challenged by other Lebanese writers, including a number of prominent Maronites. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Hājjī (1917-76), for example, argued that Lebanon's bilingualism was largely a myth, since only a small percentage of the elite classes in each confessionist group commanded native mastery of either Arabic or French. French was the language of business and the government's continued use instead of Arabic by the Lebanese was one means of marking their inferior status and dependence upon Europe.

Similar controversies involving the role of French have occurred in the countries of the Maghrib. Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia have all pursued efforts to promote standard Arabic as a marker of their national identities as well as their solidarity with the broader Arab world. But the three countries have exhibited varying degrees of official hostility to the use of French in national life. Algeria, which experienced the longest period of French colonial rule, has always been accepted by the government in the pre-independence period. Its 1973 constitution declared Arabic alone to be the official language. Kurdish-language publications were banned in Syria after independence. Its 1973 constitution established Arabic as the sole official language of the country, but the use of Kurdish in schools and universities, demanding that the government officially recognise the Berber dialect of Tamazight [gæ].

The government responded by creating the Haut Commissariat à la Amazighite in 1993 for the promotion of Tamazight in education and mass communication. In April 2004 Tamazight was recognised as a second national language in Algeria. The recognition fell short of Berber demands that it be acknowledged as an official language, which the government reaffirmed throughout the 1990s as being standard Arabic.

The Kurdish minorities in Syria and 'Irāk have faced similar obstacles to gaining official status for their language. Kurdish-language publications were banned in Syria after independence. Its 1973 constitution declared Arabic alone to be the official language. 'Irāk’s 1925 constitution also established Arabic as the sole official language of the country, but the use of Kurdish in schools and other public spheres was always accepted by the government in the pre-dominantly Kurdish regions of the north. The 'Irāk law of administration for the transition period, promulgated in March 2004 following the American occupation of the country, recognises both Arabic and Kurdish as official languages.

The constitution of Sudan designates Arabic as the official language of the republic, but adds that "the
state shall allow the development of other local and international languages". The reference to other local languages is presumably to the 100 or so African languages spoken in the southern, mainly non-Muslim part of the country. The British colonial administration cultivated these regional dialects along with English in an openly espoused policy of divide and rule. Post-independence Sudanese governments have pursued Arabicisation with the argument that a common language is the most effective means of maintaining the unity of the country. Yet Arabicisation has been strongly resisted in the south as merely one aspect of Khartoum's attempts to Arabise and, since the late 1980s, Islamise the Christian and animist regions of the country.

Organisations promoting Arabicisation
A number of organisations have been founded by Arab governments and by the Arab League to promote the policy of Arabicisation. The Arab Academy was created in 1919 in Damascus as part of the intensive Arabicisation program launched under Sā'īd al-Ḥṣīf. Its principal mission was to coin Arabic terms for scientific and technological applications. The Royal Academy of the Arabic Language (al-Majma‘ al-malākī li ‘Ugīga al-wuqūyīyā) in Cairo was established in December 1932 by a royal decree of King Fu‘ad. Its mandate was to explore all means by which the Arabic language could be revitalised. The King personally took an interest in orthographic reform, advocating the use of different characters to function as capital letters, dubbed the ḥurūf al-tāṣī. This experiment was ultimately abandoned, but the academy continued to debate various measures for orthographic and grammatical simplification for years to come. Under Nasser [see ABD AL-NASIR, in Suppl.], the academy diverted its attention away from internal reform of the language to formulating new terminology for scientific and technical applications. This shift reflected the regime’s argument that Arabicisation should proceed with minimal internal alterations to classical Arabic, the bearer of the common Arab heritage, and should focus instead on only those reforms necessary for economic and scientific progress. Other Arabic language academies have been established in Baghdad (1947) and Amman (1976).

The need to coordinate the work of the various national language academies was acknowledged in 1961 by the Arab League. The Bureau for the Coordination of Arabicisation in the Arab World was established the following year in Rabāṭ. The bureau has organised a number of international scholarly conferences on Arabic reform and pedagogy and publishes the journal al-Lisdn al-arabī (al-Majma‘ al-malākī li ‘Ugīga al-wuqūyīyā). ACATAP was established in Damascus by an agreement between the government of Syria and the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO). ACATAP’s goals include translating foreign works into Arabic and translating key Arabic texts in science, art and literature into selected foreign languages. The centre also publishes a semi-annual journal titled al-Tarīb.

Bibliography:

(ŠOAIL H. HASHMI)
genre of this last, the "road books" or al-masālik wa 'l-mamlūk [q.v.], an important element of which was also the fixing of the geographical co-ordinates of places (see Biacherie, Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Âge, Beirut-Algers 1934, "Paris 1957, 11-200, 10-250, 11-255, at Vol. II, 573); at all events, Ibn Khurraḍāḏbih [q.v.] may be accounted the father of this sub-genre.

Those tarnūk which were major highways of the Islamic world for trade and communication naturally stimulated the growth of staging posts (mandril [q.v.]) and important towns along them. Mecca may have been along one of these tarnūk, the route from Syria down the Ṭūth al-Ḳurā [q.v.] (but cf. the thesis of Patricia Crone in her Meccan trade and the rise of Islam, Oxford 1987, that the importance of Mecca as a centre for pre-Islamic trade has been much exaggerated). Yet undoubtedly, Samarkand [q.v.] lay at the intersection of trade routes coming from India and Afghanistan and from Khurāšān and western Persia and then leading northwards and eastwards along the "Silk Route" to eastern Turkestān and China—the "Golden Road to Samarqand" which forms the culmination and envoy of the James Elroy Flecker's (d. 1915) poetic drama Ḥassān. The famous Silk Route, or better, Silk Routes, ran westwards from Xi'an in China through Lanzhou to Dunhuang, where the ways split, proceeding either along the northern or southern rims of the Tarim basin [q.v.] to Ṭaḡḫent, Samarkand, Bukhārā, and thence to the caliphal lands of Persia and Īrān, and through Anatolīa or along the Black Sea coast to Byzantium (see M. Mollat du Jourdin, ch. "Des routes continentales à la voie maritīme (fin du Moyen Âge)", in UNESCO, Les routes de la soie, Patrimoine commun, identités florissantes, Paris 1984, 1-19; K. Baipakov, ch. VIII/2 "The Silk Route across Central Asia", in E.G. Bosworth and Muhammad Asimov [eds.], UNESCO History of the civilisations of Central Asia, iv, The age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century, pt. 2, Paris 2000, 221-6; Frances Wood, The Silk Road, London 2000, 13). At the other side of the Islamic world, caravan routes across the Sahara Desert brought the slaves and gold of ancient Mali and Ghāna to the North African cities (see F.E. Bosvill, The golden trade of the Moors, London 1958), whilst the Darb al-ʿArbaʿīn [q.v.] "Route which took forty days" linked Egypt and Nubia with the eastern lands of the Bilad al-Sudan, bringing slaves, ivory, ostrich feathers, etc. (see SUĐĀN, BILAD AL-).

It should be noted that tarnūk should not be confused with the related term ṭarīḵā, pl. ṭarīḵā, Šīfī "path" or order; for these, see ṬARĪḴĀ.


TAṆIK — TAṆIKH

II. 1. In the Arab world.

(a) The period 500-600 A.H. (1000-1800).

i. The Ottoman occupation of the central Arab lands

The Ottoman Empire, in a few decisive battles, destroyed the Mamlūk Sultanate (1290-1517 [see MAMLŪKS]), which included Egypt, Syria and parts of Anatolīa (with the Ḥidjāz within its sphere of influence). Egypt, the centre of empires for centuries, and also Syria became tax-paying Ottoman provinces for the next three, nominally four, centuries. Later in the 16th century, the Yemen, Īrān and North Africa (with the exception of Morocco) were also incorporated into the Ottoman Empire with varying degrees of centralisation.

For Egypt in particular, the change of rule was traumatic. It is true that like the Mamlūks, the Ottomans were Turco-phone Sunnīs and were ruled by a foreign-born military caste. Yet the nature of administration under the Mamlūks had been Arabic; now, under the Ottomans, it was Turkish. Under the new régime, all governors, chief government officials, kāḥīṭs and soldiers came from the Turkish provinces and spoke Turkish. Thus the foreign presence in the Arab lands was much more massive than before. At the beginning, many of the natives of Syria, Egypt and other Arab lands regarded the Ottomans as bad Muslims, negligent of the religious ordinances and disrespectful of the šuʾrā. This judgment entailed automatically a view of the rulers as unjust. Later this negative image of the Ottomans changed, however, as the Ottomans, starting with the long and stable reign of Sultan Sulaymān Ḧānī (the Magnificent, 1520-66 [q.v.]), became themselves more devout. The Ottoman dynasty emphasised its role as pious Muslim rulers and defenders of Islam against Christian infidels in the west and Shiʿī heretics in the east. Nevertheless, anti-Turkish sentiments persisted, beside a genuine loyalty toward the Ottoman dynasty itself and the distant sultan in Istanbul. Such seemingly contradictory sentiments could coexist in that pre-national age and are reflected in the writings of Arab historians.

The Mamlūk sultanate was extremely rich in historiography (see (b) at Vol. X, 276a-280a), more than any other period in pre-modern Islam. Yet research into the history of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire has also been increasing recently, and there is a better appreciation of the wealth of Arabic historiography under Ottoman rule (see BIDĪ).

EGYPT

The political, diplomatic and military events leading to the Mamlūk-Ottoman conflict and the occupation of Egypt (Muḥarram 923/January 1517), and then the first six years of Ottoman rule (until Dhū l-Ḥidjād 928/November 1522) are superbly narrated by the Cairoene chronicler Muḥammad b. Iyah [see IBN IYAS]. The fifth volume of his Badīʿ al-ẓahār fi wakāṭ al-dīn [q.v.] is a most valuable work that has few equivalents in describing day by day how a new régime steps into the shoes of the old one. Ibn Iyah not only reports the decisions and moves undertaken by the Ottomans in Egypt but his writing reflects the people's attitudes and feelings toward their new masters.

Ibn Iyah's hostility towards the Ottomans is obvious throughout his chronicle. He identified with the fallen Mamlūks, since he was one of anīlāḏ al-nās [q.v.] "the sons of the (important) men", namely, the Mamlūks. He judged all the Ottomans—Sultan Selīm, who defeated the Mamlūks, his soldiers, and his kāḥīṭs—as cruel and ignorant.

The problem with this chronicle is that it is almost isolated. Ibn Iyah was one of the best, but also the last, representatives of the great Egyptian Mamlūk historiographical tradition. This tradition stops abruptly after the Ottoman occupation. It cannot be determined whether that happened because Egypt was relegated from an empire to a province, or because the greater part of the 16th/17th century in Egypt passed peacefully and without major political upheavals. Some
information about the history of Egypt in the 10th/16th century is provided by non-Egyptian Arabic sources, such as by the important histories of the Meccan historian ʿAbd al-Din al-Nahrawalī (d. 950/1542 [g.g.]), who wrote a detailed account of the exploits of the Ottomans in the Yemen. He was familiar with developments in Egypt, in the Hijāz and, to a certain extent, in Istanbul as well, since he travelled to the Ottoman capital where he met some of the most influential men. Al-Nahrawalī wrote a lengthy history of the Ottoman Empire up to his time, which comprises a great part of his book about the history of Mecca (al-Bark al-ṣamālī fī ʿl-jāh al-ṣamālī, ed. Hamad al-Djawārī, al-Riyād 1967; K. al-Ṭūm bi-dīlām biʾl-lāhī Allah al-khādir, Beirut 1964). His attitude towards the Ottoman state is positive in the extreme, and his works influenced Egyptian historians for a long time.

Since contemporary chroniclers did not cover the greater part of the 16th century, the information about that period is cursory and episodic. The historiography of the period organises its coverage of events by what has been called by scholars the “sultan-pasha” type of chronicle. The paĝa is the central figure in the narratives. The chroniclers characterise each viceroy by his personality and religious profile.

One of the two notable historians of this period is Muhammad b. Abi ʿl-Surur al-Bakr al-Siddikīf (d. 796/1394). In his Kitāb Aḥkām al-awsal fī muḥā Fansarqā fī Muḥir min al-awāl al-awdīl he gives a valuable and extensive view of the chronicle of the Ottoman dynasty and a history of Egypt up to his time. Of far greater importance are the numerous historical writings of Muhammad b. Abi ʿl-Surur al-Bakr al-Siddikīf (d. 1071/1661) [see al-Barkārī], the leading historian of the 11th/17th century. He was a member of a famous aristocratic Sūfī family of Adhūfi, who also claimed descent from Abū Bakr, the first caliph [see Barkārīyah]. The Bakrīs played a role in Egypt's religious and public life until the middle of the 20th century. Ibn Abī ʿl-Surūr himself had close relations with the Ottoman authorities in Egypt, and his attitude toward the Ottomans is extremely laudatory, describing the sultans as impeccably orthodox. Almost all his chronicles are about Ottoman Egypt, but he also wrote a history of the Ottoman Empire, naturally with a strong emphasis on Egypt (al-Maḥāb al-namānīyya fī ʿl-dawlat al-Mamdlik, ed. Laylā al-Ṣāḥibkhāgh, Damascus 1995).

It was only towards the end of the 11th/17th century and during the 12th/18th century that Arabic history writing in Egypt became really mature and rich. We may have many chronicles, some of them very valuable, which fall into two main categories: (a) literary chronicles, written by educated 'alāmā or scribes in standard literary Arabic, and (b) the popular chronicles or “soldiers' narratives". The "soldier" language is not grammatical, and the narratives have the characteristics of stories told before an audience. The chronicles of this category were created in the milieu of the seven ogāb, or the regiments of the Ottoman garrison in Cairo, more specifically in the ʿAzab ogāb, the second largest regiment in Cairo (after the Janissaries). These five manuscripts are known as the Damurdashi group, since their authors are related in one way or another to officers in the ʿAzab regiment called by this surname. The most important chronicler of this group is Ahmad al-Damurdashi KāthīfīlʿAzabān [see al-Damurdashi], who was an officer below the rank of the regimental commander in the ʿAzab corps, whose chronicle ends in 1170/1756 (al-Dūrā al-musānā fī Aḥkām al-Kināna, ed. A. ʿAbd al-Rahīm, Cairo 1989, ed. and tr. D. Crecelius and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Bakr, Al-Damurdashī's chronicle of Egypt, 1688-1755, Leiden 1991). His narrative is lively, detailed and trustworthy, and is full of information about military and political events, as well as anecdotes that throw light on various economic, religious and cultural aspects of Egyptian civilisation.

It is important to note that Ahmad al-Damurdashi was aware of the de facto autonomy of Egypt within the Empire. He calls the régime in Egypt dawlat al-Mamlūkī, namely, the Mamlūk government, as it appears in the book’s sub-title Fi Aḥkām mā wūdāʾ bi-Mīr fī dawlat al-Mamlūkī “that which happened in Egypt under the Mamlūk government”.

The historians of the period describe in detail the political struggles that they witnessed in Egypt, again, particularly in Cairo. After the pağes’ authority declined from the latter part of the 10th/16th century, power passed in the next century to the military grandees, called amīr, bey or sandjakī (the arabised plural of the Turkish sandjak or sandjak beyi). In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, power shifted to the ogāb, primarily to the Janissaries and the ʿAzab, in that order. For most of the 12th/18th century, the supremacy belonged to the constantly-feuding Mamlūk beykis until 1798, when the French occupation put an end to the Mamlūk régime.

Ahmad Shalābī, for example, wrote a valuable, which fall into two main categories: (a) literary chronicles, written by educated 'alāmā or scribes in standard literary Arabic, and (b) the popular chronicles or "soldiers' narratives". The "soldier" language is not grammatical, and the narratives have the characteristics of stories told before an audience. The chronicles of this category were created in the milieu of the seven ogāb, or the regiments of the Ottoman garrison in Cairo, more specifically in the ʿAzab ogāb, the second largest regiment in Cairo (after the Janissaries). These five manuscripts are known as the Damurdashi group, since their authors are related in one way or another to officers in the ʿAzab regiment called by this surname. The most important chronicler of this group is Ahmad al-Damurdashi KāthīfīlʿAzabān [see al-Damurdashi], who was an officer below the rank of the regimental commander in the ʿAzab corps, whose chronicle ends in 1170/1756 (al-Dūrā al-musānā fī Aḥkām al-Kināna, ed. A. ʿAbd al-Rahīm, Cairo 1989, ed. and tr. D. Crecelius and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Bakr, Al-Damurdashī's chronicle of Egypt, 1688-1755, Leiden 1991). His narrative is lively, detailed and trustworthy, and is full of information about military and political events, as well as anecdotes that throw light on various economic, religious and cultural aspects of Egyptian civilisation.

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attention was paid to religious matters, both among Muslims and Christians. Since Damascus was a major station on the Pilgrimage route, much information is provided about the Pilgrimage. The chronicles are good sources for social, economic and urban history, giving details about food prices, construction projects, and the like.

By far the most important and prolific historian of the late Mamlûk and the early Ottoman period is an 'ālim, a native of the al-Šâlihiyya (q.v.) suburb of Damascus, called Muhâmmed b. 'Alî Shams al-Dîn b. Ťulûn al-Šâlihi al-Dîmâshqî al-Ḥanâfî (880-953/1475-1546 [see H. THOMAS]). Like Ibn Ġiyâs, his Egyptian contemporary, Ibn Ťûlûn witnessed the Ottoman occupation of his town, which he described in detail. He was a professional and devoted 'ālim, however, and, his judgment of the Ottomans, from the Sultan downwards, was more balanced than that of Ibn Ġiyâs. His Arabic style is literary, unlike that of Ibn Ġiyâs, whose Arabic is lively but ungrammatical. Ibn Ťûlûn wrote no less than 753 treatises, many about Islamic learning, but he owes his fame to his many historical writings. He also wrote an autobiography. His best and most detailed historical work is Muḥāsabat al-šâlihi fī tawdîhī al-zamān, a chronicle covering the last decades of Mamlûk Syria, Damascus in particular (from 884/1475), and the first years of Ottoman rule in Damascus until the year 963/1556 (ed. Muḥâmmed Muṣṭafâ, 2 vols. Cairo 1381/1962; ed. Khâlîf al-Manṣûr, Beirut 1418/1998). He reveals a humanistic sense of justice.

Another outstanding historian of the period, whom Ibn Ťûlûn regarded as his teacher, was 'Abd al-Ḳâdir al-Nuʿaymî, the author of the important historical encyclopedia of the schools and houses of worship of Damascus, entitled al-Dâris fī taʿrîkh al-madâris (several editions: Cairo 1248/1832; Beirut 1313/1896; Damascus 1988); Al-Nuʿaymî was an expert on usūfî (see WAGNER). The work is organised by madâhil and types of institutions—Kurʾân schools, madrasas, cayînas (Sûfî centres) and the like, and includes biographies of teachers and also details about relevant usūfî.

An important historical source for Syria in the 10th/16th century is Nadîm al-Dîn's al-Ǧazzâr's al-Kawâhîb al-sâlihi fī dyân al-miʿâl al-ṭâlîbîn, the first of the three centennial dictionaries of Ottoman Syria (3 vols. Beirut, Journih and Hârisa 1945-59; Al-Ǧazzâr [977-1061/1570-1651]) was a member of a family of 'alîmî and an orthodox Sûfî of the Kâdirî order, who lived in Damascus where he held several religious offices. The biographies in the Kawâhîb are
arranged by generations (tabakāt) of 33 years each. The order is alphabetical. Among his biographies there are Ottoman officials, kadis, and governors. He had to rely extensively on information he found in works of earlier historians.


A popular collection of biographies from early Islam to the year A.H. 1000, the Shadhīrūt al-dhahab fi akhbār man dhahab man dhahab (8 vols., Cairo 1350/1931) was written by Ibn al-ʻImād, another ʻAbnī al-dī‘am born in the al-Sāhliyya suburb of Damascus (d. 1089/1672).

This survey of the biographical dictionaries of the 10th/16th century should include the work of Tahārīkh al-ʻulamā‘ wa-kaft al-dī‘ān (4 vols., Cairo 1290/1680 and subsequent prints). Al-Muḥibbī also was a member of a wealthy family of Damascus al-dī‘amān. The work consists of 1,298 biographies of distinguished persons. It provides important information about politics, religion and culture in the Ottoman Middle East and the Hijāz. There are also biographies about personages from India and Kurdistan.

The history of Damascus in the 12th/18th century is recorded in a detailed and uninterrupted manner by several reliable contemporary chronicles. The earliest is Ibn Kamān’s history covering the period between 1111/1699 and 1153/1740 (Muhammad b. Isā b. Kānnān al-Sāhli, Yawmīyāt al-dī‘ān, ed. A.H. al-Ulābī, Damascus 1994).

The immediate continuator of Ibn Kamān’s narrative was a chronicler who, unlike the great majority of the historians of Ottoman Syria, was not a scholar but a barber, called Ahmad al-Budayn al-Hallak (‘the Barber’). His work, Ḥawḍith Dimashq al-yawmīyya (ed. Ahmad ʻIzzāt ʻAbd al-Karim, Damascus 1959), covers the period between 1154/1740 or 1741 and 1176/1762; hence, with Ibn Kamān, we have a continuous chronological narrative of Damascus for 63 years. Al-Budayn was a ʻAbnī but his order was the Saʿdiyya [p.190], which was notoriously unorthodox.

Another Damascene chronicler, a Greek Orthodox priest of Damascus named Mīkhāl Breik, brings the historical coverage of the city to 1782 with his Tarīkh al-dī‘ām (ed. Kuştanfin al-Baṣīg, Harissa 1990). He explains that he began his history at the year 1720 because this was the time when the rule of the governors (wālib) of the ʻAzm family started. He makes a point that they were the first native Arabs (awlad ‘Arab, as distinct from the Turks) who rose to this office. Breik reports of conflicts in Damascus between Catholics and Greek Orthodox. He stands out among his contemporaries as the only historian who wrote also about events that were taking place outside the Ottoman Empire, mainly in Europe.

The last centennial dictionary for the period under survey is Sīhī al-dawār fi a‘zān al-karn al-thānī ‘a‘zāgar (4 vols., Beirut 1997) by the Damascus ʻIlm Muḥammad Ḥaślī al-Muṣirādī (d. 1206/1791-2) at the age of 31 [p.190]. He came from a family of ʻAbnī ‘ulamā‘ originating from Samarqand. Like his father before him, he served as the ʻAbnī mufti of Damascus and the nakāb al-ʻAṣghārī there. The book, which comprises 1,000 biographies, is a most valuable source for the political, social and cultural history of Syria in the 12th/18th century. In addition to using contemporary chronicles, al-Muṣirādī corresponded with other ‘ulamā‘ in Syria and Egypt, asking them to collect materials for his biographical dictionary.

LEBANON

Mount Lebanon was a separate political and administrative unit, and had its own history owing to its unique topography [see LEBANON]. It often enjoyed a degree of independence, and had a predominantly non-Muslim population of Christians and Druze. During the Ottoman period, Lebanon had many well-educated historians, several of whom were clergymen, others were professors. The former were preoccupied with the history of their sect and its institutions, recording their creed and describing the quarrels among different Christian churches. The Lebanese historians wrote about the politics of the region (some recorded the history of other parts of Syria as well), struggles between factions, the great feudal families of the Mountain, and the leaders. They also wrote about the history of the two semi-autonomous dynasties that ruled Lebanon during the Ottoman period, the Mānīds [see MA’N, BAN] and the Shihāhs [see GHAJR, BAN].

The Patriarch Isḥāq al-Duwaiḥī (1630-1704 [p.190]), the greatest of the Maronite church historians, was the author of the only history of Syria with an emphasis on Lebanon in the 16th and 17th centuries by a contemporary writer. He wrote about the Maronite community and church with the purpose of defending their Catholic orthodoxy and attacking other Christian churches, such as the Jacobites, whom he considers as hostile to his church as the Mamluk sultans. His general history, Tarīkh al-ażmīn (ed. F. Taqutel [Tawtal], in al-Maqrīzī, xlv [Beirut 1950]; another ed. by P. Fahed, Jounieh 1976, covering the period from the rise of Islam until 1098/1686) is a chronicle of Syria from the Crusades until the end of the 17th century, but the fullest and the most informative account is about the two last centuries. Al-Duwaiḥī’s emphasis is on northern Lebanon where the population was Maronite, and which was ruled by Druze amīrs or by Muslims, who were appointed by the Mamlūks, and later by the Ottomans.

ʻAbd Allāh al-Maḥaṣīfī (d. 1823), a Greek monk of the Shuwayrite religious order, wrote a history of the Shūf region of Lebanon and the Shihāhs. He concentrated on his own religious order and on other Christian religious topics (al-Durr al-maṣāfi’ fi tarīkh al-ṣūfī, ed. I. Sarkis, in al-Maqrīzī, xlvii-li [1954-7]). The most important historian of that period is Ahmad Haydar al-Shihābī (1761-1835), a cousin of the Amir Bashir II. He had access to official documents, such as Bashir’s correspondence with Ottoman governors. He wrote a history of Lebanon from the rise of Islam until 1827, called Ghawr al-tānīs fī akhbār al-zamān. Ahmad Haydar was a Maronite convert from Islam. In his history he expresses unmitigated support for the Shihāhs, in particular for Bashir II, against their
Lebanese and Ottoman enemies (his books have been published in several editions, e.g. Laura in fi 'abd al-

'Irāk

For the 10th/16th century, no historical parallel to Ibn Iyās or Ibn Tūlūn describing 'Irāk's conditions under the Ottomans—who conquered the country in 941/1534—has come down to us, and the few works that were written in Turkish. The historians tended to write about the main cities—Baghdād, Basra, Mawsīl—and several smaller towns. As expected, power struggles among the rulers are constant features in the chronicles. As for foreign affairs, wars between Persia and Ottoman 'Irāk are the main theme. Baghdād itself was occupied by the Safawīs from 1622 until 1632. The attacks of the Persians under Nādir Shāh during the first half of the 12th/18th century (1733 until 1746, including sieges of Baghdād, Mawsīl and Kīrkiḵ) were the most traumatic events in the political history of 'Irāk, and are reported in detail by the chroniclers.

The first historian of Ottoman 'Irāk worthy of the name was 'Ali al-Huwawīyyi (d. 1075/1664). He lived in the court of the asāfīn al-Afnāyīb house, founded at the end of the 10th/16th century by a local magistrate who administered the Province of Basra as his private domain. Al-Huwawīyyi's history of Basra in the first half of the century is entitled al-Sira al-mawridiyā fi 'ishār al-fardiyā. Ahmed b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghuṭārī from Baghdād (d. 1650/1102) wrote the first chronicle that is arranged by years. For his information, he relied on Turkish official documents and eyewitnesses' reports. His book, līyān al-khadr al-dawār min madīnat amīr al-tawārīṯ wa-l-zaman, is a chronicle of the political events in Baghdād in the 11th/17th century.

Similar to the situation in Syria, 12th/18th-century 'Irāk saw the emergence of governors (wāḥisī) of local families. Muhāmmed al-Rahābī, a mufti, wrote the biog-

In general, the same kind of historiography proceeds, grosso modo, out of the Arab-Islamic historical tradition of the Middle East. As well as the implicit teleological element, it seems more distant and even irrelevant. Despite the differences between the societies of the various Arab lands and cities notwithstanding, there are strong similarities owing to the common religion (at least for the Muslim majority) and the common language and culture. The roles and status of the 'ulamā', ṣāifs, gūlīds, leaders of city quarters and the like were as a general rule similar in Cairo, Aleppo, Baghdād and Jerusalem.

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As far as written documentation goes, the historiography of the mediaeval Maghrib proceeds, grosso modo, out of the Arab-Islamic historical tradition of the East. As well as the implicit teleological element, it follows the divisions and techniques of elaboration of those of the East, but nevertheless develops quite early lines of demarcation, which will be examined below, together with points of divergence.

The newly-emerging Maghribi historiography should be understood as both a result and a support of the mainstream tradition. A certain number of points need to be recognised:

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Concluding remarks

Despite the differences between the various Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, certain common features emerge in their historiography. With the notable exception of 'Irāk, local chronicles reasonably cover the first decades or at least the first years after the Ottoman occupation in the early 10th/16th century. The rest of that century has much less historiographical coverage (it should be noted, however, that there was a rich historiography in Yemen for the 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries; see the book of Frédéric Soudan, below, in Bībl, and al-Mawzā'). The 11th/17th century witnessed more intensive historical writings in Arabic, which came to full maturity and richness in the 12th/18th century (this being true with regard to 'Irāk as well).
Islam, an Arabic historiography was fairly late in emerging. Taking into account the loss of the account called Fithāh Ḥīṣāya still attributed on weak grounds to Abu l-Muhājiq [q.v.], the effective appearance of this historiography seems to have been in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, that is, in the second stage of development, of powerful, centralising dynasties, under which the same outburst of historiographical writing now appears in the Far Maghrib.

The disparate nature of the historical works and the priority of Ḥīṣāya, mid-3rd/9th to late 5th/11th centuries

After a void following on from the conquests, from the mid-3rd/9th century, various initiatives appear, independently of each other, in Fās and Tāhârt and, above all, in Ifrîkiya. However, most of the works from this period have been lost. We possess Ibn Sallâm's Ḥīṣâṭ text and the chronicle of Ibn al-Saghir [q.v.] on the Rostamid Îmâms of Tâhârt from the end of this same century (ed. and Fr. tr. C. de Metylinski, in Actes du XIe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris 1908, 2-132, new ed. Tunis 1976), and the contemporary collection of biographies by Abu l-'Arab [q.v.], the Tabâkât 'ulamâ' Ḥīṣâya (ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1915), but the first chronicles dealing with the Idrîsidûs of Fâs, the Khârijûtes of Sîdjîlmaâsâ, the Aghlabids and the Fâtimids of Ḥîṣâya, and the works on the heretical Barghawâta and the Ghumara [q.v.] of the Atlantic seaboard, have not survived. There are, however, some instances, viz. the biographies of al-Mâlikûs, or near-contemporary accounts of the Idrîsîds, viz. a chronicle on the Îmâms of Fâs by Ibn al-Waddîn (4th/10th century), allegedly called the T. al-Adârisa, and one from the previous century, apparently better known since it was still cited by al-Bakrî [q.v.] in the mid-5th/11th century and by Ibn 'Idhârî two centuries later, the T.-al-Mâjdîl al-mufrâkh al-waâlî fî al-Nawfâlî (El-Mennounî, 18, 27). Three works written under the Aghlabids, apparently detailed and of extended length, have also failed to survive: the T. Bnî 'l-Âchibhî by the prince Muhammad b. Ziyâdat Allâh (d. 283/896); a second chronicle with the same name; and an important Tabâkât 'ul-âlamâ' by Muhammad b. Sahnûn (d. 256/870), son of the famous Mâlîkî jurist of al-Kâyrawân.

Apart from Fâtimid Îfrîkiya, our knowledge of the Maghrib during the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries stems essentially from eastern sources or late Andalusîs ones, and only after that from later Maghribîs sources. Hence the immense corpus of the Cordovan Ibn Hayyân [q.v.], from the mid-5th/11th century, forms one of the basic chronicles for the Far Maghrib, at that time pulled between the two influences of the Umayyâds and the Fâtimids or Fâtimids-Zirîds. In this context, the contemporary Îfrîkiyan sources would have been a counterpoise to these, in particular the lost, slightly earlier chronicle of Ibn al-Râkî [q.v.] called T. Îfrîska wa l-Maghrib. Of this most important source, a supposedly authentic fragment has been recovered and twice published (Tunis 1967, Beirut 1990). We also have, in its entirety, a text equally important for Îfrîkiyan history but one which is not a chronicle and which only concerns in a subordinate way the rest of the Maghrib, sc. the Râyâd al-nu'âsî fî al-Mâlîkî (d. 460/1068 [q.v.]), a work essentially concerned with the biographies of Mâlîkî scholars and ascetics in Îfrîkiya up to the mid-4th/9th century.

For the rest, other contemporary Îfrîkiyan texts are known only from paraphrases or from quotations by later authors. Here one would include the work called P. Abyâdîk Îfrîska wa ma-makâmîhû, plus a range of opuscula concerning strategically-placed towns such as Tâhârt, Tênès, Sîdjîlmaâsâ, Nakkîr and al-Bârâya in the northwestern Far Maghrib. Gathered together for al-Hâkim II [q.v.] of Cordova, these writings stem
from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Warrāk (292-363/904-74 [q.v.]), of Kyraγarān birth and education, who was accordingly to be of great value for al-Bakrī, Ibn Ḥaγgān and Ibn Iḍḥārī. To these works by al-Warrāk, one may add those of Ibn al-Raḥmān [q.v.], whose oeuvre included also geography (the Drabes sobre Berberes [1961], 43-111) makes a large contribution to this process, as do a certain number of Almoravid writings, especially for the transition phase between the two dynasties.

The canvas thus delineated can fairly often be enriched, at the level of content, by various sources ranging from simple accounts to collections of travel accounts or information which had been transmitted subject to rigorous examination. This last procedure may have been the main one, since neither al-Yāḍībī nor Ibn Ḥabrabādīh nor even al-Bakrī, living as he did in nearby al-Andalus, knew the Maghribi first-hand (bi 'tā'ān; only al-Muqaddasī and Ibn Ḥakwāl were exceptions to this rule, and it is undoubtedly this first-hand knowledge that informs the great originality of these two eastern authors, especially of the latter.

Variations, and the Almoravid-Almohad domination (late 5th/11th to mid-7th/13th centuries) With the installation of the Almoravids in the Far Maghrib and of the western part of the Central Maghrib and of al-Andalus of the taifa, there existed at the end of the 5th/11th century the Almoravid empire and the Zirid-Hamadānī grouping. Both belonged to the great Berber group of the Sanhāda [q.v.]. These two powers co-existed, through thick and thin, till the rise, at their expense, of the Almohads in the mid-6th/12th century. Transposed to the level of history writing, this evolution was going to cause a draining away of effort towards the West. Hence till the mid-7th/13th century, the fundamental works were written either in Andalusi Arabic or in the Almoravid Berber, which reflects the new environment dominated by the Almoravids and Almohads. Despite this trend, there were many irreplaceable losses of works, a need to rely on later compilations and even the intervention of eastern authors. Nevertheless, there appear fresh nuances when compared with the earlier period.

Almoravid historical writing One of the characteristic traits of this is that it was reduced, over the centuries, to a summary of later, general accounts. Apart from the important information of al-Bakrī, one can hardly distinguish, right up to the mid-20th century, many witnesses who were near to the events described. The only contemporary narrative, that of Ibn al-Ṣajrafi (d. 557/1152 [q.v.], al-Anwār al-ajalīyya fi al-khāṣṣ al-dawla al-murdbitiyya, has not survived, although it is known that this chronicle, covering the Almoravid period up to 530/1135-6, was in current use right to the end of the mediaeval period. Authors distant in time and space, such as Ibn Khaldūn (d. 681/1282), Ibn al-Djazārī (d. 658/1260), Ibn Abī Zar' (d. between 710-20/1310-20) and Ibn al-Khāṭīb (d. 776/1375 [q.v.]) either drew material directly from it or refer to it. Moreover, the anonymous author of the chronicle al-Hulal al-mashāālīyya (written 783/1381) probably drew upon it more than he explicitly reveals. Although poor in surviving chronicles, it is possible to construct a fairly precise chronology of Almoravid history. The publication of leaves discovered of the Almoravid Būqān (in Hespārta Tāmūdā, ii [1961], 43-111) makes a large contribution to this process, as do a certain number of Almohad writings, especially for the transition phase between the two dynasties.

The canvas thus delineated can fairly often be enriched, at the level of content, by various sources ranging from simple accounts to collections of travel accounts, travel accounts (rikāta, official correspondence, personal writings and juridical literature. This is how the chronicle of Abū Zayd al-Kalāmī, on the Baṣrah state of Tāhārī (partial Fr. tr. E. Masqueray, Paris-Algiers 1878), was put together at the turn of the 6th/12th century. Also from this period date the summa of the Mādīrak of al-Kādī Ṭyād as well as the Ghafrān which he wrote, setting out his own masters. In parallel to this, one should mention the Dhikārā of Ibn Bāṣām (552/1147 [q.v.]), meant primarily for Andalusī scholars without, however, systematically excluding Maghrībs, whilst Ibn Khašāk (d. 529/1134) included in his Khulāṣ al-ṭabāqī distinguished persons, men of letters, government officials and men of state of both shores. Regarding such men, one should note the Tāhānān, the memoirs of the Zirid prince of Granada 'Abd Allāh (d. 649/1077) (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1955; Sp. tr. idem and E. García Gómez, Madrid 1980; Eng. tr. Amin Tibi, Leiden 1992; ed. A.T. Tibi, Rabat 1995), which give an excellent impression of the struggles of the reyes de taifas with Yūsuf b. Ṭashūfuṣ [q.v.]. Of the same type of narration, there is the account left by Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArābī (d. 543/1148 [q.v.], concerning the official mission of his father, whom he accompanied to the East to seek the "Abbāsids' investiture of the same Yūsuf b. Ṭashūfuṣ (see Teos textos árabe sobre Berberes, ed. M. Ya'la, Madrid 1996, 275-315).
As well as this documentation concerned with the élites, Almoravid history writing also includes works depicting social-economic realities and governmental practices. The two treatises on hisba of al-Saqqā [q.v.] of Malaga (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931) and Ibn Abīdīn [q.v.] of Seville (ed. idem, Cairo 1954; Fr. tr. Paris 1957) were concerned with the situation in the Andalus, both of them, and especially the latter, have material relevant for the dominant power on both shores, the Almoravids. Their content is quite often confirmed by legal material contained in the collections of nawāzīž of the kādī Imrān ibn Rushd (d. 520/1126 [q.v.]), forebear of the philosopher, and later, in the Mi‘yār of al-Wanshāfī (d. 914/1506-9 [q.v.]). Many of the problems raised in this nawāzīž (e.g. the status of the Christians of al-Andalus, the behaviour of the Banū Hālā in Irīkīya, the appearance of Almohad rebels, etc.) are reflected in the Nazihat al-muḥākāt, the riḥā of al-Idrīsī [q.v.], completed in 548/1154, and also in the substantial body of official correspondence emanating from the Almoravid court (see Revista de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid, ii [1954], 55-84, vii-viii [1959-60], 109-98).

Almoravid historical writing

Inasmuch as the Almohad system rested on the Islamic tradition, influences from any source outside himself, was in principle inadmissible. Whence the complete absence at the documentary level of all traces of fatawa [q.v.] and decisions on specific cases (nāzīla [q.v.]). However, this same system witnessed the spread of a mystical movement more or less tolerated which produced its own literature at the popular level, traces of which should include the great Ibn al-Mu‘īn educational texts and epistles which the Almoravid court (see Karama) is said to have corresponded to the same schema, or isolated as documents in archives or collections of official matter. One example of these collections would be the one collated by Ibn ‘Amīr [q.v.] towards the mid-7th/13th century. The diversity of the archive material can be appreciated through the Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1941, Fr. tr. in Hesperis [1941], 1-70) and Nouvelles lettres almohades (ed. A. Azzouzi, Casablanca 1995). The information in these texts is often first-hand, and they illuminate, in general, the underlying aspect of facts generally lacking in cohesion at the level of the narrative sources.

Regarding these latter sources it is, of course, true that they hardly ever deal with real situations, but there is nevertheless an exception in the work of al-Baydāḥī [q.v.], in which he describes from memory, towards the middle of the 6th/12th century, the peregrinations and stages of ascension of Ibn Tumart. From a greater distance and probably because of the distance, ‘Abd al-Wāḥīd al-Marrākūshī (d. 633/1235 [q.v.]) undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maġribi fi ma‘ālik anh al-Magrib, whose author, Ibn‘Abī ‘Azz r. [q.v.], undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maġribi fi ma‘ālik anh al-Magrib, whose author, Ibn‘Abī ‘Azz r. [q.v.], undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maġribi fi ma‘ālik anh al-Magrib, whose author, Ibn‘Abī ‘Azz r. [q.v.], undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maġribi fi ma‘ālik anh al-Magrib, whose author, Ibn‘Abī ‘Azz r. [q.v.], undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maġribi fi ma‘ālik anh al-Magrib, whose author, Ibn‘Abī ‘Azz r. [q.v.], undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maġribi fi ma‘ālik anh al-Magrib, whose author, Ibn‘Abī ‘Azz r. [q.v.], undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maġribi fi ma‘ālik anh al-Magrib, whose author, Ibn‘Abī ‘Azz r. [q.v.], undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maġribi fi ma‘ālik anh al-Magrib, whose author, Ibn‘Abī ‘Azz r. [q.v.], undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maġribi fi ma‘ālik anh al-Magrib, whose author, Ibn‘Abī ‘Azz r. [q.v.], undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maġribi fi ma‘ālik anh al-Magrib, whose author, Ibn‘Abī ‘Azz r. [q.v.], undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his al-Mu‘ārikh of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, al-Maği...
on the events of the Almohad lands between 554-68/1159-73. From this same period stem Abu Marwān al-Warrāki's al-Makhtūs fi 'Akhbār al-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus wa-Fās, and Ibn Hamādūh of Céuta's al-Makhtūs fi 'Akhbār al-Maghrib wa-Fās wa-l-Andalus, both now lost but widely used up to Ibn Khaldūn's time. As for the so-called Almohad 'akhbār, the author obviously aimed at exhaustiveness or lost sources, the author obviously aimed at exhaustive or even to discern long-term effects. For posterity archival documents. However, some documents have survived in manuscript collections, on the elaboration of jihrisfe and bāna madjās, indicating particular themes.


Biographical literature. In post-Almohad times, the focus seems to have been placed apart from on collections of usage, on the elaboration of fifris and bāna madjās indicating particular themes.

The biographical collections all have different provenances. Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 708/1309) tried to follow in the path of his Andalus compatriots in composing his Sīlat al-isla (ed. Levi-Provengal, Rabat 1938), whilst Ibn Nādir of al-Kayrawān (d. 837/1433-4) followed the work of Ibn al-Dabbāgh (d. 698/1297) on the religious figures of his city, and compiled his Mašīlim al-īmān (Tunis 1325/1907-9). Further to the west, Ibn Kunfūdḫ in Constantine composed his Wafaydt al-a'mād, whilst throughout his Nāhān al-suluk, the Sudanese Ahmad bin al-Ma'sīlīn ('Haydarābād 1348-50/1929-32).

Leaving aside archive material, we have the following:

Chronicles. Between the mid-7th/13th century and the end of the 9th/15th one, the chronicle in the Maghrib is above all the product of Ifriqiya and the Far Maghrib, reflecting the political-military situation. Accordingly, apart from Abu 'l-Abbās al-Dardājīnī's ['q.v.] K. Taḥsīl al-maghribī, dealing with the Ibn al-Farrūẖīn (d. 799/1397 [‘q.v.]), of Andalus origin, wrote in his native town of Medina a dictionary of celebrated Mālikīs, the Dīdāgh (Cairo 1315/1897-8), including the Maghribī ones. The Sudanese Ahmad Bībī (d. 1036/1627 [‘q.v.]) continued and completed the same work in his Nād la al-abbīgh (Cairo 1315/1897-8); and the Egyptian Ibn Hāǧar (d. 852/1449 [‘q.v.]) devoted considerable space in his al-Dawā'ir al-kāmirīn, to noted figures from the 8th/14th century Maghrib (Haydarābād 1348-50/1929-32).
As well as these general works, there were others devoted to the itineraries of their authors, built around famous masters of the time, each itinerary being the object of a Fikrist or Barunnaa. We have extant the Barunnaa of al-Ibshir (d. 688/1290), that of al-Kasim al-Tuqlib of Ceuta (d. 790/1329-30) (both publ., the latter in Tunis 1981), and the Fikrist, still in ms., of Ibn Rushayf of Ceuta (d. 721/1321 [g.v.]) and al-Sarradj of Fas (d. 805/1402), plus the encyclopaedic Barunnaa of al-Mantaar of Granada (d. 834/1431).

Also important are two biographical portraits, in part convergent: one drawn by Ibn Maruzkh (d. 781/1379 [g.v.]) in his Musnad (ed. M.-J. Viguera, Algiers 1981, Sp. tr. Madrid 1977), devoted to the Maridim Abu l-Hasan; and the other from the pen of Ibn Khaldun, al-Tariq, in which the life, education and career of the author are traced (ed. M.T. al-Tanghi, Cairo 1951, Fr. tr. A. Cheddadi, Paris 1980).

Genealogical works. Far from being an isolated phenomenon, these texts stem from the natural prolongation, it seems, of the old polemics between Maghrubis and Andalusis, especially from Almoravid times onwards; these polemics became, after the downfall of the Almohads, a sub-genre everywhere cultivated. One can cite three texts as testimony here: the anonymous Majalla al-barber [g.v.] (ed. Levi-Provençal, Paris 1890), composed between the two texts aboves, 123-272), which celebrates, at the opening of the 8th/14th century, the scholars, ascetics and heroes, legendary or historic, from the Berber past. The equally anonymous Tumrat al-zarff fi al-Dallc wa-Tarif (ed. Ibn Chriha, in Maqallat Kulliyat al-Umah, Rabat, i [1977], 7-50) from a few decades earlier aimed at revealing the failings of the Almohads and, finally, the opposing situation in Ibn al-Khatib's Mughaddatiit (Alexandria 1958, 55-66) between Malaga and Sale, in which, through the two opposing cities, the lively tension between the two cultures is delineated.

Whilst being set on the cultural plane, these writings seem to be the vehicles for consideration of the basic problem of origins, leading to the question of connections with the ruling power. Whilst Ibn Tumart, in the K. al-Ansdb attributed to him (in Documents indits, 18-49, Fr. tr. 25-74), could be given a Shi'ite genealogy, the legitimising process which speedily followed, as Ibn Khaldun notes (Mukaddima, Fr. tr. of Sane, Paris 1963, i, 53-6), was challenged at this same period precisely when there was a strong current displacing Berber origins, with an insistence on salient figures since the beginning of Islam. Another K. al-Ansdb, anonymous but written in 712/1312, was also composed to celebrate openly these origins (ed. Ya'lla, in op. cit., 13-121).

There developed in parallel to this, under the impulsion of Marid power, the cult of the Sa'id, a phenomenon that bore witness to Muslim Ceuta, now become Portuguese, and in his natal city, Cairo. Two famous mystics contributed. Ibn Tumart, in his Al-Durr (d. 737/1336), in which the visiting of the saints and scholars of Tlemcen, Oran and the cities. Ibn al-Khatib drew up a comparative table in his Miftah or to a group of them. On the general level, for Ibn Tumart, the various monographs relate almost exclusively to towns and cities. Ibn Khaldun drew up a comprehensive table in his Miftah of the references to this fact in the works of Ibn al-Khatib and Ibn Khaldun as well as in late compilations like those of al-Makkar, the Nafl al-tib (ed. I. 'Abbas, Beirut 1968) and the Azkar al-miyyah. Also connected with it were separate monographs like the anonymous compilation on the Buyutdt Fas al-kubra (Rabat 1972) and the Nafl muluk al-islam (lit. Fas n.d.) of Ibn al-Sakkak (d. 818/1415), followed, especially from the 10th/16th century onwards, by a host of opuscules on the genealogies of each branch of the Shi'ite

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There remain the **rihlas**, which comprehend spatial journeys and/or varied themes. Whilst the **rihla** of al-Abdārī is a description of the intellectual centres and of the state of knowledge obtaining towards the end of the 7th/14th century, comprising the Maghrib and the lands stretching to the Hidjaz (Rabat 1968), that by al-Tījānī at the turn of the 8th/14th century has a setting of military considerations and describes the position of the tribes along the eastern littoral of Irijiyya, at the same time noting the socio-cultural peculiarities and traditions of the inhabitants there (new ed. H.H. Abdul-Wahab, Tunis 1958, Fr. tr. in *JA*, 4th series, xx, 57-208, 5th series, i, 101-66). The **rihla** called *Māʾ al-ṣayba* of Ibn Ruḥayd (Tunis n.d.) and the *Mustāfīd* of al-Tūgjībī of Čentā (Tunis-Libya n.d.) bring out the impacts of cultural relations between the Magrib and the Maghrib at their various periods. Further, the **Notes of the journey of an Andalusi in Morocco of Ibn al-Hāḍjī al-Numayrī** (d. after 768/1367) (ed. and Fr. tr. A.L. de Prémare, Lyons 1981) are a sketch of the same relations between al-Andalus and the southern shores of the western Mediterranean in the mid-8th/14th century, whilst his *Fāṣīd al-tīhāb* is rather a field report tracing the situation in the Central Magrib at the time of the Marinid Sultan Abu ʾInān’s [*q.v.*] expedition towards Irijiyya 757-8/1356-7. Shortly afterwards, a fairly different account was to be the subject of a holiday *rihla* written up by Ibn al-Ḥašrī, the *Nafṣādat al-dīrāb*, in which the society and countryside of the Moroccan southwest are described in a magistral fashion, in spite of artificialities (ed. M. Abbadi, Cairo n.d.; complement ed. F. Faghiy, Rabat 1989). Somewhat later, in the second half of the 9th century, there are two accounts to note: one written in Latin by the Fleming Anselm Adornus on Ḥafṣid Irijiyya in 1470, and the other in Arabic by the Egyptian ʿAbd al-Bāṣīr b. Khalīl (d. 920/1515), illuminating, for the same period, the socio-political situation in Fāṣ and Tlemcūn (R. Brunschvig, *Les vies de voyage inédits en Afrique du Nord au XVᵉ siècle*, Paris 1956).

Finally, there are two essential pictures of the situation in North Africa of their time, though distant from each other, sc. the *rihla* called *Tūgjībī al-maktab*, of Ibn Baṭṭānī (d. after 770/1368 [*q.v.*]) and the Description of Africa by al-Ḥasan al-Wazzān, called Leo Africanus [*q.v.*], completed in Italy in the local language. **Bibliography** (in addition to references in the text): R. Brunschvig, *La Berbère orientale sous les Ḥafṣides des origines à la fin du XVᵉ siècle*, i, Paris 1940, pp. xxv-xxi and passim; idem, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam et la *L'image d'Idrīs II, ses descendants de Fès et la politique sharifienne des sultans marocains* (563-869/1258-1455), Leiden 1989, ch. i; V. Lagardère, *Les Almoravides*, Paris 1989, 9-16 and passim. (M. KABLY)

**B. The post-1450 period**

In Magribi historiography, which to a great extent follows the patterns of mediaeval Arab historiography, *taʾrīkh* represents a wide range of knowledge; it thus has a broader semantic charge than its equivalents—e.g. history, histoire, historia—in European languages. It is a source of information for those in government, a gallery for the display of former political regimes, a repertory of significant religious events (e.g. the life of the Prophet), biographies of devout men who left to posterity commentaries and compilations of hadīth, etc. Considered from a simply formal point of view, *taʾrīkh* is the science of the narration of events, especially of dynastic policies and political, and the art of arranging them logically or chronologically. In the introduction to his *Mukaddima*, Ibn Khaldūn writes that “History (*taʾrīkh*) is a noble science... It conveys to us the biography of prophets, the chronicles of kings, their dynasties and their policies (*ṣayāra*!”) (Beirut 1967; Fr. tr. V. Montel, i, 13. Eng. tr. F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, i, 15).

Magribi historical science affirms its autonomy in relation to the historiography of the Muslim lands of the Orient, from the end of the Middle Ages onwards, as a function of the changes in political organisation, the object of its study, which unfolded in the lands of the Muslim West: the end of the Marinid empire, and the beginning of a long period of instability affecting the lands of the western Mediterranean at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th. The territorial individualities which henceforward took the specific names of al-Magrib al-akṣā, al-Magrib al-aiwāt, Irijiyya, etc., gave the intellectuals of each country the idea of belonging to a particular nation, unique and different from all others. Religion was no longer the cement of cohesion. Also, the presence of Ottoman Turks on the coasts of the Magrib, and that of Christians, Spanish and Portuguese in certain ports where concessions and consulates were established, constituted the driving force contributing to the emergence and affirmation of history specific to each state. Thus, as a result of politics, the idea of the nation was gradually crystallised in the lands of the Magrib. And history, *taʾrīkh*, fixed these successive events in time and space and was to give rise to another, hitherto little-known phenomenon, sc. that of nationalism. *Akhbār* “facts, information, news” (*on this subject, see Cl. Cahen, Introduction à l'histoire du monde musulman méditerranéen, VIIᵉ-XVᵉ siècle. Methodologie et éléments de bibliographie*, Paris 1982, 69-70) constitute the basis of all historical narration. They are the essential source of chronicles, the object of which is to narrate, from day to day, events concerning princes and dynasts, thus compiling royal annals (see below for examples relating to al-Magrib al-Akṣā). The constitution of a corpus of *akhbār* might have as its object the description (not analysis nor explanation, since either of these may engender indistinctness towards the particular) of dynastic politics, or of a wide-ranging social change; compilations of *akhbār* may show features reminiscent of hadīth.

From the 15th century onwards, Maghribi historical science abandoned the style of the major epic to concentrate on the history of more circumscribed territories, focusing on towns and local politics, and on
peoples whose ways and customs were known. Ibn Khaldūn remains the master in this field. In the first book of the Mukaddimah, the Kātib al-Bahr ("book of examples") he set out his theory, indeed his philosophy, of history. He opened the way not only for historiographers in the Maghrib, but for the theorists of other nations as well. But this science is far from within the reach of the novice, according to him; it demands qualities and extensive knowledge. "He who practises this science (ta'rikh) needs to know the rules of the political art, the nature of existing things and the difference between nations, regions and tribes in terms of way of life, qualities of character, customs, sects, schools of thought, etc. He must distinguish the similarities and the differences between the present and the past, and know the diverse origins of dynasties and of communities."

In the 16th century, the centres of study and diffusion of the culture of the Muslim West would henceforward be Fās, Marrakesh, Tlemcen, Tunis and Kayrawn. The authors whose historical works are known to us passed through at least one of these centres, articulating and formulating local themes. The best representative of this period is without doubt al-Hasan Muhammad al-Wazzān al-Fasī, better known by the name of Ibn Khaldūn (q.v.). His work, Description of Africa, 1556, translated from Italian, is made up of a series of monographs on cities, regions, populations and kingdoms (of Fās, Marrakesh, Tlemcen, Bougie, Tunis and Tripoli). This study reflects the brilliant personality of the author, as well as the ideas that were current at the time. It was to be imitated and plagiarised by numerous Arab and Christian writers, but it would never be equalled. For Luis del Marmol y Carvajal, Description general de L'Afrique (Granada 1573-99, 3 vols.), his texts are sometimes overloaded with detail but are not lacking in interest. His debt is considerable, not only to Leo Africanus but also to other "Arab" authors—Maghribis in this instance. The author lays emphasis on the natural riches of the Maghribi, and his work is extremely useful for the study of historical geography and the history of agricultural practices.

In the central Maghrib, where political unity had long been hindered by the absence of a central authority and the existence at certain times of numerous kingdoms, authors exercised their talents in the domain of urban monography, with such titles as Constantine, and some Arab authors of Constantine (see Ch. Saint-Calbre, in R, vii [1913], 70-93). Each author evoked, in his own fashion, the history of his town and of the Maghribi town in general. Not all of these studies were published; most remained in manuscript state and were ignored even by a cultured public.

In the conceptions of history held by Maghribi scholars, there is a perennial need to return to the sources, to the origins of life and mankind as far back as Adam, Eve or Noah when they are dealing with anthropology; or to the Prophet Muhammad when religious questions are being addressed. Genealogy, an area of knowledge dear to scholars, is considered a branch of history in its own right. A text belonging to this genre of writing can be the work of one or several persons, and may be the private chronicle of a family. The object of writers of this genre is to show their illustrious origins, either by associating themselves with the family of the Prophet or with some saintly person whose religious aura is recognised in the West as well as in the East; Berber dynasties, such as the Marinids and Wattasids, had recourse to this stratagem to bolster their legitimacy. The Kātib al-Nasab, by 'Abd al-Salām b. Abī 'Abd Allāh (who wrote at Fās in 1098/1687; see A. Giacobetti, in R, xlv-xlvii [1902-1]), is a good example of this. The first part of this work begins with the eulogy of the Prophet, followed by the biography of Sīdī 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djifāni. The second part (by 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Tayyib, 1089/1678), deals with the descendants of this saint, among whose number the authors of the work claim to be.

The Tunisian historian Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Kayrawnī (q.v.), considered a successor to Ibn Khaldūn although several centuries separate them, displays in his historical study of Ifrīkya a certain reserve, even scorn, towards those Arabs who settled in Tunisia in former times, following invasions and migrations. The period which he describes (the 17th century) is far removed, however, from the major invasions of the Arab tribes which left nothing but desolation in their wake. It is evident that these considerations move him closer to the author of al-Mukaddimah.

Al-Kayrawnī reclaimed the autonomy and the maturity of Tunisian scholarship. His writings may be used in the service of the history of political ideas or of Tunisian nationalism.

In Morocco, al-Maghrib al-Akṣā, historical research and historiography have been fertile in the modern period and even in the 19th century. The number of titles is impressive, but the quality sometimes mediocre. Even religious history, which once enjoyed particular esteem, remained largely incomprehensible. Its new style, sententious and emphatic, had the effect of erecting a barrier between the scholars and those whom they addressed. Although Ibn Khaldūn was known and even admired, no one took him for a model. His unequivocal statements of truth, his criticisms of governments as unrepentant, insolent, violent, power-hungry, self-seeking, etc., as applied to Morocco, could have endangered those expressing such views. The majority of Moroccan scholars turned at that time towards chronology, literature (on condition that it was not subversive), biography, hagiography and geographical descriptions. The essentials, meaning general history and political history, were utterly neglected.

In sum, the majority of Moroccan historians of the modern and contemporary eras have been chroniclers, most if not all having been historiographers in the service of Sa'dian or Alawi sultans. The following may be cited: Abī Fāris, known by the name of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Fīghtali and his manuscript, Manāhīl al-safī fi 'akhlāk al-mulūk al-thāliqīya; al-Ifrīnī (q.v.); and his Nazhat al-ḥādī bi-akhlāq mulūk al-ḥārīr al-dāhī, and Abū l-'Āsim al-Zayyānī, al-Tawāqūlūn al-maghribī (for these works, see E. Lévi-Provençal, Chefs).

In the 17th-18th centuries, Maghribī history was enriched by increasingly numerous European accounts, such as Histoire des conquêtes de Moulay Arshya et de Maley Ilsmāl by Germain Moutet (1683) on the first Alawi sultans of Morocco; the Topografía e historia general de Angul by D. Haeus (1612); and the Memoires of the Chevalier d'Arvieux (1735), who was French consul in Algiers at the end of the 18th century.

In the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, accounts of journeys proliferated—not least stories of Christian captives and of their ransoming by religious figures who travelled frequently to the Maghrib and to the Orient. Particular mention should be made of the work of Pére Dan, Histoire de la Barbary et de ses corsaires (Paris 1637, 1649), the Redemptorist priest who for almost half a century made it his business to ransom Christian captives and who supplied copious information on the three regions of North Africa.
Finally, since the middle of the 19th century, research in European archives (national archives, archives of foreign and marine affairs, chambers of commerce in France and in other maritime states in western Europe) has led to the study of a large number of documents relating to the see above-men- tioned lands or to those further east, comprising various treaties, commercial accords, and official correspondence, and some of these have been published, e.g. *Documents inédits sur l'occupation espagnole en Afrique*, published in 1875-77 by de la Primaudaiae; the monumental collection of *Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, undertaken in 1905 by Paris by Colonel H. de Castries, in which are published documents drawn from the archives of France, Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal and Britain, from the 16th century onwards; and the *Correspondence des deys d'Alger avec la Cour de France (1579-1833)*, Paris 1898, published by E. Plantet.

It is to be noted that the work of the chroniclers continued into the 19th century, exemplified in the very important book written by al-Nasir al-Salawf (ed. B. Haddad, *Chronicle of the Muslim West*. His novel method of approach- ing documentation facilitates the comparison of texts and which were written from a different perspective, determined by their general Christian background so as much as by their more specific communitarian affili- ation [see *Yak'ir yihy SVN*], Nestorians [see *Asyutiyen*], Melkites, Copts [see *Al-Biyut*] and Maronites [see *Marinyya*, Suppl.]). Especially in the Universal Chronicles, Christian historiographers did not hesitate to use different genres of Muslim material, sometimes copying it in a most literal way, without comments or corrections on their side.

The aim of the present article is to give an overview of the historiographical material written by Christians till the end of the 'Abbasid period and the first years of the Mamlûks in Egypt insofar as it deals with gen- eral history and is relevant for aspects of the relations between Muslims and Christians. Chronicles describing mainly the internal life of the Christian communities, such as the recently discovered East Syrian Ecclesiastical Chronicle *Abbasidar al-dahr al-Marûya* (ed. B. Hadid, Bagdad 1980) were not taken into consideration. This article is, for this period somewhat artificially, limited to the production in Arabic. As a matter of fact, Christian historiography written in the Christian national languages, especially in Syriac, in many aspects shows the same characteristics as the works composed by Christians in Arabic.

Melkites

The first important historiographer is Euthychius, Patriarch of Alexandria from 325/935 till 328/940, known as Ariakes (unidentified) and Arabic sources, among which are Muslim authors, such as Ibn al-Aswad, Thabit b. Sinan, an anonymous *vita* of the Melkite patriarch of Antioch (877-940). It covers the period from the creation of Adam till the year 326/938, two years before the death of the author. The work exploits several Muslim sources, among which is historical, juridical and traditionist material. The Alexandrian recension presents the conquest of Egypt according to a version by the local traditionalist 'Uthman b. Sa'id.

In the manuscripts containing the Antiocian recension, Euthychius's *Tarih* is continued by a chronicle composed by Yahya b. Sa'id al-Anakti (gen. cover- ing the period between 326/937-8 to 425/1033-4 (best ed., *Historie de Yahya b. Sa'id d'Antioche*, ed. and tr. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vassiliev, in *PO*, xviii/5, xxiii/3, Paris 1924, 1932, crit. ed. I. Kratchkovsky, Fr. ann. F. Micheau and G. Troupeau, in *PO*, xvi/4, Paris 1997, with extensive bibliography). The objec- tive of this work is clearly indicated by the author in the introduction: to write the continuation (dhayl) of the work composed by Sa'id b. Al-Bi'trik according to the method adopted by the latter. After the discov- ery of new sources, the author felt, however, obliged to rework the first recension, a first time in Egypt, a second time in Antioch. The *dhayl* is an important source for our knowledge of the his- tory of Egypt and Syria, especially the regions of Antioc and Aleppo, and the Arab-Byzantine rela- tions during this period. It is based on various Greek (unidentified) and Arabic sources, among which are on the Muslim side, 'Abd b. Sinaan, an anonymous *vita* of the Melkite patriarch of Antioch (877-940), *Abbasidar al-dahr al-Marûya* (ed. B. Hadid, Bagdad 1980) was not taken into consideration. This article is, for this period somewhat artificially, limited to the production in Arabic. As a matter of fact, Christian historiography written in the Christian national languages, especially in Syriac, in many aspects shows the same characteristics as the works composed by Christians in Arabic.
the Melkite Theophulus of Edessa, an astrologer in the service of al-Mahdi, who may also have used an unidentified Muslim chronology. Agapius's work was edited by L. Cheikho (Agapius episcopus Mabbugensis. Historia universalis/Bibûl al-Úmûn, CSCO 65, Paris 1912, and by A. Vasiliev, K. al-Makfn b. al-Amfd, Historia universale des Musulmans, Moscou-PV, 1846, vii/4, viii/3. The K. al-Úmûn, together with the work by Sa'id b. al-Bitrik, was much appreciated by al-Mas'ûdi (Tanbih, 154).

According to al-Nadim's Fihrist (ed. Flugel, i, 1871, 295), Kustâ b. Lôkâ (9th century [q.v.]) is said to be the author of a (lost) universal chronicle, al-Firdaws (or ?-ta'rikh). 

**West Syrians**

The most important historiographical work in Arabic composed by a Syrian Orthodox author is the Mukhtasar ta'rikh al-duwal of Gregorius Barhebraeus (Syriac: Bar Ébrôyo or Ibn al-Ífrî [1226-86 [q.v.]].) According to information found in his Ecclesiastical chronicle (EC), he allegedly composed this chronicle at the request of some Muslim friends in Marâgha [q.v.], who apparently had heard about Barhebraeus's fame as a historiographer and as author of a voluminous universal history, written in Syrian. This Chronography was divided into two parts, an ecclesiastical chronicle and a so-called civil chronicle, which were sometimes considered as two separate works. The structure of the Mukhtasar (ed. A. Salhanl as Ta'nkh Mukhtasar al-Ábd b. al-Bitrfk, was much appreciated by al-Mas'ûdi (Tanbih, 154). The Arabic titles suggest that the Mukhtasar is merely a summary of the EC. As a matter of fact, the Mukhtasar contains much information not found in the EC, e.g. many short biographical notices on Islamic scholars. Sometimes the information given in the Mukhtasar differs considerably from the EC or is written from a different perspective. A good example is the attitude towards Muhammad, depicted positively in the Mukhtasar as an instrument in the hands of God, whereas the EC emphasizes forced conversions and the spread of Islam "by the sword". A possible reason for these differences, as suggested by the EC, might be the public the author had in mind when he composed his chronicle. A study by L. I. Conrad, On the Arabic Chronicle of Barhebraeus: his aims and audience, in Parole de l'Orient, xix [1994], 319-78, shows that it is too simplistic to consider Muslims as the intended readership of the Mukhtasar, since a number of passages are of interest only to Christians. The best way to explain the differences between both works is to consider them as independent historical works, which are to an important extent based on different sources (H. Teule, The Crusaders in Barhebraeus' Syrian and Arabic secular chronicles, in K. Gigaar et alii (eds.), East and West in the Crusader states, Louvain 1996, 39-49). In the case of the Mukhtasar, the author used more Islamic historiographical material, such as the Ta'rikh of al-Ábd b. al-Mukaffa of al-Kifti or the Tabakdt al-umam of Mawhub, who frequently acted as an intermediary between the Fâtimid authorities and the Coptic community, is himself the author of a universal history composed by an anonymous author. This history (ed. B. Landron,Chronicon orientale, Ecumenical Councils. The so-called Fihrist of al-Mas'ûdi (12th century), or Ibn al-Rahîb [q.v.], is the author of the K. al-Úmûn, a universal history, composed by an anonymous author. The 13th century al-Makfn b. al-'Anîd [q.v.] wrote a universal history, called al-Maajmuf al-mubdrak, extend-
ing from Creation to the time of Sultan Baybars (658/1260). It exists of two parts, the second Islamic part being based on al-Tabarî or the Ta'rîkh Silâhî of Ibn Wâsî or one of its sources. The section on the Ayyûbîs (ed. C. Cahen, in BEO, xv [1955], 109-84), incorporating contemporary sources, but also, more original and based on personal observations.


II. B. In the Nilotic Sudan.

The extant Arabic historical writings of the Nilotic Sudan (including the outlying western provinces of Kordofan and Dâr Fûr [q.v.]) before 1899 are exhaustively listed in R.S. O’Fahey, Arabic literature of Africa, i, the writings of eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900, Leiden 1994. Most of these works are extant only in ms. Of the few published works, the most important are:

(1) The Fundj Chronicle, the conventional name of a chronicle extant in several ms. and recensions. It covers the period from the emergence of the Fundj kingdom of Sinnâr, traditionally in 910/1504-5, to (at latest) 1288/1871. The original author of the Chronicle was Ahmad b. al-Hadîjî Abû [sic] ‘Allî, known as Kâtib al-Shûnî from his post in the government grainstore. He was born near al-Masâllâmiyya (Blue Nile) in 1199/1784-5, and died after Rabî’ I 1254/May-June 1838, where his Chronicle ends. Beginning as a king-list with added blocks of information (some of anthropological interest), a continuous detailed narrative starts with the reign of Bâdî IV, on whose overthrow in 1175/1762 power passed to a clan of regents, the Hamadî Shaykhs, ruling over an ever-dwindling region of the Blue Nile until the invasion of the Sudan by the forces of Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha of Egypt [q.v.] in 1235/1820, and the establishment of the Turco-Egyptian régime (al-Turkîyya). The later editors and continuators were, like Kâtib al-Shûnî, formed by a traditional Sudanese Islamic education, and had appointments under the Turco-Egyptian administration. They were thus members of a group which had little to regret at the passing of the Fundj kingdom and the ending of the anarchic Hamadî regency. They show no hostility to the Turco-Egyptian régime as such, which brought greater security, and the consolidation under the aegis of the Islamic Ottoman Empire, although they criticize individual officers and administrators. While the latter part of the Chronicle is in no sense an official history, it was written by men who accommodated themselves reasonably comfortably to the régime of Muhammad ‘Ali and his successors.

The Chronicle has been published twice: (a) its last recension by Makki Shubayka, Ta’rîkh mulâk al-Sûdan, Khartoum 1947; (b) Kâtib al-Shûnî’s text (some collation with other ms.) by al-Shîhir Bûnîîî ‘Abd al-Djalîl, Mâshidatâ Kâtib al-Shûnî, Cairo 1963. An annotated English summary translation of the final recension was published by H.A. MacMichael, A history of the Arabs in the Sudan, Cambridge 1922, ii, 354-430. A fuller translation from a collation of the principal ms. is provided by P.M. Holt, The Sudan of the three Niles, The Fundji Chronicle 910-1288/1504-1871, Leiden 1950.

(2) Kâtib al-Tabarî, fi khasîis al-mulâk wa ‘l-‘âlâmâ wa ‘l-farsînâ wa ‘l-Sûdanîn (some minor variants of title in the published editions). As the title indicates, this is a biographical dictionary of the Muslim holy men of the Nilotic Sudan, perhaps the only representative of the genre from the region. It was written and compiled (since there is internal evidence of sources of various kinds) by Muhammad al-Nûr b. Dayî Allâh, and hence is usually referred to as the Ta’rîkh of Wad (i.e. Wad Allâh). From internal evidence it was compiled about 1219/1804-5. Wad Allâh resembled the authors of the Fundji Chronicle in being a member of the traditionally educated Muslim élite. He was born in 1139/1727 at Halfâyat al-Mulûk, north of present-day Khartoum North. Like his father, he taught in the mosque, acted as a mulla, and became celebrated for his religious writings. He died before the Turco-Egyptian conquest in 1224/1809-10.

The Ta’rîkh was published twice in 1930 in Cairo, by Ibrâhim Sâlîk (Suddâyya) and Sulaymân Dâwûd Mandîî, respectively. A critical edition, prepared by Yûsuf Fadl Hasan, was published in Khartoum in 1971 (1974). It contains 270 biographical notices, predominantly of Sufî shaykhs (mainly from the Kâdiriyya târîkh and jurists, chiefly of the Mâlikî madhâhîb. There are a few notices of persons holding formal appointments, and a small number of legendary saints are included. No full English translation has been made, but an annotated summary translation with excerpts from the Arabic text is given by MacMichael, op. cit., ii, 217-325. The text and translation of three notices appear in S. Hillelson, Sudan Arabic texts, Cambridge 1935, 172-203. One family of holy men is studied in Holt, The Sons of Jâhil and their kin, in BSOSA, xxx/1 (1967), 142-58.

The roles of charismatic holy man and Islamic reformer were momentarily fused in Muhammad (Abd Allâh, the Sudanese Mahdi) [see at-Mawlîq]; a hagiography of whom was written by Ismâ’il b. ‘Abd al-Kâdir al-Kûrfûfî (perhaps his court chronicler), and entitled Kâtib Sîwâlîd al-mulâhîd bi-sîrat al-Imâm al-Mahdi. The unique extant copy of this and its sequel, al-Tinâz al-mulâhîd bi-birût khâtîî Fâhînîn al-Mulâhîd, describing the war between the Mahdists and the Ethiopians in 1889, is now in the

The establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in 1899 was followed by the development of westernised education. This, continuing under independence, has produced a growing number of professional historians, among their pioneers the late Prof. Makhl Shubayka (see above), and an increasing body of scholarly historical writing in Arabic and English. A link between the old and new types of historians was Muḥammad `Abd al-Raḥim (b. 1878, d. after 1935), the self-styled muʾarrīkh al-Sūdān, whose writings of historical, literary and political import, included Naṣṣāfiyya al-yarīdī n. t. al-adab wa l-ṭarīqī wa l-ʿājdāmī, Khartoum n.d.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

TAYYIBIYYA. a Sūfī brotherhood of the Maḥrīb (also ṬUHMAIYYA in western Morocco, or, further, WAZHINNYYA [sic]). Its contribution to the study of confraternities, especially the Tuhfāt al-taḡīwī, a Sufi brotherhood of the TAYYIBIYYA, in the medical realm were part of military modernisation. Thus medical schools, shaped according to the Western model, and at which French, Italian, and many European texts were translated into Muslim languages. Translations by Muhammad Ibrahim Abu Sallm and published under its own title at Beirut in 1972 (see above), and an increasing body of scholarly historical writing in Arabic and English. A link between the old and new types of historians was Muḥammad `Abd al-Raḥim (b. 1878, d. after 1935), the self-styled muʾarrīkh al-Sūdān, whose writings of historical, literary and political import, included Naṣṣāfiyya al-yarīdī n. t. al-adab wa l-ṭarīqī wa l-ʿājdāmī, Khartoum n.d.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

THATTA. A small domed entrance leads to the sahn, with smaller ones over each lateral entrance in the renovated Ghalata-Sarayi opened in 1254/1838, in the front of the original Tibbkhānā Amīr, a medical school founded at Istanbul in 1827. The official opening day of the original Tibbkhānā Amīr was 14 March 1827, adopted by the medical community of the Turkish Republic as Medicine Day (Tip Bayramı), to celebrate modern medicine. In the Tibbkhānā-i Amīr—European and Ottoman doctors taught modern Western medicine, not the traditional Muslim medicine based still on the humouralistic system from Antiquity.

During the 19th century, medicine in the Middle East underwent profound changes. European medicine was introduced on a much larger scale, and many European texts were translated into Muslim languages. Translations by `Abd al-LLāH Muḥammad Ṣūnātī (d. 1296 [sic]) were especially important in this regard. The aim of these reforms was to improve the health of the armed forces as the measures in the medical realm were part of military modernisation. Thus medical schools, shaped according to the Western model, and at which French, Italian, and
Fig. 2. *Djami' masjid*, part of a tile panel, from Plate 2 in H. Cousens, *Sindh tiles*, 1906.
Austrian and German professors taught European medicine in French, were founded in all major capitals of the Middle East during the first half of the 19th century. Muhammad ʿAlī Pasha (q.v.) established the first one in 1827 near Cairo, followed only a month later by Mahmūd II’s military medical school in Istanbul. The third, another military medical school, was included in the Dār al-Funun, a polytechnic school founded in Tehran in 1850-1.

The changes in medicine in the Ottoman Empire during Mahmūd II’s reign were part of a wide range of reforming measures. Under his rule, government functions proliferated well beyond the traditional realms of administering justice, collecting taxes and maintaining the armed forces. Matters that had traditionally been left to private hands gradually came under government administration. The final aim was to create a new generation of able administrators. Two methods were employed to achieve this. First, Ottoman students were sent to universities in Europe to acquire a profession in selected valued fields; second, new schools were established and given precedence over the traditional Muslim madrasas. One of them was the Tibbiyye-i Âdilîyye-i Şahâne. The many documents and letters produced by the Ottoman bureaucracy dealing with salaries and hiring teaching aids brought over from Europe, the school’s physical setting, etc., reflect the close attention of the central government to this school. Even everyday matters and decisions were not left to the discretion of the school administration.

The curriculum at the Tibbiyye-i Âdilîyye-i Şahâne, where the language of instruction was French, was decidedly Western. Teaching aids pertaining to medical instruction were imported from Europe. In this it parted ways from the traditional medical schools in the Ottoman Empire. The few of these that existed, for example at the Suleymaniye complex, reproduced Arab-Muslim medicine based still to a large extent on interpretations of, and additions to, mediaeval Muslim texts. In contrast, the four-year course at the Tibbiyye-i Âdilîyye-i Şahâne followed a syllabus combining general and medical subjects. The general syllabus included languages (Arabic and Turkish, but also French and Latin), French was mandatory in order to help the students communicate with the teachers, many of whom were Europeans. There was another reason for the French classes. As the sultan explained in his opening address, the first graduates of the medical school were to master French in order to be able to translate the much-needed European medical texts into Ottoman Turkish. Other non-medical subjects included arithmetic and geometry, drawing, geography, history and zoology. The general curriculum was taught by Ottoman Muslim teachers. Medical studies, taught mainly by non-Muslim and non-Ottoman teachers, comprised anatomy, dissection, pathology, chemistry, botany and pharmacology, diagnostics, ophthalmology and medical devices.

Despite the pronounced French influence, the school was the product of the close relationship at the time between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. Dr. Karl Ambros Bernard, a medical doctor and surgeon and a graduate of the Vienna medical faculty, was brought in 1838 from the Austrian capital at the instigation of Ahmed Efendi, the hâkim-bashi (Ottoman head physician [q.v.]), to found the school. Dr. Bernard served as its first manager till his death at the early age of 38 in 1844. His widow and family were granted a stipend by the empire as a sign of respect to the man and his services to Ottoman medical education. Dr. Bernard was not the only example. Other Austrians teaching at the school were Dr. Neuner and Dr. Riegler, and in the 1840s an Austrian midwife was given a contract to teach gynaecology and obstetrics at the school.

The student body comprised mainly Muslims but also included Christians. Their numbers fluctuated from around 200 at the beginning to over 400 by the end of the 1840s. Similarly, the teaching cadre rose from fewer than ten in the 1830s to several dozen a decade later. The Tibbiyye-i Âdilîyye-i Şahâne functioned in Qalâta for ten years; a fire in August 1848 then obliged the medical school to move to the Golden Horn.

Bibliography: Many archival documents can be found in the Başbuğkanı Osmanlı Arşivi (The Archives of the Ottoman Prime Minister) in the İrade, Cevdet and Hatî-i Humayun classifications. For publications that include primary sources, see Arslan Terzioglu, Türk Avustralya tıbbi ıktisatleri, Istanbul 1987; idem, Türk tibbına batılılaşması, Istanbul 1993; Ayten Altnat, Kamil Ambros Bernard’ın Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Şahâne’indeki kararları hakkında tarihî ve gørecek hakkında, in II. Türk Tip Tarihi Kongresi (20-21 Eylül 1990), Ankara 1999, 91-9; Rengin Damar, Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Şahâne’de öğretmen mutfağıベルジェル, in "Seyahat ve Turizm", Ankara 1991.

TONGUÇ, ISMAIL HAKKI (1893-1960), Turkish educator.

He was born, the son of a peasant family, in Tatatarma village, Silistre. He attended Kastamonu Teachers’ College and later the Istanbul Teachers’ College, graduating in 1918. He continued his educational career at the Karlsruhe State Academy for Graphic Arts and Ettlingen Teachers’ College in Germany during 1918-19 and 1921-2. After returning to Turkey, Ismail Hakki worked in several schools both in administrative posts and as a teacher of painting, handicrafts and physical education. In 1935, he was appointed Director General of Primary Education in the Ministry of Education where he had been working as the Director of School Museums since 1926. The fame of Ismail Hakki rests basically on his views concerning the educational problems of village children in the early Republican period, which found concrete expression in the project of Village Institutes (Canlandinlacak köy, ve meslek terbiyesi, İstanbul 1934), his major achievement. Being the brain behind the Institute, he played a leading role during their establishment and development. Forced into resigning office in 1946, because of an extensive campaign attacking the Institutes, he was first appointed a member of the Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu (Instruction and Training Board) and later in 1949 a teacher at the Atatürk Lycée, where he worked until the Ministry’s decision to remove him in 1950. Ismail Hakki retired, following the annulment of the decision by the Council of State in 1954, and died in Ankara on 23 June 1960.

Throughout his career as an educator, Ismail Hakki wrote several books and articles. In most of his works, he elaborated the educational problems from theoretical and practical perspectives and stressed the significance of vocational training in the developmental process.

Bibliography: 1. Selected works.
The Tulunids’ incapacity, faced with the Carmathian revolt in Syria; an expedition involving ‘Abbasid and Tulunid generals (vi) Turkic languages in non-Arabic and non-Latin scripts.

Bibliography: Many sources have information on Tughd as governor of Damascus, with other commanders, to submit to the new ‘Abbasid authorities in Misr, who sent them back as a garrison in the gnd of Kinnasrin. He later returned to Baghdád where, according to Ibn Khallikan, he died in prison.

He left six sons, as well as Muhammad, the future Ikhshid, and at least one daughter who, in 326/938 married the son of the grand Amr Ibn Ra’id [q.v.], at the same time as the vizier Abu l-Fadl’s [q.v.] son married Ibn Ra’id’s daughter (al-Hamdani, Dhayl Ta’rikh al-Tabari, ed. M. Abu l-Fadl Ibráhím, Cairo 1977, 314).

Tughd was known for his passion for perfumes; when travelling, he had in his train fifty camels loaded with perfumes [sic]. He is said to have built at Damascus a cupola with latticework, forming a giant censer, from which he had wafted the aroma of perfumes for all the population of the city. Even if these accounts are clearly exaggerated, they do show how the standard of living in the Syrian-Egyptian lands, at the end of the 3rd/9th and beginning of the 4th/10th centuries, had risen, allowing the elites to enjoy a significant amount of luxury goods [see also Ibn Sa’d, al-Maghrib, 154-5].

TURKS.

II. LANGUAGES.

(vi) Turkic languages in non-Arabic and non-Latin scripts.

During the course of over fifteen centuries Turkic peoples interacted with peoples and cultures of three continents. As a result of this process they became acquainted with many writing systems, used in various regions between Central Asia and Europe. The historical scene of the emergence of the first written and literary languages of Turkic peoples is Inner Asia, the territory of modern Mongolia, the Tarim Basin (in Sinkiang) and Kansu. The first epigraphic monuments written in a Turkic idiom belong to the Orkhon Turks (A.D. 552-744) and Uyghur (744-840), who created empires in the steppe region. These monuments are written in the so-called runic or runiform script. After the collapse of their empire, the Uyghurs left the steppes and moved to the Tarim Basin and Kansu, founding the Kingdom of Kočo (866-1124) and Kan-tsu (880-1026), both becoming centres of the Uyghur culture and offering in abundance written documents mainly of religious (Manichaean, Buddhist and Nestorian) content. These monuments are written in Sogdian, Manichaean, Uyghur, and Nestorian scripts (all of Semitic origin), in Brahmi script (of Indian origin) and in Tibetan script (in the case of the latter, also in its variant, the Phags-pa script).

1. The Khazar and Karam languages

Judaism and Jewish culture played an important role in the Kazar empire [see KAZARS] in the region of the Black and Caspian Seas (7th-11th centuries).
Therefore it is very probable that the Hebrew script was in use by this Turkic people, although, unfortunately, no written documents have survived.

The Hebrew script was adopted later by the Karaim, of Jewish religion, living originally in the Crimea (see Karaites). A large part of this people migrated, probably before the 14th century, to the western Ukraine and Lithuania. They lived there until the end of the Second World War, when they moved to Poland. The rich written culture of the Karaim is represented by many manuscripts and printed works. Today, the Karaim language is an especially endangered language; some dialects of it can be considered as extinct.

The generally suggested, supposed historical continuity between the Khazars and the Karaim remains unproven.

2. The Armenian-Kipchak language

After the collapse of the Armenian Asa empire in the middle of the 11th century, Armenians moved to the Crimea, and later to the western Ukraine. As a result of intensive contact with the Kipchak Turks, they adopted their language for purposes of administration and religious practice, keeping their original Armenian language for secular life. These documents, which have come down to us from between the 16th and 17th centuries, are written in Armenian script.

3. The Armenian-Ottoman language

After the Turkicisation of Asia Minor, Armenians living in different provinces of Anatolia seem very soon to have become bilingual. Turcophone Armenians created their own Turkish literature in the so-called Armeno-Turkish language, written in Armenian script. As a result of this activity, a large body of literature (original works, translations, inscriptions, later also journals) was created. This written documentation, which is especially rich from the 17th century onwards, can be traced back until the 14th century.

4. The Greek alphabet used in the Ottoman Empire for Turkish

The Orthodox Christian Karamans (Turkish Karamanlılar), living in northeastern Anatolia until the Greek-Turkish population exchanges of 1924, created a special literature, the products of which were written in Greek script. The history of this well-documented group of monuments can be traced back to the 16th century. It is obvious that these products (at the outset, works of a religious and historical content, later also journals and newspapers, etc.) written in the so-called Karaman (Karamanlı) language (in fact, in a special dialect of Ottoman Turkish), were also used by the bilingual Greeks living in other regions, especially in the Ottoman capital. Many written texts in the Turkish language but Greek alphabet have also come down to us from this large ethnic and religious group of the empire.

5. Other alphabets used in the Ottoman Empire for Turkish

The Syriac script was used for Turkish by a small Christian community. These texts, mainly preserved in the University Library of Bonn, were destroyed during the Second World War.

At the same time, the Hebrew alphabet was also used by the Jewish community for Turkish, the best-known surviving example being a copy of an Ottoman chronicle in this script.

The Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences in Tbilisi has a large collection of Ottoman Turkish texts written in the Georgian alphabet. Unfortunately, we do not possess any survey of or study on this precious material, so that neither its quantity nor its character and chronology are so far known. Scholars agree, however, that a systematic analysis of these materials could throw interesting light on the history of the Ottoman Turkish language in this region of the empire.

The Cyrillic alphabet was adopted in the Balkans for Turkish by intellectuals interested in the official language of the empire. We possess a few manuscripts and printed books, mainly from the 19th century.

6. Other Turkish languages written in Cyrillic script

Turkic peoples living in Eastern Europe and Siberia (Chuvash, a part of the Volga Tatars, Yakuts, Turkic peoples in the Altai Region, etc.), due to the Russian colonial expansion from the 18th century onwards, experienced Russian missionary activities, and thereby an acquaintance with the Cyrillic alphabet. All other Turkic peoples living in the former Soviet Union adopted the Cyrillic script in the second phase of the Soviet writing reform (1939-40), after a very short period of using the Latin script, introduced to these peoples between 1922 and 1930 as a replacement for the Arabic alphabet.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 created a new situation for rethinking the language and script policies of the former imperial power. In the sometimes heated discussions, all possible solutions found their supporters (keeping the Cyrillic script; reintroduction of the Latin, or even of the Arabic alphabets). In the course of the 1990s, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have reintroduced the Latin alphabet with some special signs. In these countries, a transition period, in which both Latin and Cyrillic scripts may be used, has been allowed. Efforts to create a Latin alphabet on a common theoretical and practical basis for all Turkic peoples have until now had no results.

were not only passive patrons of culture but also Asian Turkish legacy till the 19th century, and it was Dihlawl, Alam II (1760-)

was also attracted to the Mughal court. He is famous for his Persian poetry that set a trend which was followed even in Ottoman Turkey, but one should not forget that he was an equally gifted poet in Turkish. This side of his poetic talent almost faded into oblivion because only a handful of the manuscripts of his Persian dīwān contain Turkish pieces. At some point during the reign of Arangwād, this migrated to Hindīstān Ḥusayn Farīdī Ḥāfānī, whose Persian dīwān has preserved a couple of Turkish lines as well. Diwālī Singh (d. 1896) a well-known poet and a great stylist in Persian, became famous under his takhlīltūs "Kāfī". Following the practice of members of the Mughal elite in the 17th-18th centuries, he also learnt Turkish and wrote two short stories in this tongue. His famous work on Persian style titled Cār shāhābī contains a sketchy Turkish grammar explained in Persian.

In a multi-ethnic society like India, it is not considered an extraordinary feat if someone learns several languages, but even in such an environment the achievements of Inshā-Allah Khān "Inshā" [q.v.] earned him fame. Born to a family of Turkish immigrants from Nadir, he not only spoke Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Kaqāmīrī, Purbi, Paštūnī and Turkish but was also able to compose poetry in these tongues. His Turkish output consists of a couple of bayts, mukhammas, a few bayts in his Shāhār-nāma and a prose diary entitled Turkī rūznāmā. One of his most intimate friends and fellow poet was Sa'a'd-ud-dīn Khān "Rangīn" [q.v.], whose father Tahmīsī Beg Khān Ištād-Dīng arrived in India with the army of Nadir Shāh and later wrote his memoirs, the Ahmād-nāma. Rangīn spent most of his life in Lucknow in the service of Mirzā Sulaymān-Shukhā. His works in Turkish includes a Turkish-Urdu vocabulary titled Nābī-i Turkī and a few Turkish lines in his Ma'īnī-yi Rangīn.

It should be noted, however, that contemporary chronicles and takhlīltūs are full of references to poets of Turkish origin whose literary achievements in their mother-tongue have not yet come to light. There is further the fact that libraries, mainly throughout the former British Indian Empire, preserve manuscripts written in or on Turkish whose authors are either

III. LITERATURE.

6. (m) Turkish literature in Muslim India.

The constant stream of Turkish migrants started pouring on to Indian soil from the 5th/11th century onwards, but hardly anything is known of the role Turkish language played in the Ghaznavīd, Ghōrīd and Sultanate periods. Turkish seems to have been used mainly as a medium of communication in the army, but also in court circles (see Amir Khushraw Dihlawī, Nābī-i tarkā, ed. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, Oxford 1950, 173). The hitherto unearthed sole remnant of Turkish from this period are the Turkish words contained in a Persian dictionary, the Farhang-i zafīn-gāyā wa dāfān gāyā (see R. Dankoff, The Turkish vocabulary of the Farhang-i zafīn-gāyā, Bloomington 1987).

The Timūrid conquest and then the establishment of the Mughal dynasty altogether changed this situation. The Timūrids and their Turkish military elite arrived in India with a cultural legacy that included support for and cultivation of a Turkic-Persian literary tradition which was in a sense founded and elaborated by the activities of 'Alī Shīr Nāwā'ī [q.v.]. Timūrids in India remained true to their Central Asian Turkish legacy till the 19th century, and it was a custom for Mughal princes to be trained in Turkish as well as in the other great Islamic languages. The last member of the family whose skills in Turkish grammar, lexicography and poetry were well known in Hindīstān was Mirzā 'Alī-bāχī Gūrgānī "African" [q.v.].

Timūrid and thus also Mughal rulers and princes were not only passive patrons of culture but also played an active role in literary life (see Muhammad Khalīlī, Galsīstān-i Timūrī, Lakhnaw 1973). Quite a few of them displayed outstanding literary skills but only some of them are known to have contributed to Turkish literary output in India. Except for the first generation of Indian Timūrids, the sources do not yield much information on possible Turkish works by members of the royal family. The Turkish oeuvre of Bābur [q.v.], is, of course, well known, and some Turkish lines by Humāyūn [q.v.] and a full dīwān by Kāmran [q.v.] have been preserved. Due to the ruler's political aims and policies, Turkish seems to have been pushed into the background in court circles during the reign of Akbār [q.v.]. Nevertheless, later rulers seem to have been able at least to appreciate Turkish poetry, as was the case with Shāh ʿAlām II (1760-89, 1788-1806; see Azzāf, Watīr-i Ajarfī, ed. T. Chandrashekharan, Madras 1957, 17). Turkish manuscripts copied in India indicate that Nawātī was the most often read author, but contemporary sources remain silent on these rulers' literary activities in Turkish.

The benefits which the Mughal empire could offer was considered an extraordinary feat if someone learns several languages, but even in such an environment the achievements of Inshā-Allah Khān "Inshā" [q.v.] earned him fame. Born to a family of Turkish immigrants from Nadir, he not only spoke Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Kaqāmīrī, Purbi, Paštūnī and Turkish but was also able to compose poetry in these tongues. His Turkish output consists of a couple of bayts, mukhammas, a few bayts in his Shāhār-nāma and a prose diary entitled Turkī rūznāmā. One of his most intimate friends and fellow poet was Sa'ađ-ud-dīn Khān "Rangīn" [q.v.], whose father Tahmīsī Beg Khān Ištād-Dīng arrived in India with the army of Nadir Shāh and later wrote his memoirs, the Ahmād-nāma. Rangīn spent most of his life in Lucknow in the service of Mirzā Sulaymān-Shukhā. His works in Turkish includes a Turkish-Urdu vocabulary titled Nābī-i Turkī and a few Turkish lines in his Ma'īnī-yi Rangīn.

It should be noted, however, that contemporary chronicles and takhlīltūs are full of references to poets of Turkish origin whose literary achievements in their mother-tongue have not yet come to light. There is further the fact that libraries, mainly throughout the former British Indian Empire, preserve manuscripts written in or on Turkish whose authors are either


(G. HAZA)
not mentioned in historical sources or literary antholo-
gies, or even when contemporary records provide some
information on them, their knowledge of Turkish is
not mentioned. One should mention here Kaplan Beg,
Yolkolu Beg “Ansî” Şâmî, Müllâ Shayqâ’t Tekkelî,
Ustad Mirzâ ‘Ali Kîpîzâkî and also Pîr Muhammad
Ağbar Khan” an Uzbek from the Ağbar tribe who
distinguished himself in the wars of Awarangzîb’s reign.
He composed verses filling a full discan that is pre-
served in an Indian institution, but contemporary
sources remain silent on his contribution to Indo-
Turkish literature.

Beside being a medium for artistic expression
Turkish was also used for more mundane purposes
in Mughal India up to the 19th century, as a lan-
guage quite common in court circles, in the army
and in diplomatic correspondence, mainly with Russia
and the Ottoman Empire.

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al-Mawdîkî’s
al-Djurqanî’s commentary on
al-Mawdîkî’s
turkish language use
in Mughal India. The Mirzâ at-turkî from Mirzâ
‘Allî-baxt Gurbârî Azfârt Mîzân at-turkî cimâ grammatikalâ erkêzêh
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AL-TÜSI, ‘ALî AL-DIN ‘ALî b. Muhammâd,
important religious scholar of the 9th/15th cen-
tury. He grew up in Iran (in Samarkand, according
to al-Suyûtî [q.o.]), where he also finished his studies.
During the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Murâd II
[q.o.] (probably in the second phase of his rule, i.e.
between 850/1446 and 855/1451), he came to
Anatolia and was appointed as a teacher at the madrasa
al-sultânîya in Bursa [q.o.]. After the conquest of
Constantinople in 1453, Mehmed II [q.o.] assigned
him to a professorship, first in Istanbul, afterwards in
Edirne [q.o.]. It was around this time that the con-
test between al-Tüsi and Khâjûzâdâ [q.o.] took place.
Both had been summoned by the sultan to compose
a work of advice on the famous discussion between
al-Qâzîî and the philosophers. A jury classified
al-Tüsi’s treatise as the one of lesser interest. As a
consequence, he renounced his academic post in
Edirne and returned, via Tabrîz [q.o.], to Samarkand.
He is said to have returned there to live as a Sûfî,
allegedly under the guidance of ‘Ubâyd Allâh Ahrâr
[see AHRAR, KFÎDÎ ‘UBAYD ALLAH, in Suppl.]. He
is reported to have died in Samarkand in 877/1472
(according to al-Suyûtî) or in 887/1482 (according to
Tâshkörprizâde and Hâджîdî Khâdîî [q.o.]).

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned failure,
recorded in several sources, al-Tüsi was able to compose
a considerable number of scientific works. As was
the case with many scholars of the 9th/15th century,
al-Tüsi’s writings deal with the various disciplines
that were taught at the madrasa [q.o.]. His works can
be divided into the following categories:

Kurân exegesis: superglosses on the glosses of al-
Durqanî [q.o.] on the al-Kâshîfî of al-Zanâkhshîrî
[q.o.];

Fîkh: glosses on the commentary of al-Taftânî
[q.o.] on al-Mähbûbî’s Tawdîl, and also glosses
on the commentary of al-Idî [q.o.] on the Muhîdîn
manûshî al-su’dî of Ibn al-Hâdjî [q.o.];

Kalâm: glosses on al-Durqanî’s commentary on
al-Idî’s al-Maw‘ûkîî as well as on al-Durqanî’s commentary
on al-Idî’s al-ak’dâr;

Logic and philosophy: superglosses on al-Durqanî’s
glosses on Kûfî al-Dîn al-Taftânî’s commentary on
Sîrâtî al-Dîn al-Urmawî’s Mas‘ûlî al-an‘âr fî l-mantiq,
as well as the above-mentioned treatise on the dis-
cussion between al-Qâzîî and the philosophers, which
has become known under the title al-Dhâhirâ [fî l-
muhîdîn manûshî al-su’dî u‘ûs l-hukmâtî];

Several of these texts have survived in manuscript
(see Brockelmann, II, 261-2, S II 279, 292a). So far,
however, only the Dhâhirâ has appeared in print
(Haydarabâd 1899; recently also under the title Tahâfût
al-falâsîfî, ed. R. Sa’îda, Beirut 1990; cf. the Turkish
translation by R. Duran, Ankara 1990). The work
shows that al-Tüsi, following al-Qâzîî, tried to com-
bine classical doctrines of Sunnî theology with philo-
sophical concepts. Among other things, he underlines
that the rules of logic and the results of mathemat-
as and astronomy are inseparable, should the state-
ments of revelation be in contradiction with them,
they must be interpreted allegorically. In the doctrine
on the soul, too, al-Tüsi is a representative of philo-
sophical notions (the soul lives on after death; spirit-
ual enjoyments have precedence over physical
pleasures, in both this world and the hereafter). In
the case with many scholars of the 9th/15th century,
the occasionalistic theory of the early Ash’ârî theo-
logians is correct.

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(U. Rudolph)
'UBayd Allāh Sultan Khān, ruler in Transoxania of the Uzbeks or Ozbegs [qa.]

He was the son of Mahmūd Sultān, son of Shāh-Būdāgh, son of the founder of the Uzbek confederacy, Abu 'l-Khayr Khān, a descendant of Čingo Čin zig Khān's grandson Shāhān (hence the epithet "Shāhānī," or "Shahānī"). During his youth, 'UBayd Allāh accompanied his uncle Muḥammad Shībānī Khān (r. 903-16/1500-16) on his sweeping victories over the Timūrids throughout Central Asia and Khorāsān in order to re-establish Čingizid rule in the area. On 7 Muḥarram 913/19 May 1507 the Uzbek forces under 'UBayd Allāh and Temūrī Sultaṇīn defeated the Timūrids outside Harāt. As a victory prize, 'UBayd Allāh was given in marriage Mihranglži Abd al-Azīfz, but he could not hold out against 'UBayd Allāh's governor out. Astarābād was given to Uzbek forces under his uncle Muḥammad Shībānī Khān appointed 'UBayd Allāh as governor of Bukhārā.

In Raḏāb 917/10 October 1511, Babur [q.v.] re-occupied Samarkand, his ancestral capital, with the help of the Saʿfāwī Shāh Ismāʿīl I [q.v.]. The Uzbek forces were not slow to retaliate, and in Raṣād 912/23 April 1512 Babur launched an ill-prepared attack on the Uzbek forces under 'UBayd Allāh at Kol'i Malik near Bukhārā, and although Babur had been winning, suddenly "through the machinations of heaven, the evil eye struck" and Babur lost. After the battle he left Transoxania forever. On 3 Ramadān 918/12 November 1512, 'UBayd Allāh defeated the Saʿfāwī general Naḏmī-i Thānī (Amīr Yār-Ahmād Iṣfahānī) at the Battle of Ghīzdhuvar (Ghīzdhuvar). The next winter, Shāh Ismāʿīl returned to western Persia to deal with incursions by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I, and Khāzīn Khān of the Khūṭakī-Kaẓakhīs returned to Siberia to tend to his realm, leaving the Uzbek forces a free hand in Central Asia. That winter 'UBayd Allāh took Hisār, to the north of the upper Oxus, from the Moghols.

In 920/1514 the Uzbek forces headed for Andizhān, where the Moghul Sultan-Sab'īd Khān was. Since then Babur had withdrawn to Kābul, the khān went to Kašghar, leaving hisar to fall to the Uzbek

'UBayd Allāh became the khān of the Shībānīs in 940/1533, although, as Mīrāz Haydār reports, "from the year 911 [1505] until the end of the reign of the latter khāns, it was really he who had conducted the affairs of the Shībānīs, and had he accepted to be khān, no-one would really have opposed him; nonetheless, he maintained the ancient custom and let the office of khān be given to whoever was the eldest—until after Abū Saʿīd Khān, when there was no one older than him." (Tārīḫ-i-Raḥīlī, 181-2). During his ascendancy, six advances were made against Khorāsān. In 930/1523 Mashād was taken, and 'UBayd Allāh proceeded to Astarābād and drove the governor out. Astarābād was given to 'UBayd Allāh's son 'Abd al-'Azīz, but he could not hold out against Saʿfāwī reinforcements and had finally to abandon the territory. When the Uzbek forces advanced on Khorāsān the third time, they clashed with the Saʿfāwī army at Sarū Kānīn near Djām on 10 Muḥarram 935/24 September 1528, and although the battle was going badly against the Saʿfāwīs, they managed to turn it into a resounding defeat of the Uzbeks. An eyewitness account of this battle is included in Babur's memoirs (Bābur-nāma, fol. 354), where it is incorrectly recorded that 'UBayd Allāh was killed. The fifth invasion of Khorāsān was launched in 937/1530-1, but the Uzbek forces again pulled out when Shāh Tāhmsāp I advanced on them and entered Harāt on 22 Dijmādār II 939/19 January 1533. The sixth and last invasion was made in 942/1535, when the Uzbek forces again took Maḥādī. Harāt was evacuated by the Uzbeks in Shiʿbānī 943/January 1537 and re-occupied by the Saʿfāwīs under the command of Khudābānda and Muhammad Khān Sharāf al-Dīn-oğlu Taḵālū. In 945/1538-9, 'UBayd Allāh's forces occupied Khūzāt, but subsequently they were dealt a crushing defeat by Dīn-Muḥammad Khān, another Čingizid descendant with whom Shāh Tāhmsāp had formed an alliance and to whom he had given the territory of Naṣā and Abīward. Returning to Bukhārā in 946/1535, "in answer to the cries of the oppressed, 'UBayd Allāh took to his bed, overtaken by a severe illness, and while pining for Harāt and yearning to stroll along the banks of the Mālān Bridge, he hastened to the next world, and the residents of Khorāsān were released from the oppression and cruelty of that heathen butcher" (Iskandar Beg, T.i 'Amār-ānā, 66). He left two sons, 'Abd al-'Azīz and Muḥammad-Raḥīm Sultān, but the khānate went to 'Abd Allāh Khān; the son of 'UBayd Allāh's predecessor, Kūṭūm Khān, although 'Abd al-'Azīz continued to rule autonomously in Bukhārā. A valuable eyewitness accounts of events in Bukhārā, Samarkand and Tashkent during 'UBayd Allāh's reign is Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāsīfī's Bādāyū al-wakāliyī. Bibliography: Bābur, Bābur-nāma; Faḍl Allāh Rūzbīhān Iṣfahānī, Mīhrān-nāma-yi Bukhārā, Moscow 1976; Hasan Rūmūlī, Ahsan al-tawāriḵīk, Tehran 1357/1978; Mīrāz Haydār Dughlāt, Tārīḫ-i-Raḥīlī, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1996; Iskandar Beg Türkīmān, Tārīḫ-i-'Amār-ānā-yi 'Abbāsī, Tehran 1350/1971; Khāondamīrī, Ḥabīb al-sīyār, Tehran 1353/1974; Wāsīfī, Bādāyū al-wakāliyī (W.M. Thackston).

'Ukālā al-Madājānīn (A.), "wise fools," a general denomination for individuals whose actions contradict social norms, while their utterances are regarded as wisdom. It is not altogether clear whether or not wise fools were particularly numerous in the early Ābbāsid period. At any rate, several authors of classical Arabic literature have treated the phenomenon in specific works that belong to the literary genre dealing with unusual classes of people, such as the blind or misers. While the first collection devoted specifically to wise fools was appar-ently a work written by al-Madājānī (d. 228/843 [q.v.]), the only surviving work is the Kāth 'Ukālā al-madājānīn

Al-Naysabûrî, while drawing upon earlier authors such as al-Dhâbîz (d. 255/868 [q.v.] or Ibn Abî '1-Dunyâ (d. 281/894 [q.v.]), introduces his subject from a theological point of view. For him, God has created the world to be splendid and its incapacity at the same time: good is blended with evil, and health with illness. In this way, madness, even though apparently a contradiction to God's benevolence, is a perfectly normal constituent of the human condition. In the following, the author discusses the terms used to denote madness, besides classifying different connotations of madness, as ādām, mu'tâh, mansūs, mamrûr, etc.

The main part of his work is devoted to anecdotes following, the author discusses the terms used to denote madness, besides classifying different connotations of madness, as ādām, mu'tâh, mansūs, mamrûr, etc.

of their actions were considered harmful to society who were held in hospitals. Wise fools would constantly remind their fellow citizens, particularly the powerful, of their worldliness and vanity, quoting pious verses and admonishing them with stories or allegories alluding to the hereafter; some of them even acted as unofficial preachers. In particular, their quality as free-wheeling admonishers makes the Islamic wise fools appear as precursors of the mediaeval European phenomenon of the court fool (Mezger 1991). Hence it is not surprising to see Buhlul, who in later tradition was given in the article; see also Le Strange, Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad written about the 4th/10th centuries) on the left, i.e. eastern, bank of the Tigris, ten roughly halfway between the capital and Samarra. The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, described by al-Tabarî (d. 1089-90), mentions a considerable number of scholars stemming from a-Sufism (Dols 1992, 376), and Ibn al-Djawzf (d. 1407/1987). The town was large and populous in the 4th/10th century, and a Jewish community there is mentioned in the early 3rd/9th century. But from the medieval times onwards, mentions of it in the historical and geographical sources dwindle. It appears that the bed of the Tigris above Baghdad had shifted eastwards into the channel then known as al-Shuwayta “the little shott [q.v.]”, and the ruins of Ukarûr lie at the present day on the left bank of the old channel of the Tigris (see G. Le Strange, Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad written about the year 900 A.D. by Ibn Sa'îd, in JRAS [1895], 37-9; A. Musil, The Middle Ephrataes, a topographical itinerary, New York 1927, 137-8).

Al-Samânî, K. al-Ansâb, ed. Haydarbâdî, ïd., 345-8, mentions a considerable number of scholars stemming from Ukarûr, and at a slightly later date, the parents of the Hanbali fakîh and philologist 'Abd Allâh b. al-Husayn al-Ukarûr [q.v.] came from the town.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 50-1. (C.E. Bosworth)

'UMÂN.

iii. Social structure.

'Uman is overwhelmingly an Arab, Muslim society, and tribal organisation remains an important element in national identity. The country's rapid development since 1970 has introduced a measure of physical and social mobility, as well as creating an influx of emigrants.

The migration of Arab tribes into 'Uman predates Islam, with Khaibarni or South Arabian tribes moving...
along the southern Arabian Peninsula from Yemen into 'Umān around the 2nd century A.D. They were followed several centuries later by 'Ādānī or North Arabian tribes who penetrated from the west along the Gulf coast. The Islamisation of 'Umān resulted in the eviction of the Persianised ruling class stemming from Sāsānī influence and composed the organisation of the tribal framework that continues today.

On the local level, the competition for scarce resources in water and arable land created a mosaic of tribal settlement. Many settlements stretch alongside the courses of wadis and attendant falajis (water channels); frequently the 'ālīya or upper quarter is inhabited by a tribe in traditional rivalry with another tribe occupying the sjālī and lower quarter. Regionally, a rough balance was obtained through two competing alliances and this balance was replicated on the national level by association with either the Hināwīyya confederation or the opposing Ghāfīrīyya confederation. Above these confederations stood the Ibādī īmāmate [see IBADIYYA] which served as a supertribal or quasi-national institution. Because the tribal confederations acted principally as balancers of power, membership in one or the other tended to be fluid over time. This has tended to blur earlier tendencies for al-Hinawīyya to consist of Ibādī and 'Ādānī tribes and al-Ghāfīrīyya to consist of Sunnī and Kābījānī tribes.

The power of the Ibādī īmāmate derived directly from the personal standing of the īmām, who was both dependent on the support of the principal shiqākh of the major tribes of both confederations for his position and the mediating figure between them and between tribes on the regional and local levels. This system gave enormous power to the leading shiqākh who dominated the confederations, and especially powerful shiqākh were able to use their power to determine the election of īmāms. During the second half of the 19th century, the powerful shiqākhly family of the Hināwī al-Hīrīth tribe of al-Sharkīyya region orchestrated a series of attempts to oust the Al Bāt Alī Sa'id [q.v.] rulers in Maskāt in order to restore the īmāmate. But by the early 20th century, the head of the Ghāfīrī Banī Ryāmī had become the predominant political figure in the interior, and the īmām elected in 1920 came from a Ghāfīrī tribe.

The assertion of sultanate control over interior 'Umān in the mid-1950s, with the attendant demise of the īmāmate, reduced the autonomy of the tribes and restricted the role of the shiqākh. For the first time, order and authority was maintained by a permanent army presence and, with a single exception, the shiqākh found their responsibilities restricted to leadership of their own tribes. When a new development-minded government appeared as a result of a palace coup d'etat in 1970, the role of the shiqākh was further reduced. The government assumed responsibility for public works and welfare. Social service ministries carried out improvements throughout the country, and a new system of courts and national police usurped many of the traditional functions of the shiqākh.

But even though the political power of the tribes has waned considerably since 1970, their social functions remain undiminished. Marriages take place by and large within the tribe, if not within the extended family. The government issues identity cards classifying the holder by tribal membership. Tribesmen seek the assistance of fellow tribesmen in obtaining employment, business help, and resolving problems with the police.

The great majority of the 'Umānī population is Arab and either Ibādī or Sunnī Muslim. The more prominent of these two divisions is the Ibādī sect, which, until the second half of the 20th century, provided the national leadership of 'Umān through an elected īmām. Perhaps slightly less than half of 'Umān's total population is Ibādī, all in the northern half of the country. The Ibādī form slightly more than half of the 'Umānī population. While the north contains both Ibādī and Sunnī tribes, the southern province Ṣa'īf [q.v.] (Dhofar) is entirely Sunnī. While Sunnī tribes in northern 'Umān may be Shāfī or Mālikī, Shāfīs are all Shāfīs. Much of the Sunnī population of Ṣūr and its hinterland is Ḥanbālī.

There are also several small Shī'ī communities, mostly located in the capital area of Maskāt, all of which are Ḏarfārī or Twelver. Al-Lawāṭīyya form the largest Shī'ī community, numbering perhaps 10,000 and traditionally residing in a closed quarter of Maḥrāb, Maskāt's sister settlement. The community seems to be Indian in origin, and at one time was in close connection with Agra Khānī Ismā'īlīs, all of whom have since converted or left 'Umān. The Lawāṭīyya have been settled in Maḥrāb for at least three centuries. The Arab Shī'ī community of al-Bahārīnī, formerly concentrated in Maskāt itself, is considerably smaller in number.

The reassertion of sultanate control over interior 'Umān approximately a century and a half. Most of these families hold Indian citizenship and form marriages with relations in India.

Arabic is the predominant language of 'Umān, but nearly a dozen languages are spoken by 'Umānīs. Balūc undoubtedly produces the second-largest proportion of native speakers. The Zadjāl and Lawāṭīyya speak their own languages, both akin to Gujarātī. The long 'Umānī association with East Africa has resulted in a significant number of 'Umānīs either born in or formerly resident in Zanzibar and neighbouring African countries. Some of these speak Swahili as their primary language, with English second and Arabic third. Ţa'īzī is distinct from 'Umān in several respects. Separated by the north by extensive gravel-plain desert, the region traditionally was linked with the Maḥrāb and Ḥadramawt regions of Yemen. The widespread Kaṭātī tribe is perhaps the most extensive group in the region, with subgroups including nomadic sections on the Nadjīl (the stony inland plain) and three clans that traditionally have been prominent in Ţa'īzī, Ťa'īzī's largest settlement and now a small city. Another transhumant section, the Bayt Kaṭātī, inhabits a narrow band of mountainous territory.

The other mountain tribes, commonly known as al-Balūts and traditionally transhumant as well, occupy similar strip territories, all running perpendicular to the coast and including parts of the coastal plain. These tribes speak a South Arabian language, Karawī, apparently adopted from the indigenous inhabitants whom they conquered some six or more centuries
ago. The latter, al-Shahra, maintain a separate but socially inferior identity.

Mahra tribes are also found in Zafar, mainly camel-herding nomads in either the northeastern Nadjd or along the Yemen border in the west. Some have established themselves recently on the mountains. In addition to al-Shahra, other _dal'if_ or socially inferior peoples are also present in Zafar, amongst them al-Mahşāyi and al-Barā'īma. Salāla and the smaller coastal towns are also inhabited by mixed-race _habshan_ and descendants of African slaves. Several small groups speaking South Arabian languages have been pushed out into the deserts northwest of Zafar; among these are al-Baṣaihira, al-Ḥikmān, and the larger and more important al-Harāsā.

Following the end of the civil war in Zafar in the late 1970s, the region has undergone rapid socio-economic development. Most _gīhilāt_ have built permanent homes in the mountains, often clustered in new settlements, and some maintain second homes in Salāla.

Traditionally, Umān was a rural country, with most of its population scattered in small agricultural settlements or coastal fishing villages. The process of development since 1970, however, has produced considerable urbanisation. The capital region, consisting in 1970 of the twin towns of Maskat and Matrah, with a combined population then of perhaps 25,000, grew to nearly half a million at the beginning of the 21st century. Salāla's population grew over the same period to nearly 200,000 and Sūhār (on the northwest al-Bātina coast), Nizwā (in the interior), and Sūr (near the eastern coastal tip) have become relatively large regional centres.

Umān society is relatively free from social stratification, although members of the ruling Āl Bū Sa‘īd family, tribal leaders, religious figures, and wealthy merchants occupy the upper rungs of society. A small middle class has emerged since 1970, but many Umānis in the Maskat region are employed as government employees, soldiers, drivers, and skilled and unskilled labour. The majority of the population outside the capital remains engaged in subsistence agriculture, fishing, or animal husbandry.

The government has used its modest oil revenues to extend roads, electricity, communications, schools, and health-care facilities throughout the country. The country remains dependent on oil income, however, and diversification into natural gas exports and tourism has had limited success. The first university opened in 1986.

Up to 25% of the total population is expatriate, with the greatest numbers coming from south and southeast Asia. While the heaviest concentration is in the capital area, expatriates are dispersed throughout the country and the government periodically has extended bans on expatriate labour to a growing number of occupations in an effort to 'Omanise' the labour force and provide employment for a burgeoning indigenous population.


_URA-TEPE_ (Ura-Tipa, Uri̱-Tipa), Russian _Ura_Tyblade, a town and a district on the northern slope of the Turkmen chain, now the town and district of Uroţepa in Tadjikistān. The town is located in lat. 39° 55' N. and long. 69° 00' E. at 1040 m/3,425 feet above sea level. Lying in the foothills between the steppe plains and the mountains, and on a major route linking Samarkand with Tashkent and the Farghana valley, the historical Ura-Tepe both connected and separated adjacent ecological and political regions.

The place name, signifying a "high hill" (an _tuba_/_tipa_/ _tpa_), emerges in the Timurid period. It is first mentioned in the course of events in early Muharram 1281/late May 1409 when the royal camp of Shāh Ṭukk ḡ (q.v.) was pitched in the "summer pasture (ṣayd) of Ura-Tipa" ("Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī, _Matla' al-salādāyin_, ed. M. Ṣ̣ḥaḥi, Lahore 1941-9, ii, 141). Several 10th/16th century authorities confirm that the new toponym had come to gradually replace the earlier "Uṣrūgha" (Bābur, ed. Mano, 13), "Usrūgha" (Muhammad Ṣaḥād, _Tārīkh-i Ṣaḥād_, ed. W.M. Thackston, 91), or "Uṣrūgha" (Hafti-i Tanih, _Shoarf-nāma-i ẓibā_, ed. Salakhetdinova, i, facs. fol. 88b; and see _USRUGHANA_).

At the turn of the 10th/16th century, the district's centre was a fortified town (kūrgān) surrounded by high walls and a moat, amidst cultivated lands and pastures for horses and sheep (Muhammad Šāh, _Šibānī-nāma_, ed. and tr. H. Vambéry, 174-9). In 908/1503 the former Timurid stronghold fell to the Ozbegs led by Muhammad Šibānī Khān. During the Šibānīd and early Ashkhabānīd periods, the Ura-Tepe district (wilayat, kalamraw) at times was allotted as an individual appanage to ruling princes, and at times it was attached to larger entities, such as Taškent or Samarkand.

From the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Ozbek tribe of the Yūz, established in Ura-Tepe, as well as in Khodjand and Ḥufs (to the north and the south of Ura-Tepe, respectively), came to play an increasingly important political role, which was not strictly confined to the realm of Ura-Tepe.

One line of Yūz chiefs can be traced back to Bākī Bīy Yūz, who around 1041-4 served as chief military and administrative adviser (aṭṭilk) to an Ashkhabānīd prince (i.e. Bahrām Sulṭān b. Nādir Muhammad Khān) ruling at Taškent. Bākī Bīy's grandson, Muhammad Rahīm Bīy Yūz (b. Gūsū Bīy), who held Ura-Tepe in 1091/1680 and 1105/1693-4, proved to be loyal to the Būkhārān court, at a time when another leading figure of the Yūz joined a rebellion (Makhtaraw, _Maṣāliḥ_, 24, 29). Subsequently, Muhammad Rahīm was named governor (ḥakim) of Samarkand. In 1114/1702, when he was further raised to the rank of an aṭṭilk and "Pillar of the Amirs" (sundat al-umārā?), one of Muhammad Rahīm's major assets was said to be his prestige among the warlike tribes of "Andigān, Khodjand, Āk-Kūtal and Taškent, up to the regions of Sayrām, Turkistān and Ulugh-Tagh", which enabled him to provide auxiliaries for the Būkhārān rulers (Muhammad Amin Būkhārī, _Uṣbān allah-nāma_, ms. Taškent, no. 1532, fols. 20b, 28b, tr. Semenov, 34-5, 43-4). While Muhammad Rahīm reached the zenith of his career, his son, Muhammad Āḵūtā Bīy, followed his father's footsteps in Ura-Tepe and Khodjand, where he ruled from 1113/1701 up to 1144/1731.
A second line of Yüz chiefs emerges with Muhammad Fadil Biy (b. Sadık Biy). Fadil Beg Yüz was one of the commanders of the Bukharan army that surrendered to Nādir Shāh in 1153/1740. Subsequently, he guided a Nādirid military campaign against "the rebellious Yüz and Ming tribes seated in the mountain and on the banks of the Sir-Daryə" (Muhammad Kāẓim, ʿĀlim-ārā-yi nādir, ed. Rīyahd, ii, 790, 802, 819). While ruling in Ura-Tepe, Fadil Biy supported the Khοkand chief ʿAbd al-Karlm Biy against the Mughals (Muhammad Hakim Kāhn, Muntakhab al-tawdnkh, ii, 376), i.e. the Džunjhrs, who repeatedly invaded Khοkand between 1153/1740 and 1158/1745 (Moisēev 1991, 162-3, 167, 173; Nabiev, 14). His own decrees, issued upon the order of an unnamed kāhn, confirm Fadil Biy's rule over Ura-Tepe in 1164/1750-1 and 1187/1774-5 (Mukhtarov, op. cit., 40, 42). Under Fadil Biy, one of the most stubborn opponents of the rising Manghtī dynasty of Bukhārā, Ura-Tepe turned into a strong and nearly independent statelet dominating neighbouring territoyies such as Khοdjin, Džizzak, and even Samarkand. Around 1780, however, when the town with four gates was under Fadil Biy's son Muḥammad Khusdāyr, the ruler's authority was confined to the environment of the town (Yefremov, 114). In 1800, Khusdāyr's son Beg-Murād Biy, having ruled less than a year, was deposed by the ruler of Bukhārā Shāh Murād.

In the 19th century, Ura-Tepe lost its independence and became a disputed border area between Bukhārā and Khοkand. From 1800 to 1866, the two rival states launched dozens of military campaigns into Ura-Tepe, where more than twenty governors succeeded each other. Both sides often chose Yüz representatives as local governors, such as Muḥammad Rahim Parwānṣi b. Muḥammad Khusdāyr, who ruled in 1234/1818 (Mukhtarov, op. cit., 56).

When Fīlipp Nazarov visited Ura-Tepe in 1814, it had recently been taken by Khοkand. He observed that the town "is very large and surrounded by two high walls, separated from each other by a deep moat; openings made in these walls allow the use of fire-arms, if need be. This town is densely populated, the streets are narrow, and the houses built of clay. There are manufactories producing goat wool shawls. The inhabitants trade with the Turcomans, the Persians and the Arab nomads who are subjects of Bukhārā" (Nazarov, 65-6).

On 2 October 1866, the Imperial Russian army conquered the town. Having been ceded by the Bukhārā amīr to Russia in 1888, Ura-Tepe became part of the Khοdjin uyezd. The population of Ura-Tepe at that time was variously estimated to be between 10 and 15,000 people. There were 854 shops of artisans and traders in the town. When the Soviet Republic of Tādžikistān was founded in 1929, Ura-Tepe was its second largest city after Khοdjin. In the decade 1976-85 there were ca. 38,000 inhabitants in the town and 143,000 inhabitants in the district (Entsiklopediya sovetskogo mira, vii, Džusdžanbe 1988, 339). By a presidential decree of 10 November 2000, the town has been officially renamed Istravshan.


(W. Holzwarth)
The data supplied by Tradition hardly accord with those of pre-Islamic inscriptions. According to the latter, Wadd (Wil or Wd’), who is an important divinity in southern Arabia, is almost unknown in the rest of Arabia. It is in the kingdom of Ma‘in (capital Karawan, formerly Ma‘in, in the Wadi of Yemen) that Wadd occupies the most eminent position: he is one of the divinities of the official pantheon, always included in invocations. He had a temple at Yathill (Yl, today Barakish) (M 244 = RES 3019/1) and another in the Minaean colony of Dedan (today al-Ula) in the north of the Hidjaz (M 356 = RES 3695/2). A clan of Yathill (the Banu Dmu‘) considers itself the “clients of Wadd” (Shahr‘an “ilm Wil “hr“) (M 222 = RES 2999/2). Finally, the permanent river that irrigates the Djawf bears his name: (Hr=) Wil “Hirr“nt, torrent of Wadd) (Ma‘in 1 = M 29 = RES 2774/6; Ma‘in 13 = M 43 = RES 2789/5; Shaqab 1/1).

The god Wadd was also venerated at Saba‘ where, not far from Ma‘rib, a small temple was dedicated to him, and in the Sabaeæan tribes of the environs of San‘a‘ (Schmidt 1982, 1987; Müller 1982, 1987). In the kingdom of Awsan, based around the Wad‘i Marhka, one of the sovereigns, Yasduk‘il Fari‘im Sherab‘at, son of Ma‘add‘il Salhun (Yakli Fm ‘tm bn Mf'l Sbn) alleged that the god Wadd was his father; he is the only South Arabian sovereign to have claimed such divine parentage; and the only one to be honoured by statues, like a god, in the Ni‘mān (N‘m) temple which was dedicated to Wadd. This sovereign probably dates from the 1st century A.D., judging by the foreign influences shown by his statue (preserved in the Museum of Aden) and by the script of his inscriptions (CfAS F35/449.10 no. 3; 49.10/01 no. 2; Louvre 90).

To protect persons and property, the South Africans made use of the formula “Wadd is father” (Wdm ‘bd, with variants), which is found on amulets (Louvre 186) and on numerous buildings. It is an interesting fact that this apotropaic formula is more widely diffused than the cult of Wadd; it is found in all the regions of southern Arabia and on the Arabian shore of the Arabian-Persian Gulf (Robnik 1994, 85).

South Arabian nomenclature includes a number of theophoric anthroponyms composed with Wadd: these are most notably “grwd, Bnwd, Hwjwd, Mr’twd, Jfmwd, ‘grwd, Bnwd, Whbwd, Wd‘b, Wd’l”. These gods are associated with the title “priest of Wadd”. It may be noted, however, that except for this text, Wadd is almost unknown (see the theophoric bnwd in AH 11 and possibly 1); one may therefore wonder if the author of JS 49 did not come from the Yemen.

Inscriptions do not confirm the opinion of Hājīm Ibn al-Kalbi that Wadd's cult was transported to Dust or Dm. Ibn al-Djandal: mentioned there are Lh, Dm, Rds, trmn and Nt [see Thamūdīc], but not this god. This is not enough to lead to the conclusion that Ibn al-Kalbi made a mistake, or relayed a tendentious tradition, but a degree of doubt is permissible. Furthermore it is not impossible that the idol of Dūmat al-Djandal may have borne a name resembling Wadd and that the traditions were confused. Conversely, the god Wadd enjoyed great popularity in Yemen, a fact totally ignored by Tradition. This would seem to prove that Ibn al-Kalbi was ill-informed and that his principal source was indeed the Qur‘ānic text.

give a different name to this battle: the battle of Faţāb Sharīḥ ("plain of Jerez"); al-Sawākī ("the canals"); Kardāḏajanna (Cartagena); Wādī Umm Ḥakīm, al-Buhayra ("the lake"); Laguna de la Janda); Wādī 'Ī-Ṭīn, al-Dżazīra, etc. (cf. J. Vallvé, La Cosa de Tudmir, in And., xxxvii [1972], 146 n. 3), although it is the isle of Wādī Lakku, in the district of Al-Buhayra, a stretch of water identified by R. Dozy as being the Laguna de la Janda, source of the Rio Barbate; the Laguna of al-ldrlsl, de la Janda (al-ldrlsl, ii, 10). According to certain sources, the place in question was the banks of the Wādī Lakku, the river into which the last Visigothic Goth, allegedly took place on the Wādī Lakku, in the district, or al-Buhayra, a stretch of water identified by R. Dozy as being the Laguna de la Janda, source of the Rio Barbate. The author states (no. 186) that the encounter between Tarik b. Ziyād, the freedman of Ibn Nusayr, with Roderic, sovereign of al-Andalus and last king of the Visigothic army on the banks of the Rio Barbate, Guadalete, Salado or the Laguna de la Janda.

Although superior in numbers (the sources speak of between 40,000 and 100,000 Christians), Roderic's troops, confident of victory, were defeated. According to some authors, both wings of the Visigothic army were commanded by partisans, or actual brothers of Akhila, and at the start of the engagement, they changed sides. Roderic, on the centre, resisted, but was ultimately forced to retreat, and his troops were cut to pieces by the Muslims. According to al-Rāzī, quoted by Ibn 'Idharī (Bayān, ii, 10, tr. 13) and by al-Makkarī (Analectes, i, 163) the battle lasted a whole week, from 28 Ramaḍān to 5 Shawwāl 92/19 to 26 July 711. Captives of all social conditions were taken: nobles, plebeians and slaves, recognisable respectively by their gold, silver and leather rings (al-Himyari, Rawd al-mī'ār, 204). According to certain sources, Roderic lost his life in the battle and Tarik sent his head to Musa b. Nusayr; according to others, he succeded in escaping. The victory for Muslim arms opened the gates of the Iberian peninsula.


WAHM

2. In mysticism.

In the doctrinal texts of Muslim mysticism, the term wāhīm can appear with either the general sense of "illusory, uncertain personal conjecture" or the more precise sense of "estimative faculty" acquired through the intermediary of Hellenistic philosophy and medicine. However, in the context of the description of spiritual progress, it takes on specific connotations: it denotes a natural faculty of comprehension capable of giving sense only to sensible phenomena, inclined towards anthropomorphism (takhbīt) in religious matters and unsuited to the perception of the divine: "Imagination (waḥīm) is a cloud of dust between intellect (‘aql) and profound comprehension (fahm). It relates neither to intelligence, of which it is not an attribute, nor to comprehension, nothing in which corresponds to any of its attributes ( . . .). It resembles the drowsiness between deep sleep and waking, which is
being neither asleep nor awake. Waking, it is the transition between intelligence and comprehension, and by obscurity and intelligence, without there being any fog of obscurity between the two" (Ibrahim al-Khatwawas, quoted by al-Sarradji, 134. Al-Luma', ed. A.H. Mahfuz and T.A.B. Surur, Cairo 1960, 298; and R. Granič, Slaglakliger über das Sufism, Stuttgart 1990, 345). It is in this sense that al-Halladji declares in a celebrated poem: "No estimation (waahm) could relate to the subject of You, in such a way that in imagination it could be decided where You are!" (K. al-Tasawwuf, ed. P. Novia, v, 11-12). And subsequently, evoking the spiritual mi'rdaj, he writes: "Overturn your discourse, abandon conjectures (al-waqahm), pick up your feet behind and before!" (ibid., v, 21).

While imagination is a natural faculty, sometimes useful for meditation (see al-Muhâsibi, K. al-Tasawwuf, it needs to be mastered and left behind. More profoundly still, illusion, the fundamental waahm, consists from the Sufi point of view in believing that existence and, a fortiori, human activities, exist independently of God, outside Him. Men assume an illusory existence (waajid waahm), when this is entirely dependent on pure divine existence (waajid bukhâl). Spiritual exercises, as well as the use of discursive reasoning, amount here to means of waking up and of being freed from this illusion. The most expansive treatment of the functions of imagination is to be found in the works of Ibn al-'Arabi [q.v.]. Although he sometimes employs the terms waahm and khyâl as synonyms, he propounds a doctrine of precise human imagination where waahm regains the connotations mentioned above (for example, al-Futuhât al-makkiyya, Cairo 1911, iii, 364-5). Basically, he dissociates imagination deriving from simple individual mental representation from that which links the spirit of the person to the superior worlds. Only this second imaginative faculty constitutes a genuine way of knowledge and can become the setting for an authentic theophanic experience (see H. Corbin, L'Imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabi, Paris 1958, Eng. tr. R. Mannheim, Creative imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi, Princeton 1969; W.C. Chittick, The Sufi path of knowledge: Ibn al-'Arabi's metaphysics of imagination, Albany 1983).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (P. Lorv)
Little is known about endowments in Syria of the Umayyad period. Some of the most prestigious religious buildings of early Islam were built there, financed by funds from the Muslim treasury [see BAYT AL-MAL]. In Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock was completed in 691-2 and the al-Aqṣā Mosque in the reign of al-Walīd b. `Abd al-Malik (896-705). Nothing is known about endowments in Syria of the Umayyad period. Some of the most prestigious religious buildings of early Islam were built there, financed by funds from the Muslim treasury [see BAYT AL-MAL]. In Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock was completed in 691-2 and the al-Aqṣā Mosque in the reign of al-Walīd b. `Abd al-Malik (896-705). Nothing is known about endowments in Syria of the Umayyad period. Some of the most prestigious religious buildings of early Islam were built there, financed by funds from the Muslim treasury [see BAYT AL-MAL]. In Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock was completed in 691-2 and the al-Aqṣā Mosque in the reign of al-Walīd b. `Abd al-Malik (896-705). Nothing is known about endowments in Syria of the Umayyad period. Some of the most prestigious religious buildings of early Islam were built there, financed by funds from the Muslim treasury [see BAYT AL-MAL]. In Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock was completed in 691-2 and the al-Aqṣā Mosque in the reign of al-Walīd b. `Abd al-Malik (896-705).

The following centuries were characterised by warfare, insecurity and changing ruling dynasties [see TULUNIDS; MÜZÄ'IMM; ABBASIDS; HAKIMIDS; AJA'IL; HAKIMIDS; SAVAD; TURKMENS; UZBEKS; ARTUKIDS; TÜRKIDS; KHANES; SAMOYS; CRMEN; KHOJAND]; the north was temporarily reoccupied by Byzantine troops, and Jerusalem and Damascus came under the domination of the Ismā'īlī Fatimids [q.v.] of Cairo. According to the legal treatises which have to be situated in the `Irāk context, various types of wakf must have existed in this period. And even though a special agency, the ḍārūr al-bīr [see ʿĪYĀN], was established in Baghdad in the early 4th/10th century to supervise pious endowments and charity (wakf ʿaṣlī and ṣādākātī) (Miskawayh, i, 151-2, 257), nothing is known about a similar institution in Syria.

The word wakf was not only a means to gain rewards in the afterlife for the sake of one’s soul (thawāb) or to secure the material well-being of one’s descendants. In the hands of various elite groups it became an eminent instrument for the propagation of status, wealth and power, aiming at other-worldly rewards, was no longer done preferably in secret, but led to open displays of worldly riches and splendour (Korn). At the same time, new forms of practicing wakf were created, such as those for descendants, other family members, clients, and organisations with more specific purposes. This feature decisively altered the notion of poverty that was at the core of the concept of wakf (Sabrā). The early legal texts had maintained that a recipient of wakf income had preferably to be poor in a material sense, excluding groups like the blind or those who were in charge of calling for prayer (muṣābilla) [see AGHĀN] in a mosque as lawful beneficiaries, because they presumably included poor and rich people alike [Korn], Charitable foundations in Islamic areas resulted in a document that also presented a list of the properties of God (al-Khassaf, op. cit., 113). Yet even though a special agency, the ḍārūr al-bīr [see ʿĪYĀN], was established in Baghdad in the early 4th/10th century to supervise pious endowments and charity (wakf ʿaṣlī and ṣādākātī) (Miskawayh, i, 151-2, 257), nothing is known about a similar institution in Syria.

In 435/1043 several descendants of the endower fought over their allotted shares, which resulted in a document that also presented a list of the properties of God (al-Khassaf, op. cit., 113). Yet even though a special agency, the ḍārūr al-bīr [see ʿĪYĀN], was established in Baghdad in the early 4th/10th century to supervise pious endowments and charity (wakf ʿaṣlī and ṣādākātī) (Miskawayh, i, 151-2, 257), nothing is known about a similar institution in Syria.

On the social, economic, intellectual and educational life of the cities (Makdisi; Pouzet; Chamberlain). Wakf stipulations now provided for the regular payment of fixed sums to a growing number of people who worked in and for the foundations. Salaried posts were established for professors and assistant professors, but also for the administration and the physical upkeep of the institutions. Endowments financed the professional reading of the Kurʿān which became more widespread and organised at this time (Pouzet, 169).

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the `asha`f, Sufi brotherhoods [see ṬARIKA; ZAWIYA], professional guilds [see ṢINF] or diaspora communities.

The first of the new institutions, the khānikh [q.v.], was introduced from the Persian world to look after the needs of travelling Sufis. Some of the earliest examples in Syria were founded in Damascus. The best known goes back to the famous Sūfī, historian and astronomer, Abu ʿl-ʿKāsim ʿAli b. Muhammad al-Sulamī al-Sumaysāṭī (d. 453/1061) (al-Nu`aymī, ii, 118-26; Banqūs, 634; Eliseeff, ed. MJ. de Goeje, Leiden 1907, 290).

During the second half of the 5th/11th century the advance of the Saldjukids [q.v.] led to hostilities with the Fātimids. Contemporaries saw the umma [q.v.] as being threatened when, at the end of the century, the armies of the Crusaders [see CRUSADES] occupied considerable tracts of Syria, among them Jerusalem in 492/1099. In this period, the madrasa was introduced into the Syrian cities, an institution specialising in the teaching of Sunni jurisprudence and law. Endowing a madrasa was often part of a larger building programme. The Saldjuk ruler Dukan b. Zæk and his mother, for instance, founded after 491/1097-8 the first bimarstān [q.v.] of Damascus, a madrasa for the Hanafiyya and a khānikh which also became their own tomb. Women of the ruling dynasties start to figure prominently among the endowers in this period (Tabbâa, 46).

iii. Zangids and Ayyūbids

The political and spiritual significance of endowments becomes more pronounced when, after 541/1146, Nūr al-Dīn Majmūd b. Zankl [q.v.] came to control the parts of Syria that were not under the domination of the Crusaders. Particularly after 558/1162-3, the Zangid ruler adopted a public image of strict religiosity following the model of the Prophet. As part of this policy, he ordered religious and other buildings serving the Muslim community all over Syria to be restored, and he assured their functioning by supplementing their endowment. Among his most important new foundations are the famous bimarstān in Damascus, as well as his tomb madrasa and the first dār al-hadith [q.v.] in Islamic history, and in Aleppo, another bimarstān and several colleges of law (for a list, see Eliseeff, op. cit., iii, 913-35).

Only for this period do the historical sources mention a state official in charge of the waqf system for Syria. The supervision of endowments (nasir al-aqḍāf) was among the functions attributed to the kāfi ʿībala [q.v.] of Damascus, the Hanafi Kamil al-Din Abu ʿl-Fadl Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shahrūzūrī (d. 572/1176-7) (Pouzet, 29). The way in which he exercised his prerogatives was the reason for a legal debate which allows interesting insights into contemporary legal thinking on waqf. To finance defence measures, the kāfi had been authorised to use the surplus income (jād) of endowments which occurred after the stipulated purposes had been paid for (Abū Shāma, i, 11). The debate is related by Abū Shāma [q.v.] as having taken place in the Citadel of Damascus in 554/1162-3. Nūr al-Dīn consulted several experts of the Shāfiʿī, Hanbalī and Mālikī schools of law. He wanted to know which of the Umayyad mosque's assets were part of its waqf and which were merely additions (muqāf) belonging to the treasury (op. cit., i, 17).

The distinction was significant, because it allowed the diversion of income of the mosque for other purposes. The second question aimed specifically at the surplus income of endowments. Asked whether it was permissible to spend such funds for the defence of the umma, the Shāfiʿī kāfi Ibn ʿAbī ʿArrūn forcefully denied it and maintained that the ruler should borrow the needed sums in the name of the treasury. Waqf income could only be spent for the designated beneficiaries (op. cit., i, 18). It is, however, manifest in Abū Shāma's account that not all jurists held the same opinion, and later on even the Shāfiʿīya adopted the opposite position. These discussions highlight the tensions resulting from the overlapping political and social fields of waqf, bayt al-māl, personal income of the ruler [see ʿiṣrāʾīl], and claims in the name of the general good [see MAṢLAḤA].

The impact of the Crusades is even more apparent under the Ayyūbids [q.v.]. After the reconquest of Jerusalem, Salāḥ al-Dīn pursued his policy of propa gating a strict Sunni Islam, already adopted in Fātimid Cairo, in order to turn it into a truly Muslim city. Endowing was an important part of this programme to repossess the properties of Frankish institutions. In 585/1189, Salāḥ al-Dīn established in the former residence of the patriarch of the Sūfī, which was named after him, a Sālimiyā. The deed of this foundation is the earliest extant example of a komlikf for Syria (Asāf, iii, 83-100). In the case of his madrasa, the foundation deed of 588/1192 explicitly stated that the sultan had officially purchased the properties which formerly belonged to two Latin churches from the bayt al-māl (Frenkel, Political and social aspects, Pahlitzsch).

The return to Muslim rule affected also the status of agricultural land that had been occupied by non-Muslims. In analogy with early Islamic history, several and often contradictory solutions could be drawn from the explanations of the different schools of law. In practice, some of these lands were left with those in possession of them. Others were given out as grants [see ʾiṣrāʾīl] (Frenkel, Impact, 239-47). Many of these were later incorporated into a growing number of endowments founded by members of the ruling dynasty, its military and administrative functionaries and increasing the ‘ulama (Humphreys; Tabbâa). A considerable portion of these foundations could be attributed to women. The proliferation of public buildings which resulted from these endowment activities can be traced into the smaller cities and settlements of the region.

iv. Mamluks

Many features of these waqfs continued under the Mamluks [q.v.], who after their victory over the Mongols [q.v.] in Ayn Djalut [q.v.] in 658/1260 and numerous campaigns against the Franks, came to dominate the whole of Syria. The military triumph of the Muslim forces was followed by an extensive building programme which aimed at propagating the Islamic character of the new rulers. Hence special reverence was shown for the “Sanctuaries” [see AL-HARĀMAḤ AL-SARKHĀYĀN], which was used to refer not only to Mecca and Medina but also to Jerusalem and Hebron. Sultan al-Zahir Baybars I [q.v.] is attributed with a considerable number of endowments in these cities and other places of religious interest, and many of his successors followed his example (Meinecke).

The centre of Mamluk endowment activities was undisputedly Cairo, but in the Syrian cities, mostly in ruins after the destructions caused by the Crusades and the Mongol invasion, building and restoring also resumed on a large scale. Tripoli [see TARABULUS AL-SHAM] was rebuilt in a new location (Luz). Aleppo
was slow in regaining its former glory, but new urban quarters developed in the north and north-east (Sauvaget; Gauß-Wirth). Damascus witnessed a period of considerable growth, illustrated by the endowment of several new Friday mosques outside the old city walls (Minner). These building activities came to an abrupt halt in 803/1400-1 when the army of Timur Lang [q.v.] invaded Syria. For Damascus, the extent of the destruction can be gleaned from a document which enumerates the assets of the Umayyad Mosque and describes their actual state (to be published by S. Atasî and B. ʿUlafi, IFPO, Damascus).

Although the written documentation becomes denser for this period, what we know about endowing is still very much an elite phenomenon. This is evident in the appearance of a novel wakf type: At first sight it appears as a typical charitable endowment (wakf kharî), yet founders began to stipulate that any surplus (fadl) from the wakf’s income was not to be reinvested, but was destined for themselves and their descendants (Amin, Aukaf, 73-8). It was still customary to endow new mosques and other institutions with rather small incomes (Mudjjir al-Din; al-Nuʿaymi; al-Ghazzî), but some foundations started to produce much higher revenues than warranted by their specified purposes. Such arrangements can be found in other Syrian towns (al-Ghazzî, Cairo 1914-28, iv, 191-2; ibn Battuta, tr. Gibb, i, 148-9).

v. Ottomans

The Ottoman conquest of Bilâd al-Shâm in 922/1516-17 did not radically change the wakf regime [see WAKF. IV. In the Ottoman Empire, at Vol. XI, 87b]. To establish a secure hold on the tax income of the new provinces which stemmed mainly from agricultural revenues, the Ottoman administration began early on to survey all rights concerning land or access to its produce. These tax registers (tablîn [q.v.], later called the dâfâr al-khâlik [q.v.]) or al-sultânî are a valuable source for Mamlûk and Ottoman wakf history, because they allow insights into number, types, composition and lifespan of endowments.

According to the Ottoman provincial regulations (khânî [q.v.]), wakf properties were subject to an imposition, in many cases, one-tenth of their share (ṣâfîr mîl al-wakf) [Venzke]. Only the wakf al-Harâmîn al-ṣâfîrîn, those for Jerusalem and Hebron, and the great imperial endowments, were tax-exempt. Studies of the tax regime tend to focus on the early period of Ottoman rule in Syria. Yet endowments continued as part of rural life and were involved in the conflicts over resources between the different social groups trying to control them. Many court cases and fatâwâ refer to the necessity of defending the interests of endowments against ʿābdî-holders and tax-farmers [see ULTEZÎM, MULTEZÎM] (Johansen).

The importance of land is highlighted by the issue of the appropriation of state lands [see ĠÌR]. Especially during the first century of Ottoman rule in Syria, highly-placed Ottoman officials included in their endowments large tracts of land, in different regions or even provinces (e.g. the endowments of Lâlâ Muṣṭâfâ Paşa and his wife Fatîma Khâṣîn). In fact, most of these foundations are formally genuine awkîf because a deed of possession (tamlik) from the sultan authorized such transfers. Later on, endowing agricultural land became less frequent, with the exception of privately-owned gardens and orchards. Even in the case of prominent officials and notables, only the rights of cultivation (mâşkâd masâk) and the plantations standing on the land were endowed. Agricultural revenues were appropriated by more indirect means like long-term rents and sublease contracts (Râfîk).

Ottoman endowment practice is more visible in the urban context. Like other rulers before them, the Ottoman sultans showed a marked interest in the Haramayn of Jerusalem and Hebron. At the same time, they and members of their households founded large urban complexes in other towns, which added a distinctly Ottoman element to their cityscapes. The most outstanding examples in Damascus are the endowment of Sultan Selim I [q.v.] around the tomb of Ibn al-ʿArabî [q.v.], in al-Sâliḥiya [q.v.], or the takyya [q.v.] of Sultan Süleyman [q.v.]. In Jerusalem, it was the latter’s wife, Khurram Sultan [q.v.], who founded the famous Khâṣîkt Sultan complex, including a soup-kitchen [see MâRÎT] (Singer). Numerous foundations of Ottoman officials and local notables helped to develop urban quarters and contributed in some cases to the establishing of new city centres. Yet the wakf was also used by a growing number of persons of rather modest means, among them a high proportion of women. The majority of these endowments are expenses of conveyance to their countries. There are endowments for the improvement and paving of the streets. . . . Besides these there are endowments for other charitable purposes.” And he went on to relate a story how an endowment “for orphans” (ʾašîl) helped a rival to break a broken porcelain dish (ibn Battuta, tr. Gibb, i, 148-9).

Administrators of such endowments were often accused of embezzling funds belonging to all the Muslims. Such accusations were all the more difficult to refute, as endowments increasingly were made of land that previously had belonged to the treasury and had been given out as military or administrative grants [see 1953]. This practice, known as triîd or in Ottoman times as wakf ghayr sahlî (see al-Târîbûsî, op. cit., 20; Cuno), was not acknowledged as a sound wakf by the jurists. In legal theory, it was only allowed for the purposes specified for the bayt al-mâl. Stipulations could be altered by later rulers.

The Mamlûk administration tried to control this complex wakf system [see WAKF. II. 1. In Egypt, at Vol. XI, 63b] by putting it under the supervision of local governmental agencies: In Damascus, the second capital of the realm, the nazar al-auskî belonged within the duties of the Shâfiʿî kâšî al-kudâb. This official was also charged with the supervision of the aqîfî of the Umayyad Mosque, whereas the al-Nûrî bîmîrîstân was put under the responsibility of the governor. Similar arrangements can be found in other Syrian towns (al-Kâlqâqandî, Small, Cairo 1914-28, iv, 191-2, 220-1).

By the end of the Mamlûk period, the wakf as an institution built on the initiative of individuals had taken over many functions that the treasury had fulfilled in earlier times. This is evident for instance in the dâwir al-arâr, responsible for the liberation of Muslim war prisoners: it was now financed by endowments, but stayed under the supervision of an appointed agent of the state (op. cit., iv, 191). Ibn Battuta who travelled from Cairo to Damascus in 726/1326, was struck by the “varieties of the endowments of Damascus and their expenditure . . ., so numerous are they. There are endowments in aid of persons who cannot undertake the Pilgrimage. There are endowments for supplying wedding outfits to girls, to those namely whose families are unable to provide them. There are endowments for the freeing of prisoners, and endowments for travellers, out of which they are given food, clothing, and the
rather small, consisting of one house or even a part of a house.

It may be stating the obvious to stress that ending as a social practice was influenced by gender, economic means, social distinction, ethnic and religious affiliation, and gender in Greater Syria, in Comparative Studies in Society and History, xl/1 (1998), 3-41; K.M. Meier).

WARD.

In Arabic literature.

The rose is easily the most sung flower in Arabic poetry. Its natural place is in flower, garden and spring poetry (zahrīyya, nawziyya and rahfīyya), but the rose also figures prominently in the setting of wine poetry (gawāmiyya), which is actually the place of origin for flower poems. Abu Nuwas (d. 198/813) have also attracted some attention (see al-Nuwayrī, Nihdiya, xi, 189).

"They are" ointment pots made of rubies laid on top of emeralds, inside of which is gold. . . ." (al-Nuwayrī, Nihdiya, xi, 189).

The same kind of imagery is also used with other flowers. The unusual "freezing" into gems of the various parts of the blossom may historically be explained as a result of the emergence of flower poems from wine poetry: the latter, especially in Abu Nuwas, is ripe with gem similes and metaphors to evoke the wine and the cup (cf. Schoeler, 72-5). Since the materials used as analogues are noble and incorruptible, an additional effect is that time itself freezes (cf. Hamori, 78-87). Finally, one should not forget that the recreation of natural objects, especially animals and plants, with the use of gems was not uncommon in courtly circles.

Personification

The other way of introducing a phantastic dimension is the personification of the rose, which in turn allows the poet to attribute a reason or motivation to its outward appearance or its "actions"—the phenomenon called takkyūl [q.v]—by 'Abd al-Kahir al-Dirjāndī (d. 471/1078 or later) in his Al-Dirjāndī (d. 471/1078 or later [q.v. in Suppl.]).

"Gay spring has come to you, strutting [and] laughing with beauty, almost talking even. In the darkness before daybreak, Nawruz has awakened the first roses that yesterday had still been sleeping, casting of something previously secret is cautiously for- warding news that yesterday had been concealed among them [sc. the roses]". (Dirjandī, ed. al-Sayrafi, p. 2990; the "improved" version in al-Nuwayrī, Nihdiya, xi, 189, has fa'kā'annā yahābdhna hādīthnā kāna ānū laykuttamā."

(Dirjandī, ed. al-Sayrafi, p. 2990; the "improved" version in al-Nuwayrī, Nihdiya, xi, 189, has fa'kā'annā yahābdhna hādīthnā b'aynākhunna laykuttamā and it was as if it were spreading news that had been concealed among them [sc. the roses])."

The idea that the opening of the buds is a broad-casting of something previously secret is cautiously formulated as an "as if". The second step (full personification) appears in the following line by 'Abī b. al-Dījahm:

"The roses started laughing only when the beauty of the flower beds and the sound of the chirping birds excited it."

"They appeared, and the world showed them its beauties, and, in the evening the wine came in its new clothes. . . ." (al-Sarî al-Rafī'ī, Muhāh, iii, 92, with slight divergences from the Dirjandī version).

"Laughing" is "coming into bloom". The roses wait until the stage is set for them. The possibilities of takkyūl, the poetic re-interpretation of reality, are made use of in two specific contexts: the rose-cheek equation, and the rose vs. narcissus debate.

Rose = cheek

The term "rose" became part of the poetic jargon of the Modern where it simply meant "cheek"—alongside "narcissus" for "eye" and "chamomile (petals) for "teeth", to name but these. Underlying this usage is, of course, the comparison of the red cheek with the red of the rose. But by reversing the comparison (kalb) the rose is often perceived as a cheek. Abī Hilāl al-'Askārī says (Dirjandī al-mulānī, ii, 23):
"Comparing it to the cheek is an appropriate simile (tashbih musib), but I refrained from indulging in it (al-takhrij minhu) because of its fame and frequency". Here are a few more sophisticated examples of the rose-cheek identification, showing in particular the phenomenon of "harmony of imagery" (manfair al-najir).

Abū Bakr al-Khālidī:

"They protected the roses of their cheeks, so that we could not pluck them due to the scorpions of their forelocks."

(al-Khālidīyyān: Diwan, 70).

Ibn al-Rumī:

"Those tears resemble drops of dew that fall from a narcissus (eye) onto a rose (cheek)."

(Ibn Abī `Awn: Taṣbihāt, 83, 78; 89, 16).

One of the dandies (ahad al-zawāfah):

"A fawn whose cheek and whose eyes are my rose and my narcissus."

(Ibn Abī `Awn: Taṣbihāt, 90, 2).

Kushadjīm:

"If you like, it [the wine] is, from his hands, wine and, from his cheeks, roses."

(Diwan, 140 [no. 129]).

Rose vs. narcissus

The debate about the precedence of the rose over the narcissus or vice versa was mostly decided in favour of the rose. The rose was considered the king of the fragrant plants, and each one of us is the most suitable for his counterpart (al-Nawawī, Haft al-kumayt, 235). Similarly, Abū Hālāl al-`Askarī says:

"The one who is sitting in an assembly is not like the one who is standing in it."

(Abī Hālāl al-`Askarī, Diwan al-mu'ānī, ii, 23, quoting himself; but it also occurs in Ibn al-Rumī, Diwan, 1242 [no. 1022], which, however, is strange in view of his well-known predilection for the narcissus).

I. e. the rose blossom is sitting on the bush like the ruler, while the narcissus is standing on its stem like his attendant.

It was Ibn al-Rumī (d. 283/895 [q.v.]) who objected and declared his preference for the narcissus (Diwan, 643-4 [often quoted], also 665 [no. 36], 1234 [a little prose text]; 1458 [no. 1112]). This he emphasised in a notorious invective against the rose, in which he compared it to a mule's anus with remnants of faeces in its midst (Diwan, 1452 [no. 1107]). S. Boustanī has offered a political-symbolic interpretation of Ibn al-Rumī's favouring the narcissus (Ibn ar-Rumī, Saʿāda al-imārāt, ii, 207-8, 339-40), but this has been effectively refuted by Schoeler (213-5). If it is not a simple personal predilection, it seems appropriate to consider Ibn al-Rumī's position a somewhat sensationalist game in the tradition of al-maḥāsin wa l-mustāvat [q.v.], especially if he did indeed on another occasion too the usual horn (see above).

His poem elicited a number of counterpoems, the best known being a six-liner by the famous garden poet al-Sanawbarī (Diwan, 498 [no. 123]). On the "proofs" offered by Ibn al-Rumī and al-Sanawbarī, most of them in the taḥdírī category, see Heinrichs, Rose versus narcissus, 184-6. Notable is the fact that al-Sanawbarī offers a real munkazara, i.e. the two flowers debate each other, only in a rudimentary way, while Ibn al-Rumī does use personification, but not in a sustained way and without letting the "protagonists" speak.

Some poets, such as Abū Bakr al-Khālidī, refrain from taking sides in the debate; he says:

"I disclosed to the narcissus of al-Rakkā my love, and I have no strength to avoid the roses."

"Both brothers are beloved, and I consider judging between them foolishness."

"In the army of flowers one is the vanguard that marches, the other the rear guard."

(al-Khālidīyyān, Diwan, 143 [no. 125]).

The most interesting developments in the rose vs. narcissus debate are in prose (prosimetrum, to be exact). From 11th-century al-Andalus we have two risālas, one by Abū Ḥāl Adhim b. Burd al-Saggar (d. 1053-4), addressed to Abu 'l-Walīd b. Dījarwār, ruler of Córdoba (r. 1043-69), the other by Abu 'l-Walīd al-Himyarī (d. ca. 1040/1048) and addressed to Abu 'l-Kāsīm Muhammad b. Ismā'īl b. `Abbād, ruler of Seville (r. 1023-42) (both in al-Himyarī, Badiʿ, 53-8, 58-67). The first tells a story of certain leaders among the flowers agreeing on recognising the rose as their king and drawing up a contract (a contrat social) that would be binding also on those flowers as are spatially or temporally absent. After quoting the rūla of Ahmad b. Burd, Abu 'l-Walīd al-Himyarī responds to it by entering the fictional realm created by Ibn Burd and continuing the story by pointing out that the recognition of the rose as ruler was an error and that the narcissus should have been in that position (one of the arguments being that the "eye" [narcissus] is much nobler than the "cheek" [rose], which latter is not even a sense organ!).

A political interpretation of the two flower epistles imposes itself, for it represents the recent breakdown of the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus, both addressees, Ibn Dījarwār and Ibn `Abbād, ruled their respective city states, Córdova and Seville, with the consent of their people (people of substance, no doubt) and without any regnal title. This democratic, or aristocratic, model was unusual. Both Ibn Burd and al-Himyarī were or had been high-ranking administrators; it is hardly strange that they attempted to make a constitutional statement in "flowery" language, most likely in the sense that they suggested to their addressees to adopt the caliphal title (for further details, see Heinrichs, Rose versus narcissus, 186-93).

In a purely literary vein, there are two more prose munkazaras between rose and narcissus, one by Tādj al-Dīn Ibn `Abd al-Maṭāfī (d. 714/1314), with the title Anwār al-salṭ wa-nasīrāt al-maṭāfī fi l-muḥākārāt bayn al-narjis wa l-ward (in the Nowayrī, Naḥāya, ii, 207-13), and one by Abu `l-Ḥasan al-Maṭāfinī (2nd half of 15th century), entitled al-Daqechar al-fard fi muḥākārāt al-narjis wa l-ward (in the Sharwarī, Naḥfat al-`Iṣām, Hooghly 1841, 107-17). Of interest here is the way in which they establish the fictionality of their debates: Ibn `Abd al-Maṭāfī states that he wanted "to personalise the two" (makhtalathum), while al-Maṭāfinī uses the phrase: "I represented them (makhṭalathum) as two adversaries in a debate and I made the tongue of their state speak in the way of conversation (wa `alamahūna li sālihi l-muḥādīnī)" (for further details see Heinrichs, op. cit., 193-8).

Rose as emblem

Given the general interest in the rose-narcissus debate, it is surprising that in two books, each of which contains a chapter on the rose, no such "enmity" is mentioned at all. Al-Wasḥābī (d. 325/937 [q.v.]) compiled a handbook of correct etiquette for the "refined" people (zawāfah, abl al-zarf). The rose chapter
contains mainly two ideas: (1) The rose represents everything beautiful and auspicious. (2) However, according to some, it is amanuous, because it is scurified. As such it is called *al-thadār*, the "traitor", as opposed to the myrtle that stays fresh for a long time. Ibn Ḥānish al-Makdisī, *Fi wasf al-rabīʿ wa-l-azhrār* (Kashf al-asrar, ed. Ed. C. de Tassis, Paris 1853 [Eng. tr. 1821]; repr. London 1980 [Eng. tr.]) *Revelation of the seeds of the birds and flowers*, 12-13 (Eng.), 10-12 (Eng.).


(W.P. Heinrichs)

**AL-WASHM**

1. In older Arab society.

Tattooing was a custom among women in pre-Islamic times. The parts of the body mentioned as decorated differ in the various references. The mer encampments of Tarafa, where the traces "appear like the remainder of a tattoo" (yazrakku). An existing tattoo could be touched up or retraced (rājfiṭa) when it had become weak (mawṣufa). The most famous reference is on the skin and the lips" (ṣawām).

In the nasb section of the *kasīfa*, the traces of former encampments (atla) are sometimes compared to a tattoo, or tattoos, in the same way that they are sometimes likened to foreign writing. The most famous example is the beginning of the *muʿallaka* of Tarafa, where the traces "appear like the remainder of a tattoo on the back of a hand" (Fi wasf al-rabīʿ wa-l-azhrār) as opposed to the myrtle that stays fresh for a long time. Ibn Ḥānish al-Makdisī, *Fi wasf al-rabīʿ wa-l-azhrār* (Kashf al-asrar, ed. Ed. C. de Tassis, Paris 1853 [Eng. tr. 1821]; repr. London 1980 [Eng. tr.]) *Revelation of the seeds of the birds and flowers*, 12-13 (Eng.), 10-12 (Eng.).


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(W.P. Heinrichs)
YAGHUTH, a god of pre-Islamic Arabia, mentioned in the Kar'ân in a speech of Noah: “They have said: Forsake not your gods. Forsake not Wadd, nor Suwâ', nor Yaghuth, Ya'ûq and Nasr (LXXI, 22-3).

Traditionists and commentators (see the references given by Hawting, The idea of idolatry, 113 and n. 6) have exercised their ingenuity in the search for the traces of Yaghuth in Arabia. Ibn al-Kalbi (d. 204/819 or 206/821) in his Book of the Idols (Kitâb al-Asndm, §§ 7c, 9d, 45e, 52a) relates in laconic style: “[the tribe of] Madhhidj and of Djurash, the people of Yaghuth, etc.” Ibn al-Kalbi’s statement is usually printed together with the latter’s text (see e.g. Kâlibyât-ü divân-ı Warâh-ı Bâf ál, ed. Bîdar, Tehran 1373 Š./1994, 476-526). In prose, he wrote an imitation of Sa’dî’s Gûlîstan and he translated Atebâ al-

dhâbah, an Arabic odâb work by al-Zamakhshâfî [q.v. in Suppl.] Another aspect of his work are his religious poems, as elegies (mawdûfî) mourning the martyrs of Karbâlah.

Modern critics have pointed to the lack of originality in his poetry, the main merit of which is the perfect imitation of the old masters. Nevertheless, his reputation as a refined poet and artist lasted throughout the Kadjar period and his works were printed several times both in India and Persia. A substantial selection from his poetry is to be found in the anthologies of Rîdâ Kûlî Khân. The sons of Yaghuth followed in the footsteps of their father. One of them is Dâwâr (d. 1283/1866-7), who acquired a reputation as a poet and a painter (see further, Browne, LHP, iv, 319-25).

Yaghuth, with notation of ghw-th by means of *qam*. In these anthroponyms, the second element could be the name of a divinity or that of a particularly venerated individual. Safaitic epigraphy knows the anthroponym *īṯ* (see, for example, Winnett and Harding, Inscriptions, 625).

Finally, Arabic nomenclature attests the anthroponym ‘Abd Yaghuth (Caskel, Gambara, ii, 133-4, 42 entries). It is known that the element ‘Abd governs either the name of a divinity (see especially ‘Abd dhi l-Shārīq, ‘Abd Manāf, ‘Abd Manāt, ‘Abd Rudā, ‘Abd Suwā‘, ‘Abd Shams, ‘Abd al-Shārīq, ‘Abd al-Uzzā or ‘Abd Wadd) or the name of a person or a group (compare with ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Abd ‘Amr, ‘Abd ‘Amr, ‘Abd ‘Awf, ‘Abd Bākī, ‘Abd Hind, ‘Abd al-Hārith, ‘Abd Ḥāritha, ‘Abd al-Mundhir, ‘Abd al-Nu’mān, etc.). The distribution of ‘Abd Yaghuth in the genealogies does not make it possible to identify the tribes which particularly appreciated this name, with the exception of Madhhidj (18 entries out of 42). But regarding this tribe, there is no knowing whether it is the frequency of the name which has led traditionists to associate the god with it, or conversely whether it is the association with the god which has multiplied the instances of ‘Abd Yaghuth.

Ibn al-Kalbi also seeks to explain how it was that this man, monarchistic at the time of creation, came to worship such a multiplicity of divinities. For his purposes, he supposes that, originally, Yaghuth was a devout man; after his death, he was commemorated by a statue, then promoted to the rank of intercessor in the presence of God. It was the Flood which sometimes sends the rain, sometimes prevents the rainfall” (Caskel, Gambara, ii, 274-6). It is also attested in North Arabian epigraphy; in South Arabia, on the other hand, it is more rare and probably indicates a North Arabian influence.

Like other commentators, Yākūt was struck by the similarity of the names Yaghuth and Yaʾūk, and by a possible opposition in the sense of the two words; he speculates that it may be necessary to recognise two aspects of one and the same divinity, who “sometimes sends the rain, sometimes prevents the rainfall” (Fahd, Le panthéon, 194). It is clear that all the developments of the tradition depend on the Qur’anic text In the majority of the tribes which particularly appreciated this name, ‘Abd Yaghuth in the Kur’ān, it remains unexplained.


YAHYA, ŞEFIK— AL-ISLAM. Ottoman legal scholar and poet, d. 1053/1644.

The son of Sheyhi al-İslam Bayrâmzade Zekeriyâ Efendi, Yahya was born in Istanbul in 969/1561 (some sources give the birth date 959). As the acion of an important “ulema” family, he underwent a rigorous private education under the tutelage of his father and several other noted scholars, including ‘Abd al-Dżelbârzade Devrīgh Mehmed Efendi and Muḥādżāzâde Scvyyid Mehmed Efendi. In 988/1580, at 19 years of age, he was granted a mulâzimet and went on to teach in the most important madrasas of the day. In 1004/1595 Yahya was appointed kâdhî of Aleppo and he subsequently served as kâdhî in various parts of the empire until 1013/1604, when he was elevated to the position of kâdhî ʿaker of Anatolia. After several dismissals and reappointments, he was appointed Şehik al-İslâm in Radjab 1031/1622. A brief but turbulent tenue, during which he presided over the funeral of Sultan Othmân II [q.s.], ended in Dhu ’l-ʿAṣd 1032/September 1622 when a powerful vizier, angered by Yahya’s opposition to the practice of selling government positions, forced the young Murâd IV [q.s.] to dismiss him. Between 1034/1625 and 1041/1632 he again served as Şehik al-İslâm and was re-appointed in 1043/1634 for a period that lasted until his death in 1053/1644.

Yahya was noted as a legal scholar. Kāthb Čelebi (Fedâile) reports that, in delivering legal opinions, he embothed the perfection of Abu ʿl-Suʿūd [q.s.] and was its seal. He served in an important position during a period of great turmoil and was a powerful supporter of the reforms instituted by Murâd IV. He was widely known as an honest and decent person in a time when few like him rose to power.

Nonetheless, Yahya’s most enduring fame has derived from his talent as a ghâzal poet. He was said to possess a poet’s inborn nature: witty of speech, a cheerful countenance, a pleasant conversationalist. His poetry, in the manner of Bâkî [q.s.], consists primarily of five-couplet ghazals, most on the transitoriness of this world and life’s bitter and sweet aspects. His style is simple and flowing, free from the excesses of rhetorical complexity that marked the poetry of many of his contemporaries.

His works include: a dīwân, the Şahâb Dâms al-dârur (commentary on Muḥsin-i Kayserî’sifer), Niğâṣtân ėrmis (a Turkish translation of Kemal-Pâşâzade’s Persian parallel to Sa’dî’s [q.s.] Galâstân and Fatûva-yi Yahya Efendi) (a collection of legal opinions).


(W.G. ANDREWS and MEHMET KALPÂRLI)
In Ottoman times, it was the capital of the principality of Bogdahn [q.v.] or Moldavia. Dimitri Cantemir, from 1121-2/1710 to 1122-3/1711 resident in this town as prince of Moldavia, stated that the seat of government had been transferred to Yash by Stephen the Great (838 or 9-949 or 10/1435-1504, in reality this was done by Alexander Lapusneanu in 972-3/1565); as a reason for this, Cantemir maintained that, due to its geographical position, Yash was better suited to warfare with the Ottomans and Tatars than its predecessor, the more remote fortress town of Suceava (Demetrius Cantemir, Beschreibung der Moldau, facs. repr. Bucarest 1973, 52). Ewliya Celebi, who visited Yash around 1075/1665, called it Yashka Rubbin, due to the importance of the local monasteries. In his account, Yash appears as a town of 20,000 thatched huts (from Romanian curte “court”); he noted the absence of (private?) buildings covered with lead or roof-tiles, but commented on the existence of palaces and monasteries built of stone or brick (Evlüya Celebi Seyahatnamesi, Topkapı Sarayi Bagdat 307 yaza mimarları transkripsiyonu–dizin, v. ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Ibrahim Sestg, Istanbul 2001, 180-4).

Among ecclesiastical institutions, the Ottoman traveller refers to the Yashka Deyri, that Ewliya believed had been a mosque in the reigns of sultans Bayezid and Süleyman, in addition to the Monokola, Galata and Lipul Beg monasteries; the latter must be identical to that of the Trei Erachi/Trieh Svetiteilei, built by Vasile Lupu in 1049-50/1640–Ewliya hoped to see it one day transformed into a mosque. As to the Monokola, it was probably identical to the St. Nicholas Church, where a newly-crowned prince was blessed by a church authority (Miron Costin, Geschichte der Moldau. Die Moldauische Chronik des Miron Costin 1593-1661, tr. and comments by A. Armbruster, Graz, Vienna and Cologne 1890, 196, for a monastery called Galata, see ibid., 207; on the affairs of local monasteries in general, see C. Zach, Über Klosterleben und Klosterreformen in der Moldau und in der Walachien im 17. Jahrhundert, in Käimal Bénda et alii (eds.), Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn, Festschrift für Ailin T. Szabó und Johannes Jaff, Mathematisch–Historische Mitteilungen 11-22, Ewliya also referred to the monastery supposedly founded by Duna Bătu, the wife of Prince Lipul Beg/Vasile Lupu, which contained an “uncorrupted body” of a young woman that Ewliya claimed was the daughter of the mythical architect Yanko b. Mădăian; this may well be the relic that Lupu had brought to his capital and that was believed to be the body of St. Paraschiva (Costin, op. cit., 160-1).

To the south of Yash there was an artificial lake full of fish, that Ewliya thought had been constructed by Prince Lipul Beg/Vasile Lupu with the permission of Sultan Murad IV. The traveller also admired the princely palace with its grand reception room and numerous pavilions looking out upon the water (judging from a map of the early 20th century, the core of the palace was located at some distance from the one major lake in the town; however, the body of water seen by Ewliya may have been drained later on; see Meyers Reisebücher, Türkei, Rumänien, Serbien, Bulgarien, Leipzig and Vienna, 1908, 95). Costin confirms that Vasile Lupu greatly augmented the palace, constructing gardens, stables and bath-houses; some of the buildings supposedly were covered in tiles of “Chinese porcelain” (Costin, loc. cit.). Ewliya also claims that there were 2,060 shops covered with timber or reeds, six khans used by merchants and a guest house that also accommodated visiting Ottoman and Tartar dignitaries.

Complementary to Ewliya’s account is that of a near-contemporary embassy chaplain (Conrad Jacob Hiltebrandt’s Dreisich Schlesische Gesandtschaften nach Siebenbürgen, der Ukraine und Constantinopel (1656-1658), ed. with comm. by F. Babinger, Leiden 1937, 82 ff.). Hiltebrandt served the Swedish embassy that was received at the court of Prince George Stephen, who after his deposition by Mehemmed IV (1067-68/1657-68) emigrated to the Swedish kingdom. The author stressed the commercial activity of Yash, which was, however, unfortified; numerous Jewish traders were active here, in addition to both local and Greek merchants. At the court, where it was customary to accord a visiting Ottoman eenagh absolute precedence, there was a guard of German-speaking soldiers, yet Ewliya commented on the presence of Ottoman gunners. According to Hiltebrandt, the numerous churches of Yash rather resembled mosques without minarets; he also commented on the local folklore, including dances and fairground amusements specific to the Easter season.

Throughout the early modern period, the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth attempted to influence the decision-making of the Moldavian princes, which meant that Polish-Lithuanian-Cossack rivalries also were fought out on Moldavian soil. In 918-19/1513 Yash was thus fired on by the Tartars, while Ottoman and Russian attacks in 944-5/1538 and 1097-8/1686 had similar consequences (art. “Jassy” in Encyclopedia Britannica, ed. 1963, xii, 972). Ewliya Celebi even claimed that the conditions of Moldavian subjection included the right of the Tartars to pillage the country once every ten years. In 1123/1711 Peter the Great briefly occupied the town, receiving the homage of the learned prince Dimitri Cantemir. On this occasion, numerous Ottoman merchants present in Yash were murdered and their goods pillaged (Akdes Nimet Kurat, Pust sefer ve barba 1123 (1711), 2 vols., Ankara 1951-3, i, 234 and passim); similar atrocities were repeated in 1236-7/1821, when the Greek uprising began in both the Peloponnese and the Principalities. Russian armies advanced as far as Yash once again in 1148-9/1736, but were not able to hold on to the town due to the defeats suffered at Ottoman hands by their Austrian ally (Barbara Jelavich, History of the Bukovina, i, Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Cambridge 1983, 66-8, 105, 121; H. Uechtersberger, Russlands Orientpolitik in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten, i, Bis zum Frieden von Jassy, Stuttgart 1913, passim). On the level of international diplomacy, the Moldavian capital was known through the peace of Jassy concluded between the Ottoman and Russian empires (Djumadî II-Radjâb 1206/January 1792); this agreement confirmed many of the stipulations of the earlier treaty of Kucuk Kaynardja [q.v.], especially the loss of the Crimea. A coastal strip between Bug and Dniepr was also ceded to Russia, where the town of Odessa was founded the following year. From this time onwards, Russia maintained an influential position in Yash, which was to continue throughout the 13th/19th century.

In the late 12th/18th century, when Istanbul Greek families known as the hagopdian represented Ottoman authority in Yash, the town possessed a small but active educated stratum that purchased books both religious and secular in Greek, Italian, Romanian and other languages, with an emphasis on the Greek authors of Antiquity, as well as grammars and dictionaries covering modern European languages. Such works were procured by merchants for whom dealing in books must have formed a sideline. These educated traders maintained links to the Athos but also
to Leipzig and Vienna, in addition to stock works printed in Moldavia itself (Mihail Carata§u, La biblio-
théque d'un grand négociant du XVIIIe siècle: Grégoire Antoine Antonioș, in Syntagma l'ëpoque phanarion, 21-25 octobre 1974, à la mémoire de Clodius J. Vâlc˘ii, Sinaia 1974, 135-43). A princely academy founded by Antiôb Cantemir was attended not only by the sons of local noblemen but also by young people of more modest backgrounds; from 1173-4/1760 onwards, this school began to teach Enlightenment philosophy as well as the natural sciences (Ariadna Camariano-Gioran, Écoles grecques dans les principautes danubiennes au temps des Phanarites, in ibid., 49-56). However, given the fre-
quency of warfare, the depressed condition of the peasantry and the relative weakness of urban life in Moldavia, the level of general education remained low even in the 13th/19th century (Jelavich, op. cit., i, 270).

In the mid-19th century, Jassy came within the principality of Moldavia, now united with Wallachia
inscriptions and the vestiges of a large number of
inhabitants. The third city of Romania, with a population of
346,613, whilst the county of the same name, with
the town of Jassy as its chef-lieu, had 823,800
inhabitants.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(SURAYYA FAROQHI)

YA'UK, a god of pre-Islamic Arabia, men-
tioned in the Kur'an in a speech of Noah: "They have
said: Forsake not your gods. Forsake not Wadd, nor
Suwa', nor Yaghuth, Ya'uk and Nast!" (LXXII, 22-3).

Traditionists and commentators have exercised their
genuity in the effort to track down the god Ya'uk,
with little success. In his "Book of the Idols"
(Kitab Ttabl, c. 834
-th century, the township marked the
boundary between Hashid and Bakll, the two tribal
groups constituting the Hamdani federation (al-
Hasan al-Hamdani, Sifat lqazrat al-Arab, ed. Müller,
66); it is today the last outpost of Ya'uk (the al-
'Usaymat clan) before entering Sufyan. On the other
hand, no divinity named Ya'uk is attested in Hamdani. However, the pantheons of the tribes of this confed-
eration, which give the highest rank to Ta'lab Riyâm
and Almakah, are quite well known through many
inscriptions and the vestiges of a large number of
temples. A god named Ya'uk is not attested elsewhere
in Yemen or in Arabia.

YAZIDI, SALIH B. SULEYMAN, the early Otto-
man author of the Shenisiye, one of the ear-

It is clear that Ibn al-Kalbi or his source felt the
need to manipulate the available information to pro-
vide a basis for the Kur'anic text. It was all the eas-
ier to locate Ya'uk in Yemen, not only because it
was a distant country, but also because polytheism
had been officially banned there since the end of the
4th century A.D. and any indications to the contrary
had been obliterated.

However, the epigraphy of Yemen is acquainted
with the appellation of Ya'uk. It is the name of a
synagogue (mkb) constructed in A.D. January 465
(d'aur 574 of the Himyarite era), at Du'la" apparently
(some 12 km to the north-west of San'a"), according
to the inscription Ry 520/4 (P'k) and 9 (P'k). In a
relief inscription on the island of Suqutra (q.s.), P'k
is apparently an anthroponym (Robin and Gorea,
Les vestiges antiques).

Among traditionists and Muslim scholars, the cult
of Ya'uk was the object of hypotheses other than that
of Ibn al-Kalbi: they localised it in the tribes of
Khawlan-Kuda'\a, Mur\d and Kin\ana (Fahd, Le pantheon, 195 n. 1) or at Balkha' (a Sabaen town known only
through traditions relating to idols: see Hawting, The idea of idolatry, 107 and n. 15) but without further
evidence.

Ibn al-Kalbi also seeks to explain how it was that
man, mankind, monotheistic at the time of creation, came
to worship such a multiplicity of divinities. For his
pur-
poses, he assumes that originally, Ya'uk was a devout
man; after his death, he was commemorated by a
statue, then promoted to the rank of intercessor in
the presence of God. It was the Flood that would
have brought his idol into Arabia near Dju\la; there
it is said to have been found by 'Amr b. Lubay\s who
entrusted it to the tribe of Hamdani (§§ 45e-
52b).

Attestations and the senses of the root from which
the name of Ya'uk is derived offer nothing further
by way of clarification. One may note only that Y\uk
underlines the similarity between the names Yaghith
and Ya'uk and wonders whether it is necessary to
recognise two aspects of one and the same divinity,

who "sometimes sends the rain, sometimes prevents
the rainfall" (Fahd, Le pantheon, 194).

It is thus difficult to follow Toufic Fahd when he
affirms that "the conclusion cannot be avoided that
Ya'uk and the other four divinities cited by Noah
belong to the most primitive pantheon of central
Arabia" (op. cit., 196); to this day, nothing has been
established with certitude as to the origin of the men-
tion of Ya'uk in the Kur'an.

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(Ch. Robin)

YASIDI, SALIH B. SULEYMAN, the early Otto-
man author of the Shenisiye, one of the ear-

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YASH — YAZIDI
liest works on astrology known to be written in
Anatolia. He was the father of Yazidji oghlu Mejmcd and Ahmed Bigjian [q.v.], two impor-
tant religious figures and writers of the 9th/15th century.
The place and date of his birth are uncertain. However, due to the fact that he dedicated his work (the Shemsiyeh) to Iskender b. Hadiji Paşa from the Dewlet Khân family living in Ankara, it is supposed that he was also from Ankara. On the other hand, in the introduction (sebeb-i telîf) of his Shemsiyeh, he wrote that he was strongly attached to 'Ali Beg, the son of Kaşasâb-oghlu Mahmûd Paşa, who was the tutor (lola) of Sultan Mejmcd Fâtih and vizier to Murâd II and Fâthî, and that he served him from the year 775/1373 for 36 years until 'Ali Beg's death.
Kaşasâb-oghlu Mahmûd Paşa founded a madrasa, a hospital in Malkara [q.v.], and appointed his son 'Ali Beg to administer them, so Yazidji Sâlih also lived in Malkara and in later years he settled in Gallipoli (Gelibolu) probably after 'Ali Beg's death.
The date of his death is unknown. The story that his grave is near the graves of his sons Mejmcd and Ahmed Bigjian (outside Gellibolu, on the road to Istanbul) is unauthenticated.
That his father's name was Suleyman, although Ewliya Celebi calls him Shudjiâ al-Din, is certain, because in the manuscript of the Muhammediyye, by his son Yazidji-oghlu Mejmcd, and also in his other works, he speaks of himself as Mejmcd b. Sâlih b. Suleyman. As a consequence of writing in his work his name as Sâlih al-Dîn, from the exigencies of the metre, in some sources his name has mistakenly appeared as Sâlih al-Dîn.

Although the available information about his education is uncertain, some facts, e.g. that he was a scribe, so that he was given the isakab Yazidji, that he was a very knowledgeable person about astrology, and that he used Arabic and Persian quotations and titles in his Shemsiyeh, imply a certain level of education.
The number of his works is unknown. His only extant work is the Shemsiyeh on astrology. Although Ewliya Celebi mentions a Sâlih al-Madhûn, a Talbî-nâmeh and works on medicine, no copy of them has so far been found. The work which has appeared in some sources as the Malheme is part of the Shemsiyeh. The question whether the Shemsiyeh was a compilation or a translation was long discussed. However, considering the manner of book writing of the time and also the fact that Yazidji Sâlih mentions the works and people from whom he profited (like Ebu 'l-Fadl Hubeysh b. Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Tiflisî), it is certain, like Corfu, from the island's Byzantine appellation of Korinth that the term Korinthis (stemming, like Corfu, from the island's Byzantine names of Zaklise, Kephallenia (Cephalonia), Ithake (Ithaca), Paxoi (Antipaxos and Paxos) and Kerkyra (Corfu), sometimes the island of Kythera or Cerigo [see ÇOKA ADAO], off the southeastern tip of the Morea, is also included, albeit erratically, in the Seven Islands group (mainly by scholars of the area's Latin domination period). The relevant Arabic names of the islands appear in al-Idrîsî [q.v.], while the Ottoman Turkish names of Zaklise, Bakshiler (Paxoi islands) and Korfuz/Korfûs [q.v.] (under Latin control), the Heptanese sustained severe under Latin control, it lasted for almost two centuries. The Toccos' last domination period except for the case of Levkas, where it lasted for almost two centuries. The Toccos' last dukes had retreated to the islands in the 1460s from mainland Erios in view of the Ottoman conquest there, completed between 1449 and 1479.

In the Byzantine period lasting to the early 13th century (from 1204 onwards the area gradually passed under Latin control), the Heptanese sustained severe attacks, mainly from Muslims and Normans. Of particular importance here are the two attacks, first on Kephallenia and Zakynthos between 878 and 881 by the North African Arabs [see HEKYRA], repulsed by the celebrated Byzantine admiral Ooypas (see Elisabeth Malamut, Les îles de l'Empire byzantin, VIII: 30-31, Paris, 1835, 77 n. 236 and table p. 110; sources and refs. in A. Savvides, The Byzantine Hellenes, 11th-early 13th century [in Gk.], Athens 1986, 19). Other references to possible Muslim attacks in the area, mainly appearing in Saints' lives, cannot be corroborated.
by parallel sources. Also of importance is the information provided by al-Idrisi, who ca. 1153 visited Byzantium and gave in his Kitāb Ruhūd al-Qirān, inter alia, details on Thaνu (Othono), Korfu (Corfu), Lkata (Leukas), Dhθfaliya (Kephallenia), Fasky (Ithaka) and Djabnun or Gagni (Zakynthos) (French tr. Jaubert, ii, 121, 123; cf. Soustal-Koder, 168, 174, 195, 278; Savvides, Byz. Heptan., 68-6, and idem, in Byzantinolavica, lx/2 [1999], 544). About 12 years later (1164-5) the Spanish Jew from Tudela, Benjamin, also visited Korypho (Corfu) and Lauta (Leukas) and not Arta in the Epitor mainland, as in the Eng. tr. by Adler, 10, and in Soustal-Koder, 57-8 n. 97, 113; on this see the recent Gk. tr. by Photine Vlachopoulos, introd. and comm. by K. Megalomatis and A. Savvides, Athens 1994, 34-5 n. 8, 62.

From the second half of the 14th century onwards, Latin control in the Ionian Islands was divided between the Toccos on the southern (until ca. 1479) and Venice on the northern group (until 1797). Since there is no fixed pattern for a unified and lasting Ottoman presence in the area, this article will discuss the islands separately, beginning with Leukas, which sustained the longest Ottoman occupation. The Venetian fortress of Aya Mavra developed as the largest settlement on the island with Zakynthians and Ithakiotes in the course of the Second Venetian-Ottoman war (see G. Moschopoulos, History of Cephalonia [in Gk.], i, Athens 1985, 67-9). From then onwards, the Venetian presence was uninterrupted until 1797, despite two destructive Ottoman raids in 1537-8 and 1570-1 (Moschopoulos, op. cit., 83-6). Kephallenians, like other Heptanesians, participated in the second siege of Crete (1645-69) (Moschopoulos, 86ff.), while Kephallenia and the other islands were to receive hosts of refugees from Crete (see [see warTrgj] following its fall to the Sultanate (see A. Vakalopoulos, History of modern Hellespont [in Gk.], iii, Thessalonica 1968, 532ff.).

Ithaka. Known as Val de Compare to the Latins, Ithake, following a period of Frankish rule, was laid waste in 1430 and again in the period 1479-85 by Mehmed II's and Bāyezīd II's fleets, in the attempt of the Sultanate to consolidate its hold on the western Greek littoral. In 1500-1 it was captured (with Kephallenia) by the Venetians, who, on account of its depopulated state, resettled it in 1504 with Kephalliōnians and Zakynthians. The Venetian hold on the island lasted until 1797.

Paxos. The island was sold by Venice to a wealthy Corfiote, whose oppressive government forced its inhabitants to flee to the Ottoman-dominated Epitorean mainland. On 22 July 1537 an allied Western fleet under Andrea Doria defeated near Paxos the Ottoman vice-admiral 'Ali Celebi, seizing 12 Ottoman vessels, but in 1577 the Ottomans, recovering from their defeat at Lepanto (1571) and realising the island's vulnerability, attacked and plundered it before the Venetians took over again (until 1797).

Corfu. Although it never experienced a period of Ottoman domination, the island was severely threatened by three Ottoman attacks [see also Korf]. In 1386 it was ceded by the Navarrese Company to Venice, whose control there lasted until 1797, while after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Corfu was to become a place of Byzantine refugees and exiles. In 1537-8, Khayr al-Dīn Paşa Barbarossa and the Grand Vizier Luft Paşa [q.v.] besieged the island but, failing to seize it, they plundered Kephallenia (see Vakalopoulos, op. cit., iii, 143 ff.). Another threatening attack against Corfu took place in the reign of Sultan Ahmed III, in 1716, in the course of the Seventh Venetian-Ottoman war of 1714-18; despite a stalling blockade by sea (by the kapudan-paşa Mehmed and land by the serifker Kara Mustafà Paşa), the Venetians and Corfiotes held out (see G. Athanasianas, The assault of Corfu, 1716 [Gk. adaptation], Athens 2001, and D. Chazopoulos, the last Venetian-Ottoman war of 1714-18 [in Gk.], Athens 2002, 235-97). Finally, following the end of Venetian rule in the Heptanese (1797) and in the reign of Sultan Selim III, the French were besieged in Corfu (Nov. 1798-March 1799) by a united Russo-Ottoman fleet under Admiral Fedor Ushakov, who had also seized Zakynthos, Kephallonia, Ithake (Oct. 1798) and Leukas (Nov. 1798) and whose operations were supported also by the Orthodox ecumenical patriarch Gregory V (detailed description of the operations by the priest Petros-Paşa Mehemet, [in Gk.], Athens 2001; cf. N. Koschonas, in IEE, xi, 390ff.). Russo-Ottoman control, in the course of which both the first independent small Greek “Ionian State” was created (1800-7) under the sovereignty of the Porte and treaties were signed with ‘Ali Paşa Tepedelenli [q.v.] of
Ioannina [see YANYA] (on these treaties, see E. Protospatels, in Delton historiae kai ethnologikei hellados, xi [1956], 59-77), lasted until 1607, when the French took over again until 1814, at which time the British prevailed in the area until its eventual cession to Greece (1834).


YEMENLI HASAN PASHA (d. 1016/1607), Ottoman Turkish governor in the Yemen. In the absence of tribal consensus and an agreed successor to the Zaydi imamate following the death of al-Mu'tahhar [q.v.] in 980/1572, the Ottomans were offered an unprecedented opportunity to extend their zone of influence beyond the Tihama [q.v.] into the Yemeni interior. Earlier Ottoman advances and the securing of Šaraf [q.v.] in 954/1547 had still left large areas of the north—including strongholds such as Kawkaban and Thula [q.vv.], located perilously close to the governor's seat itself—incompletely pacified, and it was only during Hasan Pasha's exceptionally long term of office as provincial governor between Diumaldî I 988/June 1580 and Muḥarram 1013/June 1604 (Rāghid, i, 154, 186) that the Ottoman administration began to make serious inroads against local resistance forces. Throughout the period of Hasan Pasha's governorship in the Yemen, the Ottomans were occupied by wars on both the eastern and northwestern frontiers of their empire (against the Safawids 986-98/1578-90 and the Habsburgs 1001-15/1593-1606, so that Hasan was given a free hand to secure the consolidation of Ottoman rule within his jurisdiction by his own means. One method he employed to good effect in the early years of his governorship was deportation (rañf) of prominent members of the Zaydi leadership. In 994/1586 he sent five of al-Mu'tahhar's sons and potential successors to Istanbul for incarceration at Yedî Kule (Rāghid, i, 161), where they remained until the end of his governorship (see ibid., i, 185, noting the death in captivity of Luṭf Allah b. al-Mu'tahhar in 1010/1601-2).

To reinforce his authority locally, Hasan Pasha made extensive use of an inner core of long-term associates of proven military ability and unswerving personal loyalty such as his deputy (keşfiyettî) Sinân Paşa and another right-hand man called Amir 'Ali al-Djazaârî. In 997/1589 he appointed the latter with the rank of paşâ as lieutenant-governor in Şa'da [q.v.] with key responsibilities for securing the northern districts. When at a later stage in his governorship Hasan Pasha faced a resumption of the Zaydi challenge with al-Mansûr b. 'Abâdî's declaration of independence in 1006/1597 (see al-Manṣûr b. 'Abâdî), he turned for assistance to his former associate 'Ali Paşa who was called in from his then current post as governor of Eritrea (for 'Ali Paşa's term as beyyelî of the qâlîet-i Hâbiç between Radjâb 1002/April 1594 and Ramadân 1010/March 1602, see C. Orhonlu, Hâbiç (Beïbût-i yyelî, Istanbul 1974, 183) to lend his help in the crisis. Through a combination of swift communications, rapid reaction and effective teamwork, the Ottomans succeeded in capturing al-Mansûr's base of operations at Şahlârâ in 1011/1602 and in forcing his re-submission, albeit temporary, to Ottoman rule. In sum, although Ottoman control over the province remained precarious at the close of Hasan Pasha's twenty-four year term as governor in 1013/1604, there is no question but that he had contributed significantly to Yemen's fuller incorporation into the Ottoman imperial system.

After Hasan Pasha's recall at his own request to Istanbul, he served a brief term as governor of Egypt between the early part of 1014/summer 1605 and 3 Dhu-l-Hijdja 1015/2 March 1607 (Târtikkî Nefîmî, i, 462). Shortly after his return to the capital, he died on 9 Radjâb 1016/3 October 1607 (ibid., ii, 23).


(R. MURPHY)

YOGYAKARTA, the name of a city in central Java, Indonesia, capital of the former sultanate and present-day Special District of Yogyakarta. Inhabitants (in 2002: ca. 448,760 city) or ca. 3,068,000 (whole district).

Together with the city and area of Surakarta [q.v.], it was formerly part of the kingdom of Mataram [q.v.] located in the southern parts of central Java. The first kraton (palace) of Mataram was built in 1582 in Kuţa Gêdé, a present suburb of Yogyakarta, by Kyai Gêdé Pamanahan. After his death in 1584 his son took over the kraton and military installations and was recognized by Sultan Adhîjava of Pajang as Sênopati-ing-Alaga, a military leader ("general"). After the ruler's death in 1587 Sênopati established and enlarged his new kingdom. He died in 1601. The greatest ruler among his descendants was Sultan Agung (r. 1613-45), who conquered most of central and eastern Java including Surabaya, and even some regions on other islands. Besides his deep roots in Javanese monistic traditions as susuhunan (originally a spiritual title), he also supported the spread of Islam to the interior of the island and obtained the title of sullân from a special mission from Mecca in 1641. Under his successors, however, the Islamic elements were extensively eliminated once more.

After three wars of succession and the move of the capital city to Kartasura (1677) and Surakarta (Solo, 1745), the kingdom of Mataram was divided in 1755; the Pangêran Mangkubumi III choose again
Yogyakarta as place for his kraton, thus reviving the traditions of Senopati and Sultan Agung. As Sultan Hamengku Buwono I (d. 1792) he became the founder of the dynasty of Nya Yogyakarta Hadiningrat. The situation of his kraton was just beside a sacred line reaching from Mt. Merapi the north to the mouths of the rivers Opek and Progo, the meeting place with the goddess of the South Sea Nyai Lara Kidul, thus underlining his central role in sacred geography, above all, in the cosmos. More than the sussuhan in Surakarta, the sultan of Yogyakarta gave dominance to Islamic symbols and precepts, combining them to the special brand of Javanese Islam: the normative expressions of Islam, in confession and Shari'a, as the vessel for mystical practice; divine decree (dukun, wali, wangsit, pulung) combined with the magical power (karakten, idik, from Sanskr. sakti) of the ruler, and thus the subordination of the religious scholar to the king (Woodward, 152). The tradition of Yogyakarta relates these teachings to Sunan Kali Jaga, one of the nine revered teachers of Islam (wali songo) in Java who was a particular adviser to Senopati.

The Java War (1825-30) broke out when Pangéran Diponegoro (1785-1855), son of Sultan Hamengku Buwono I, and a group of tribes, were treated in mystical practices, were taken to fight against the alliance of the court and the Dutch because of new administrative regulations. He was supported by the people, by members of the nobility and the Islamic ‘ulama* led by Kiyai Maja. After being treacherously taken prisoner, he was exiled to Makassar [q.e.], while Kiyai Maja was exiled to Menado.

In 1912 Yogyakarta witnessed the founding of the Muhammadiyah by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan as a modernist social and educational organisation which is at present the second largest Islamic organisation in Indonesia. The great popularity of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX (1912-88, r. since 1939), a modernising reform of the village administration in 1946 in his district, and his close co-operation with the republican leaders after 1945, particularly 1946-9 when Yogyakarta was the interim capital of Indonesia because of the Dutch occupation of Jakarta, saved the special status of the district. Its role as a centre of academic learning (1946: founding of Gajah Mada University; 1959: Institute for Higher Islamic Learning, IAIN); as a modernising centre of the district. Its role as a centre of academic learning (1946: founding of Gajah Mada University; 1959: Institute for Higher Islamic Learning, IAIN); and others, including Protestant and Catholic seminaries) has been further developed by Sultan Hamengku Buwono X (b. 2 April 1946, succeeded his father in 1988).


Today, most of them live in the Republic of Türkmenistan (1926: ca. 100,000; contemporary state policy takes no cognisance of individual tribes). About 130,000 (in the 1960s, cf. Irons 1974) inhabit Iran (east of the Caspian sea, from the Gurgân plain north to the border of Türkmenistan), and between 125,000 and 400,000 (Adamec) live in northwestern Afghänistan (north of the Parápmisus range). The etymology of the name is unclear. The Yomut do not appear among the pre-Mongol Türkmen tribes listed by al-Raşîlî in his Duaín lughat al-Turk (tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly 1982-5), nor in Rashîd al-Dîn’s Qanûn (al-tawdrikh, Geschichte der Oğuzen, tr. K. Jahn, 1969, 46-7). Abu ‘l-Ghâzi Bahâdûr Khân [q.e.] mentions Yomut, a remote descendant of Salur, the son of the legendary Oghuz Khân’s son Tagh Khân (ShafÎra-yi Tarakhín, fol. 106b, ed. and Turkish tr. Z.K. Ölmex, 1996). Djikijew (1994) collected among the Yomut in the Türkmen SSR several genealogical tales of which show that the Yomut believe that they have the same ancestor Salur (Kazan Alps), one of the most famous heroes of Türkmen lore [see DEDE KORKUT], as the Teke, Ersari, Sarîk and Salor tribes [q.e.]. According to Bregel (1981), in the 16th century the Yomut, along with other tribal groups such as the Ersari, Salor, Sarîk and Teke, practised pastoral nomadism in the region between the Mangâlghâl peninsula and the Balkân mountains. Due to ecological factors and the pressure of the Kalmûks and Kazakhhs from the north, probably in the second half of the 17th century, some Yomut moved to the Gurgân plain while others migrated towards the oases of Khâzâr in the first half of the 18th century. Eventually they received permission from the khan to remain on the northwestern periphery of the Khâwân oasis.

In the Firdaws al-iskâl, a 19th century chronicle of Khâwân, written by Mûnîs and Ağah [q.e.], from the early 16th century onwards the Yomut are frequently mentioned among the tribal enemies whom several khans had to subdue at regular intervals. The Yomut also played a certain role in Khâwân history since, as auxiliaries, they often joined the Khân’s army, mostly in his fights with the Shî’i Persians in Khurâsân, but also in campaigns against Bûkhrâ. They were also prone to ally themselves with a Khan’s rebellious relatives or governors. Between 1178/1764-5 and 1184/1770-1, the Yomut even succeeded in capturing twice the city of Khâwân and also most other strongholds of the Khânate. After the Russians had reduced Khâwân to a protectorate (1873) and annexed the Türkmen territory from Mangâlghâl down to the Persian border (1881-4), the Yomut incursions continued across the Russian-Persian border but on a much reduced scale.

From the early 19th to the second half of the 20th century, all the Gurgân (Astarâbâd) Yomut tribes had either predominantly pastoral (çaman) or predominantly agricultural (çamor) members producing for monetary economy. Their most famous product were carpets. Up to the 1950s, they were also able to preserve slave and livestock raiding as an additional source of income, since the Iranian government exerced firmer political and fiscal control only in the 1930s and, again, from the middle of the century onwards (Irons 1994).


[BARBARA KELLNER-HENKELE]

YURTÇI (tr.) from yurt "tribal territory, camp site", a general term in the Türkic languages,
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cf. Turkmen yurt — yuvurt, Karakolpak, Kazak and Kırghız zurt; see KHAJAVA. iv, to whose Bibl. should be added G. Doerfer, Türksche und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, Wiesbaden 1963-70, iv, 212-16 no. 1914, Pers. yurtâfi, the salaried officer responsible for choosing camp sites for the army or court, organising them, and supervising their use.

Džuwâyi's use of yurt for the appanages granted by Cинgиз Kân to his brother, sons and grandsons demonstrates that yurt then included both summer and winter quarters, the whole territory of an ulus (i, 31). Raşıhi al-Dîn uses it in the same way, saying, for example, that "the dwelling and territories, makâm wa yurt-hâ" of Cîngiz Kân were next to those of the Ong Kân (Berezin, Cîngiçe, text, i, 118). The yurtâ's duties are set out by Nakhêwânî [q.v.] in 1360, in two specimen charters (i, 64-6); his appointment is to be recognised by all, from the viziers downwards through commanders of ten thousands and thousands to the tribes themselves. He alone is to designate camp sites, yurt-hâ, in a pleasant district, giving priority to the ruler, and then to his counsellors and lords wherever the camps, uthlû-hâ, are to be pitched in winter and summer quarters, mawâdî-i yurtâ wa kalâm-i dâr-i uthlû-i dîn. In the case of special local population's separate needs: they should be far from the arable land of village peasants, or troops of horse-herders, or those settled in oha, or nomads; the site should not be irksome, to the detriment of people's land, and for this reason nothing should be demanded of anyone. No-one should exceed the camp site which he had designated for them. It is emphasised that the yurtâ was selected on the basis of his long experience, and knowledge of where camp sites with plenty of water and grazing were to be found in all the districts for summer and winter quarters, and of all the communication routes used by the camp. In whatever direction a royal expedition was undertaken, he was to go in the vanguard and establish the site for royal use, and those for the principal members of the court, so that the troops on arrival at the stage [see MANZIL] should know exactly where to encamp. It is mentioned specifically that these must be far from the courses of rivers which might flood. The office was thus a highly responsible one, in which the experience and competence to be found in those living a largely nomadic life were integrated with a system of state finance and administration. Besides the yurtâ, three other officials were particularly responsible for the management of the camp: the farâahâ, or tent-pitcher, the bulâkhâ-nil or keeper of lost property, and the sâbûnâ or camel-cleer. The superintendent of the tent department, müdîr-i farâahâ-i dârâna, was accountable for the supply and maintenance of the royal tents. Such camps had to operate under a wide variety of conditions, which must have strained the vigilance of these officials. Though at times the movement from recognised summer quarters to winter quarters was regular enough, the use of at least seven different summer sites by Cîhâzân in the course of his nine-year reign shows the extent to which movement was possible in the north of Persia alone. Some sites were preferred for ceremonial purposes, most probably because of their proximity to Tabûr; a grand assembly was held at Kârbâhsh in 1295, and a great public festival of 1302 to the meadows at Uqût. Some of these sites at least were registered as royal domains, indiç: Lâr, for example, belonged to Arghûtun.


YUSUF b. AL-HASAN (I), MAWŁAY, sultan of Morocco, r. 1330-46/1912-27.

He was born in 1298/1880-1 of a Circassian mother, Amina. His early life in the royal palace remains obscure. He received education from private tutors in a traditional curriculum and did not emerge into public life until 1320-1/1912 when his brother, sultan 'Abîd al-Hâfiż (r. 1325-30/1908-12) appointed him as his khalifa (vice regent) at Fez. Later that year, he was named sultan (19 Shâbân 1330/12 August 1912) after his brother was forced to abdicate by Marshal Lyautey, Resident-General and principal architect of the French Protectorate then being established in Morocco.

Digulged, pious, intelligent, affable, possessed of no political experiences or ambitions, and apparently friendly toward France, Mawâlî Yûsuf seemed an ideal choice for an office meant by the French Protectorate authorities to serve as a legitimizing symbol and façade for their governance in the country. Under Lyautey's tutelage (1912-25) he would serve this role well: lending his prestige as an 'Alawi qâdir to French military campaigns against Moroccan resistance to the imposition of French and Spanish rule, and generally remaining publicly co-operative and uncritical of France and its Protectorate policies. He was routinely associated with the inauguration of a wide range of Protectorate initiatives in the areas of government, finance, administration, the judiciary, the education system, infrastructure and economic development.

At the same time, he gradually emerged as a more active and interested participant in the creation of a revitalised sultanate and government (makâm [q.v.]) that linked traditional forms—embodied especially in the person and reign of his father Mawâlî al-Hâsân (r. 1290-1311/1873-94)—and modern innovation represented and advocated by France. He took an active interest in the reform and encouragement of Islamic education, and gave generous royal patronage to the repair and construction of mosques, madrasas and other public buildings. He effectively opposed French efforts to reduce or replace Sharfûa courts in the country's Berber-speaking areas, and was an increasingly vocal opponent of the Protectorate's ongoing expropriation of rural and urban property. Unknown and unpopular at first, his travels throughout the country, extensive publicity and increasing association with the development of a modern Morocco that respected and preserved religious and cultural traditions, gained for him broadening popular acceptance. Recent scholarship (e.g. Rivet) shows him and his relationship to the French Protectorate to be much more complex than earlier interpretations have allowed. Though never enjoying real power, the sultanate during Mawâlî Yusuf's reign became more than a mere façade lending itself uncritically and unwillingly to the policies of the Protectorate authorities. Over the course of time, he took on substance sufficient to begin a transition from the status of a perplexed and diffident pupil to that of respected mentor, perhaps, in some ways, even partner, in the governance of the sultanate.
Yûsuf died on 22 Dûmâdâ I 1346/17 November 1927 from the effects of uraemia. He was succeeded by his third son Muhammad (V) [q.v.].


Yûzbâshî (r.), lit. “head of a hundred [men]”, a term used in later Ottoman and now modern Turkish armies for the rank of captain, and in the form yûzbâşî in modern Arab armies for this same rank. It was further used in Muslim Indian minting practice for the engraver of coin dies; see Dâr al-dârb, at Vol. II, 121a.

Z

AL-ZAMAKHSHÂRÎ, ÂBU 'L-KÂSIM MAHMUD B. 'UMAR.

1. Contributions in the fields of theology, exegesis, hadîth and adâb.

His father, al-imâm of the local mosque in Zamakhshar, taught him the Kur'an, but since he lacked the means to support the further education of his son, he wanted him to become a tailor. Yielding to his son’s wishes, however, he brought him to the capital of Khârâzam, Ïjûrîdânîyya, which henceforth became his permanent home and where he first earned his sustenance by copying for a wealthy patron. His ambition was a high secretarial career in government. For his literary education, he studied first with Abû 'Ali al-'Hasân b. al-Muzaffar al-Naysabûrî (the death date of 442/1050 commonly given for him is misstaken, since his son 'Umar died only in 536/1142), the leading man of letters in Khârâzam at the time, and after the arrival there of Abû Mu'âzjar Mahmûd b. Qâdir al-Dabîî al-Isfahânî (d. 507/1114), with the latter, who became his most influential teacher and generous patron. Al-Zamakhsharî also visited Bukhârâ to study and hear hadîth. On his way there he fell from his mount and broke a leg, which had to be amputated and replaced by a wooden substitute.

In his ambition for a high position in government, he first addressed panegyric poems to the famous 'Amîr al-Mulûk Shâh Muhammad b. Hamza b. Wahhâs, a Mu'tazâlî man of letters and learning. A close friendship developed between the two, and al-Zamakhsharî stayed with the amîr for two years as a greatly honoured guest, during which he also visited parts of Arabia and Yemen. Then he returned to Ïjûrîdânîyya, where he was honoured in this period by the Khârâzamshâhs Muhammad b. Anûshkânîn (d. 521/1127) and his son Asîz. A decade later, he again set out for Mecca and stayed for an extended time in Damascus, where he composed eulogies for the Bûrîr ruler Tâdî al-Mulûk Tughkânî (d. 526/1131) and his son Shams al-Mulûk. He reached Mecca for the Pilgrimage in 526/1132 and stayed there for three years, again hospitably received by Ibn Wahhâs, who encouraged him to assemble his diwân of poetry and to compose his Kur'an commentary al-khârijî. Al-Zamakhsharî completed the latter after two years in 528/1134. In 533/1138 he made a further trip to Mecca and passed through Baghîdâd, where he visited Abû Manşîr Mawhûb b. al-Djâwâlîîkî [q.v.], a famous man of letters, and received his ið̱âba. He died in Ïjûrîdânîyya on 9 Dhu 'l-Hijja 538/14 June 1144 and was buried near the town. On account of his prolonged stay in Mecca—he lived there for five years and performed the Pilgrimage seven times according to his own testimony—he claimed the title Ïdar Allâh, under which he remained widely known. In his home country he was commonly referred to as Fâkhî Khârâzam, “the Glory of Khârâzam”.

Although of Persian origin, al-Zamakhsharî was most basically motivated in his scholarship to serve and promote the Arabic language. Arabic was in his view the most perfect language which God had preferred to all languages as He preferred the Kur'an and Islam over all scripture and religions (see 1., at Vol. XI, 432b-434a). In the work on which his fame primarily rests, his Khârijî commentary al-khârijî, al-Zamakhsharî sought to lead thereby a position, and bowed to study and learn the ascetic life devoted to religion and teaching. After his recovery, he visited Baghîdâd where he engaged in debates and studies with scholars. He assembled with the Hanafî jurist Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Dâmghânî and the grammarian al-Shârîf Hîbat Allâh b. al-Shâdîqî. As he made the Pilgrimage in that year, he was welcomed by the amîr of Mecca, the Sharîf 'Abî b. 'Isa b. Hamza b. Wahhâs, a Mu'tazâlî man of letters and learning. A close friendship developed between the two, and al-Zamakhsharî stayed with the amîr for two years as a greatly honoured guest, during which he also visited parts of Arabia and Yemen. Then he returned to Ïjûrîdânîyya, where he was honoured in this period by the Khârâzamshâhs Muhammad b. Anûshkânîn (d. 521/1127) and his son Asîz. A decade later, he again set out for Mecca and stayed for an extended time in Damascus, where he composed eulogies for the Bûrîr ruler Tâdî al-Mulûk Tughkânî (d. 526/1131) and his son Shams al-Mulûk. He reached Mecca for the Pilgrimage in 526/1132 and stayed there for three years, again hospitably received by Ibn Wahhâs, who encouraged him to assemble his diwân of poetry and to compose his Kur'an commentary al-khârijî. Al-Zamakhsharî completed the latter after two years in 528/1134. In 533/1138 he made a further trip to Mecca and passed through Baghîdâd, where he visited Abû Manşîr Mawhûb b. al-Djâwâlîîkî [q.v.], a famous man of letters, and received his ið̱âba. He died in Ïjûrîdânîyya on 9 Dhu 'l-Hijja 538/14 June 1144 and was buried near the town. On account of his prolonged stay in Mecca—he lived there for five years and performed the Pilgrimage seven times according to his own testimony—he claimed the title Ïdar Allâh, under which he remained widely known. In his home country he was commonly referred to as Fâkhî Khârâzam, “the Glory of Khârâzam”.

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cism among traditionalist Sunnis. While some of these interpretations were adopted from earlier Mu'tazilite exegeses such as Abū Bakr al-As'āmī and al-Rumānī, he also frequently presented views of his own. In concord with his Mu'tazilī outlook, he emphasised ethical and ascetic aspects and denounced Shi'i antinomian tendencies and belief in miracles of saints, Shu'ubī and the Umayyad caliphs. In legal questions, he occasionally backed al-Shāfī'ī and other positions against his own Hanafi school. The popularity of his work was in the eastern Muslim world not seriously impaired by the attempt of al-Bayḍāwī [q.v.] to furnish an ortho-
dox counterpart to it in his Anwaḍ al-tanzīl. Opposition to his Mu'tazilī tendency was stronger in the Muslim West, where the Mālikī Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-
Manṣūrī [d. 683/1284] wrote a refutation of his Mu'tazilī interpretations entitled K. al-baṣîf min al-
Kāshīf, which is sometimes printed on the margins of the Kāshīf.

In Mu'tazilī theology, al-Zamakhshārī was familiar with the school doctrine of Kāfī ʿAbd al-Dājjār through the literary transmission of al-Ḥākim al-Dājjāshī [q.v.], which he received from his teacher Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq al-Khāṣṣāzī. In addition, he studied the school doctrine of Abu al-
Husayn al-Baṣīrī [q.v.] which was first introduced into Kī'am by his teacher Abu Muṣṭafī al-Iṣfahānī, with his colleague Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī. In his Mu'tazilī creed al-Munāhib fi waṣīl al-dīn he appears to furnish an ortho-
dox interpretation of K. al-Kashf, which is sometimes printed on the margins of his Kāshīf. His poetry, collected into his Diwan, which is sometimes printed on the margins of Kāshīf, is a treatise on prosody.


ZANDIKAN [see ZINDIKAN]. AL-ZANDJANI, ʿIZZ AL-DIN ʿABD AL-WAḤAB b. ʿAbraham b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Khārāfī (often given as: al-Khazrā REFER al-ṣāyīr al-Shaṭḥī, Abu ʿl-Maṣūmī (fl. in the middle of the 7th/13th century), grammarian and adīb, who ca. 625/1228 wrote a celebrated treatise on morphology (saṣīf, Maṣūmī ʿal-tarṣīf or (Kīāb) al-Tarṣīf al-Īzī, extant in numerous mss. and the subject of many commentaries, the most popular one being that of al-Tarṣīfī (q.v.).

The Kīāb al-Tarṣīf is the third grammatical treatise (after Ibn al-Hāḍīrīfī al-Kāfīya and the Aḵtānimūya) to be made available in the West, in an edition and two Latin translations, one literal and one idiomatic, by the director of the Medici press, J.B. Raymundus (Giovanni Battista Raimondi), Kitāb al-Tarṣīf taṣfīf al-
Shāykh al-Īmām, Liber Tarṣīfī compositio est Senis Alemami, Rome 1610 (see Chr. F. Schirmer, Bibliotheca arabica, Halle 1811, 25-7, no. 47). The name of the author sometimes appears as al-Īzī (see e.g. J. Fuchs, De arabischen Studien in Europa, Leipzig 1955, 56); this seems to have arisen from a careless rendition of the title al-Tarṣīf al-Īzī rather than al-Tarṣīf al-Izī (the nisba refers to the author's nickname ʿIzī al-Dīn). In addition to other works in the fields of, inter alia, grammar and lexicography, al-Zandjānī wrote works also in adīb. One is an anthology of poetic snippets (not entire poems) with the title al-Madīrīn bīṭīʿ aṭla ḥāṣa abīl ʿabī. It deals with the following themes: books, praise, yearning, love, congratulations, dirges, complaints and invectives. An extensive commentary on it was written by ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Kāfī b. ʿAbd al-Madīdī al-
Ubaydī, who finished it in 724/1324. The other book, with the title K. Miṣrī al-muẓaffīr wa ʿlum al-maṣūfīr, deals with prosody and rhetoric. It is divided into three parts: metrics (ʿlum al-ṣāyīr), rhyme taxonomy (ʿlum al-adīb), and rhetoric (ʿlum al-badī). This arrangement of the poetic disciplines imitates al-Khāṣṣāzī al-Kāfī, Fi ṭafsīr al-Izī, which likewise contains an unexpected section on al-badī\’ (ed. al-Hassānī Hāsyann ʿAbd Allāh, Cairo n.d., 170-204). Interestingly, one of his sources is the Haddātik al-ṣāyīr fi hadātik al-ṣāyīr, written in Persian by Raṣūlī al-Dīn Waṭwāt [q.v.]. Knowledge of Persian on the part of al-Zandjānī is also shown by a line of Persian poetry in al-Madārīn

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About 14 of al-Zarkashi's works are available in

published form today, displaying the broad spectrum of

his interests. A jurist of the school of al-Shafii, al-Zarkashi

were the first all-encompassing work of its type, only
to be eclipsed a century later by al-Suyuti's al-Ibân fi

'ulûm al-Kur'an, even though (or perhaps because)
al-Suyuti benefited from al-Zarkashi's work in

providing terms of providing the structure and content of his own

work. In a total of 47 chapters in al-Barhân, al-Zarkashi

brings together every major topic related to understanding

the Kur'an, devoting what is essentially a mono-


graph to each one; he mentions previous authors who

have treated each subject and compares the opinions

of the traditionists, the theologians, the exegetes

and the grammarians on many of the topics. Al-Suyûtî

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al-\nhadîth l-mughrabah, (Beirut 1995) on the basis of al-Zarkashi's

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was “one of a pair or couple” (see 1., at Vol. XI, 464b). Its dual in a phrase such as zawidi min al-hamām meant “a pair of pigeons” (i.e. one male, one female). Zawidi also naturally came to mean “spouse, female). Hamam meant “a pair of pigeons” (i.e. one male, one female). As a consequence of which came to designate specifically “husband”. In Modern Standard Arabic, as well as the meaning “husband”, zawidi retains the original Classical meaning “one of a pair”, but is also now used to mean “pair”, as in zawidi min al-hiddī “a pair of shoes”.

In the major (urban) Arabic dialects of the eastern Mediterranean (Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Beirut), the first and third radicals of zawid became metathesised (and modified phonetically in well-known ways), so that one typically hears gātī (Cairo, gātī (Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut) for both the “pair” and “husband” meanings, but the non-metathesised forms for the feminine form, e.g. ǧātī (Cairo), ǧātī (Damascus) “wife”. In rural areas, there is a considerable amount of variation between metathesised and non-metathesised forms, as there is in the phonetic realisation of the two consonants. Thus in parts of the Nile valley and Delta, zaawī, ǧātī and even gātī “two, (the) pair” both may be heard, as in gātī `udī “two hours”, gātī `anbadar “two months”, iǧ-gāz ǧātī bād “the pair/the two are alike”, ham iz-zaawī “both of them”. The use of gātī, etc. for “two” is reminiscent of the general Maghribi form ǧētī “two” (see 2., at Vol. XI, 464b).

In ‘Ir ‘āq and Arabia, the non-metathesised forms zaqī “pair”; “husband” and ǧārī “wife” are the normal realisations, though these are koine terms when used to refer to marital partners (which in “pure” dialect are usually words whose basic meaning is “man” and “woman”, e.g. Bahrayn ǧawwūdī (jewwūdī and marī). In some derivatives from this root, metathesised forms are also heard among less educated speakers, e.g. ǧawwūd “marriage” (Gulf States), instead of zaqūd and jāwūd “to marry” (Na’dhī), instead of zaqūd, jāwūd.

It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for the metathesis so widely encountered in this root. One possible reason may be a meaning coalescence in the dialects, because of a similarity of sound, of the originally separate verbs zaqūd “marry, (legitimately) couple” (< zaq-ū-d) and ǧawwūd “to deem or make permissible” (< ǧae-w-ar-d—a process which has been referred to by Voigt as Wurzelangleichung. There is already a similarity in meaning between them, in that an imām who “marries” (jīzawwūd) a man to a woman thereby makes her “permissible” (yūjīgawaawūdī) to him. From this coalescence of sound and meaning may have arisen a secondary fusion of other words from the same root, such as we see in the variation between the modern dialectal variants zaqūd and gawa, which were separate words in Classical Arabic.

who were incorporated into the regular army. He was received in princely style and was awarded on this occasion the title of vizier. On his return to the Maghrib, Ziri seems to have demonstrated some independence towards the Amrid master of Cordova, founding in the north of Morocco a principality with Fas as its capital. Seeking the support of the Ifrаниd, al-Mansur made overtures to Yaddu b. Ya'allâ who accepted the latter rejected, moving openly into disidence. The reaction of al-Mansur was immediate: Ibn 'Abd al-Wadid received the order to call upon Ziri b. 'Atiyya to subdue Yaddu. On 18 Muḥarram 381/6 April 991, on the banks of the Wadi Moulouya, an encounter took place in the course of which Yaddu b. Ya'allâ crushed the Cordovan army and the Maghrawi reinforcements.

For Umayyad policy in the Maghrib, this constituted a serious reverse, temporally alleviated by the unexpected support of a Sanhadjî prince of Ifriqiya. In fact, the paternal uncle of the Zirid king al-Mansûr b. Buluggûn, Abu 'l-Bâhâr b. Ziri, rebelled against the Kayrawân government and declared himself for that of Cordova. According to certain authors, this allegiance was short-lived and Ziri b. 'Atiyya attacked Abu 'l-Bâhâr who took refuge first at Čeuta, in Şəswāl 382/end of 992, and then, after being rebuffed, went to Ifriqiya; Ziri took all his domains and announced his victory, in 381/391, to al-Mansûr, who invited him to pay a second visit. Arriving at Cordova in 382/992, Ziri brought numerous presents with him on this occasion, as recorded by the sources (although they are sometimes attributed to a diplomatic mission sent by Ziri in 384/November 994): 200 rachesses, some 20 of them with a documented pedigree, camels, weapons and shields of antelope hide (dâm), a parrot, a gigantic panther and a giraffe, which died en route and was stuffed, all these last for the menagerie of the Caliph's palace. On his return to the Maghrib, Ziri learned that the Ifrani Yaddu b. Ya'allâ had taken possession of Fas. After a bloody battle, Ziri regained his throne and sent Yaddu's head to al-Mansûr.

No doubt finding the location of Fas too remote in relation to the assemblage of regions which recognised his authority, in 383/994 Ziri founded the town of Oujda (Waǧdâ [q.v.], on the border between Morocco and what is now Algeria, with the aim of establishing his court and his household garrison there. Subsequently, relations with Cordova deteriorated. The precise reasons for the conflict between Ziri and al-Mansûr are not known, but it is possible that Ziri had emerged as the champion of Hishâm II in his claims against al-Mansûr: in 385/998, his battle cry (diyar) was yâ Hîshâm yâ Mansûr, while that of the 'Amridis was only yâ Mansûr (Lévi-Provençal, Fragments, 29). In 386/997, al-Mansûr sent troops to the Maghrib to intimidate Ziri, who affirmed his independence without going so far as to repudiate overtly his oath of fealty to Hishâm II. In Şəswâl 387/October 997, al-Mansûr deprived him of his title of vizier and sent against him one of his best generals, the former slave Wâdih, who commanded the middle march of al-Andalus (al-thaghr al-awsaf). In Tangier, the latter received the allegiance of numerous local chiefs who came to rally beneath his banner. Then he set out with all these forces to attack Ziri, who had taken up positions in a mountainous region of northern Morocco, the Bahlal Habîb (Ibn Khaļdûn, Histoire des Berbères, iii, 244).

As a first step, Wâdih took possession of Arcila on the Atlantic and of Nakûr on the Mediterranean. In Radjâb 388/July 998, he succeeded in surprising the bulk of Ziri's forces in a mountain pass and inflicted a severe defeat on the Maghrâwâ. Some weeks later, wanting to reap the rewards of victory, al-Mansûr sent his own son 'Abd al-Malik with fresh reinforcements. 'Abd al-Malik joined forces with Wâdih and they succeeded in capturing Ziri. The second encounter, which took place on 19 Shawâl 388/13 October 998, was at first indecisive. But Ziri's army, on hearing that its leader had been severely wounded, disintegrated; forced into flight, Ziri abandoned his camp and his wealth to the Cordovans.

Having tried in vain to take refuge in Fas, where his wives and children were, Ziri took the Sahara road. In fact, the town refused to open its gates to him and it was occupied by 'Abd al-Malik. Having barely recovered from his injuries, Ziri refrained from attempting anything in the north of Morocco, which was strongly held by the Umayyad army. But taking advantage of the death of Ziri king al-Mansûr b. Buluggûn and the quarrels between the latter's son and successor, Badîs, and his great-uncle Maksan and Zawt, Ziri b. 'Atiyya laid siege to Tāhâr, which he took in 388/998. Then he successively conquered the Sanhadjî centres of Tlemecn, Chelif, Tînes and al-Mâthâl, with the help of a rebellion instigated in the name of the Umayyad caliph Hîshâm II and his bâghâb al-Mansûr, whose pardon he sought, asking to have his former prerogatives reinstated. His appeal was accepted.

In 391/1001, Ziri laid siege to Ağhûr [q.v.], the capital of the Sanhadjî, but his state of health obliged him to raise the siege after a month, and he died shortly afterwards. On the death of Ziri, his son, al-Mu'izz, took his place at the head of the federation of Maghrâwâ, and declared himself the loyal vassal of Cordova, continuing the struggle against the Sanhadjî until the death of al-Mansûr. A little later, al-Mu'izz asked the new bâghâb, 'Abd al-Malik, to award him an official investiture. A letter of 'Abd al-Malik dated Dhu 'l-Ka'da 396/August 1006, the text of which has been preserved (Ibn Khaļdûn, Berbères, iii, 248-50, and al-Warrâk, Fragments historiques sur les Berbères, 40-1) is addressed to the inhabitants of Fas, inviting them to recognise al-Mu'izz b. 'Atiyya as governor of the whole Maghrib, with the exception of the territory of Oujda, the personal fief of Wanûdûn b. Khâzûrûn b. Fâlûûl. The rest of the reign of al-Mu'izz was turbulent, but on his death in 417/1026, the general revolt of al-Andalus smashed once and for all the ties which for almost a century had linked the Zanâta North African bloc with the Umayyads of Cordova. The fortunes of the Zanâta [q.v.] declined in the Maghrib, before the increasing power of the Almoravids, who relied for support on the Sanhadjî tribes.